AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, Chronological, and Other Tables.

VOL. II.

Dublin:

Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, in Essex-street.

M.DCC.XLIV.
To his Grace

The Duke of Bedford.

We do not prefix your Grace's Name to this second Volume from a vain Presumption that your Knowledge in ancient History can receive any Improvement, being very sensible that Your Grace hath already gone through this and all other Branches of polite Learning, the inseparable Companions of true Nobility; but Patrons of avowed Merit and Discernment are so necessary to Works of this immense Labour and Charge, that it would be an unpardonable Temerity in us to send ours abroad, without one of such distinguished Abilities.

This, My Lord, is the powerful Motive which has encouraged us to address ourselves to Your Grace: For nothing can more effectually recommend our Labours to this or to those other Nations into whose Language our former Volume has been translated, than the Consideration that the Authors would never have dared to have published them under the Protection of a Personage so eminent for his Quality and refined Taste, but from a Conscientiousness of their having spared neither Pains nor Time to render the Performance worthy of Your Grace's and the World's Acceptance.

In this, My Lord, You will have the Pleasure of promoting a Design which, we hope, will prove of the greatest Advantage to this and future Generations, who will be furnished with a complete Body of History without the irksome Task of consulting that vast Variety of Authors of all Ages and Countries out of which it is compiled; and the Reader at the same Time directed by the Marginal Notes where to recur to the Originals; so that to doubt of Your Grace's approving of an Undertaking so universally useful, so long wished for by the Learned of most Nations, and never till now attempted, at least in this extensive Way, were to call in Question the most conspicuous Part of Your Grace's Character.
DEDICATION.

And here, My Lord, whilst we shelter this Volume under your illustrious Name, how gladly should we embrace this Opportunity of paying that Tribute, which is but a just Debt from every honest Heart, to a Nobleman whose exalted Birth and Merit shine with so equal a Lustre. But this Subject, grateful as it would be to us, and indeed to all that know Your Grace, we must be forced to decline, being convinced that Your Grace's Actions will more infallibly transmit it to Posterity, than the Pens of the ablest Panegyrists.

Permit us only to add. That it is from a true Sense of this, we have taken the Liberty of inscribing the following Sheets to Your Grace; being, with the profoundest Respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most Obedient,

Most Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.
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CHAP. X.

The History of the Medes.

SECT. I.

The Description of Media.

The country before us, once the seat of a potent empire, derives its name from Madai the third son of Japhet, as is plain from scripture, where the Medes are constantly called Madai (A). It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by part of the Caspian sea; on the south by Persis, Sefiana, and Assyria; on the east by Parthia and Hyrcania; and on the west by Armenia Major. It was in ancient times divided into several provinces, namely Tropatene, Charonibrene, Darites, Marciane, Anariac, and Syro-Media: All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called Media Magna, the other Media Atropatene, or simply Atropatene (B). Atropatene was that part which lay between mount Taurus and the Caspian Sea, and is supposed to have been so called from one Atropatus, who, being governor of this province in the time of Darius, the last Persian monarch, having Alexander the Great, and upon the downfall of the Persian monarchy, seized on this part of Media, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to Strabo's time. This was a cold, barren, and unhealthful country, and on that very account allotted by Shalmaneser for the abode of many captive Israelites after the conquest of that kingdom.

Cities of note in this part of Media were Gaza or Gazea, the metropolis of the province, and situated, according to Pliny, in a spacious plain between Ecbaton and Arbucata, and equally distant from both. Sanina, situated between the Araxes and the Cambytes; Farzina, between the Cambytes and the Cyrus; and Cyropolis; between the Cyrus

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(A) Among profane authors, some derive the name of Media from one Medus, the son of Medea and Japhus; others from a city here called Meda, whence they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). Sextus Rufus tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of Medena (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was also called Araia; but to inquire into the origin of these various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitless task.

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The History of the Medes.

Cyrus and the Amauros. This tract was inhabited by the Caduans and Caspians, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the Scythians.

Media Magna was bounded by Persia, Parthia, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea, and Ariopatene. The most remarkable cities in this part of Media were Ecbatan, Laodice, Apamea, Ragata, Arfacia, &c. Ecbatan, the metropolis of all Media and the seat both of the Median and Persian monarchs, was built by Darius, the first that reigned in Media, after the inhabitants had shaken off the Assyrian yoke. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by Herodotus: they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building these walls, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, and had white battlements, the second black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal perion of the king, were embellished above the others, the one being done over with silver, and the other with gold. This description of Herodotus favours, we must own, somewhat of romance; but, nevertheless, that Ecbatan was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no ways inferior either to Nineveh or Babylon, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of Judith we read, that the walls of this fated metropolis were seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the ancients constantly called Ecbatan of Media, to distinguish it from another in Syria bearing the same name, where the unfortunate Cambyses died, as we read in Herodotus (B).

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, so called either from the mother of Nicator, or the wife of Antichus, is counted by Strabo among the cities of Media, and placed by Pery near the confines of Persia and Parthia. Apamea is by Strabo sometimes adjudged to Media, and sometimes to Parthia. Regia, Ragata, or Regia is called by Isidorus the greatest city of Media; it was repaired by Nicator, who called it Ecbuspus, and by that name it was known to Ptolemy, but in the book of Tobit it returns the former. In process of time it became the seat of the Parthian kings, who gave it the name of Arfacia or

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4 Plin. l. 6. c. 14. 5 Dnnoth. Philipp. 4. p. 100. 6 Dio, Sicul. l. 2. c. 12. 7 Aminius, Marcell. l. 23. c. 23. 8 Chardin. voy. en Pers. vol. l. p. 181. 9 Japheth, Apisigint. l. 10.

The History of the Medes.

or Arface, as we shall fee in the history of that people. Other cities of Media are mentioned by Pline, Stephano, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Idorus, viz. Zombis, Patigian, Gazaca, Margafis, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the Macedonians, and are therefore called by Strabo Greek cities. This part of Media was inhabited by the Carduchians, Marandeans, Gelians, Syro-Meditans, Margafians, &c. inhabitants of the Gordian mountains on the confines of Assyria and Armenia; Zagros, dividing it from the same Assyria on the east, a mountain, if Polybius is to be credited, one hundred fathoms high. Parapotamia, placed by Ptolemy on the borders towards Peria, and by Strabo on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia. These are the boundaries between Media and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be said as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the Orontes, the Japhonius, and the Ceranus are in the frithef fene mountains of Media, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to Ptolemy, the Straton, the Amaurus, the Cyrus, and the Cambyses. But these rivers, as they are represented to disemboque themselves into the most southern part of the Caspian, must by their position have belonged to the provinces of Ghilan and Mazandaran, as they are now called, and consequently could not belong to Media proper, as it is described to us by the ancients.

We cannot help taking notice here of a considerable mistake, which many of the ancients have been guilty of, with respect to the situation of the Caspian Straits, called by the Latin Porta Caspia, Claphia Caspia, and Pyla Caspia. Ptolemy, Strabo, Arrian, Idorus, Charoncenis, and Dionysius Periegeta place them on the confines of Media and Parthia, or on the eastern borders of Media. But Pline, not liking this situation, carries them quite across the country, and after having been some time at a loss how to dispose of so heavy a load, drops it at last on the confines of Media and Armenia; that is, on the most western borders of Media. Suetonius and Tacitus confound them with the Iberian Passes, which are a narrow passage through the mountains dividing Iberia from Sarmatia. Some of our modern geographers place them in Media Arapet河北省, between the Caspian mountains and the Caspian sea, confounding them with what the present inhabitants call Demir-Can, or Iron-gate, which is a narrow passage out of Tartary into Peria. The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren; the present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the snow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year. But the southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain and necessaries for life, and withal so pleasant, that the country adjoining to Tanis, probably the ancient Ecbatan, is called the garden of Peria. There are here large plains, among which that of Nyfus is famous for the numerous flocks of horces that were kept in it for the use of the Persian monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the ancients. Where this plain of Nyfus was situated, is no easy matter to determine (C).

The

The ancients place the Nyfus plain in the eastermost parts of what they call Media, and far beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has seen this fertile passage, but if he did, we must place it quite differently from what the ancients seem to imagine it ought to be, and several degrees nearer us. His words are, "We continued our way (from Tanis towards Peria) among the most beautiful and fertile plains covered with villages. Theses plains afford the most excellent paiture of all Media, and, I dare say, of the whole world, and the best horses of the country were there at grass. I asked a young nobleman in company with us, if there were any other plains in Media so fine and so extensive? He told me, He had seen none at all about Derbent, but none more extensive; so that this reasonable enough to believe, that these plains are the Hippobactor of the ancients, and where they lay the kings of Media had a fowl of fifty thousand horses, and that here it is also, we must look for the Nyfus plain so famous for the horses of that name. Stephano the geographer says, that Nyfus was in the country of the Medes. I told this same nobleman some particulars which historians relate concerning those horses, namely Phavorious, who says, all the Nyfus horses were light duns; he answered, that he had never read or heard any thing of the kind. I afterwards enquired of some gentle of learning, but could never unders

\[11\] Chardia, ubi supra, p. 185.
The History of the Medes.

Climate.

The climate is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours rising from the Caspian sea, render that part very uninhabitable. The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn. Besides the cattle and game of all forts, which the Mediterranean provinces abound with, some of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of Tauris, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day. From its productions in the present state we may judge, what it must have been in better times.

We cannot dismiss this subject without some observations on the Caspian sea, which is the northern boundary of Media. This large body of waters was by the ancients called indifferently the Caspian and the Hyrcanian Sea, from the Caipians and Hyrcaniens whose shores it washed. However, Pliny makes some difference between these two appellations, telling us, that on the Caspian coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of Hyrcania the latter. The ancient, and likewise the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been said by others is only to be relied on, so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. Ptolemy, and even Herodatus, knew, that the Caspian was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas or visible efflux; whence some thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a sea. However, Strabo, Pliny, Pompion Mela, and Arrian wrote, that it was joined either to the Indian or northern ocean; but we are well assured by experience, that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the Wolves had overflowed its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us, the whole country to the extent of sixty miles: Thus they might easily have mistaken for a strait joining the Caspian to the ocean. Ptolemy, though here in the right, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west, for which he allows twenty-three degrees and a half; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty-two minutes, and, where narrowest, one degree twenty-two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by Abulfeda, an Arabian prince and able geographer, who in 1320, discovered the situation of the Caspian, and abridged its extent by a third of what Ptolemy had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as Ptolemy had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. Abulfeda’s observations were greatly improved by Bouvron, Olearius, and Fusskoff, but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations, by which we are assured, that it lies between the thirty-first and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of Ptolemy, and in the writings of other ancient geographers.

The Persians call this sea Kulsam, or the sea of Africam; the Riffians the sea of Gladenbeis; the Georgians Seren; the Armenians Seaft. It receives the river Wolves, which itself is like a sea, and near two hundred others into its bosom, and yet is never increased

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(D) Ælian tells us (12), that these parts of Media were greatly infested by scorpions, and that, while the king of Persia was on his progress into Media, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(E) M. Vanwerden, who, by orders of the late Caesar, formed a very exact chart of the Caipian from observations made by him on the spot in 1723, 1724, 1722. These observations, together with M. Vanwerden’s new chart, were by the Caesar’s orders communicated to the royal academy of sciences at Paris.

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(12) Ælian de Animal. l. 15. c. 66.
Chap. 18.  

The History of the Medes.

a increased or diminished, nor observed to ebb or flow. This constant plenitude has given rise to many speculations, and some have imagined, that it must necessarily have some subterranean communication either with the Black sea, though a hundred leagues distant, or with the Persian gulf, which is near two hundred leagues distance from it. Father Aret, a modern traveller, seems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, viz. that over against the province of Xilan in Persia there are two immense whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noise suck in and swallow whatever comes near them, and consequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are observed floating on the water by those who inhabit the coasts of the Persian gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the Persian gulf, and on the other hand the coasts of the Caspian towards the province of Xilan are covered with them, there must be some subterranean intercourse between these two seas. This observation, if true, is a strong proof of some secret communication between these two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through subterranean fissures from the one to the other. But since the opinion, ascertaining a communication between the Caspian and other seas, has been taken up chiefly on this consideration, that as so many and so large rivers dilate themselves into it, and are constantly pouring in their waters, in processes of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unless there were subterraneous fissures and meandres, through which it might evacuate its superfluous waters into the Ocean; as the opinion, I say, of the Caspian’s being joined, either immediately, or by means of some other sea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to consider how the Caspian or any other sea comes to lose so much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (E). The water of this sea is salt as the waters of other seas, notwithstanding the

b (F) There are two hypotheses among philosophers, one is, that the waters of the sea are conveyed by subterraneous conduits to the springs of rivers, and that in draining through the fissures they lose their saltiness; the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its surface. The former is now rejected by most, it being next to impossible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depressed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their springs, which are mostly on high mountains. But in the latter hypotheses we have no occasion to explain this, nor to prevent the increase of the seas, by supplying the springs with their waters. The quantity of vapours drawn up from the sea was tried by Dr. Halley, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, failed to the same degree as common sea-water, and heated to the same degree of the air in our hottest summers, exhales the thickness of a sixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Wherefore it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exahled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the superficies of the whole ocean, or a part of it, be known, it may also be known, how much water arises from it in vapours every day, supposing the water to be equally hot with the air in summer. According to what has been laid down, a superficies of ten square inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one square foot, half a pint; a square, whole sides are feet, one gallon; a square mile, one degree square (confiding, as we may suppose, of 69 English miles) 33 millions of tons. The same author supposes the Mediterranean to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by those where it is narrower, so that its whole superficies may be accounted 160 square degrees; and consequently the whole Mediterranean must lose in vapours, according to the fortedated proportion, in a summer’s day, at least 5280 millions of tons. What quantity of water is dried off the surface by the winds cannot possibly be reduced to any rule; but we may venture to say, that it sometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the sun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the sea, the above-mentioned writer observes, that the Mediterranean, for instance, receives these nine considerable rivers, the Ilissus, the Rhone, the Tiber, the Po, the Danube, the Neissr, the Berchtes, the Tanais, and the Nile, all the rest being of so great note. Each of these rivers he supposes to be ten times greater than the Thames, not that any of them is near so great, but to comprehend with them all the small rivulets that fall into the same sea.

His likewise supposes the river Thames at King- 

the opinion of the ancients to the contrary; its freshnes in some parts near the shore is owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other seas, nor without various forts of fih, as Olearius, an eye-witness, affirses, and thereby disproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackish colour, and to have but one kind of fih and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this fiction by observing, that the ignorance of the ancients with relation to this sea, or lake, as fome are pleased to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the Persian empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better success, surveyed those remote regions.

S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the Medes.

Their origin. We have already derived the Medes from Medoi, the third son of Japhet, and thereby put them upon the level with the most ancient nations. In courses of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulnes of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which that people was anciently divided. The Greek writers will have them to be originally Persians, and Herodotus tells us, that they were called Arians till the time of Mithra the son of Medai, from whom they took the name of Medians. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the ancient interpreters, who by Medai in scripture constantly understand the Medes.

Their government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of Abraham invaded the southern coasts of Caanaan, reigned in Media. Ctesidus mentions one Hydaspes, who, according to him, reigned long before the Medes were conquered by the Assyrians; and Dio Cassius tells us, that Pharnaces king of the Medes was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by Ninus, in the very beginning of the Assyrian empire. But his accounts of those early times are no ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from scripture and from the authority of the most judicious among

with the Euxine, but he alledges no reason to prove his opinion; however, this may be urged for it, that the Euxine sea, as Mr. Dugdale observes (14), is continually discharging a large quantity of water through the Bosporus, and some think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it; wherefor it may, for ought we know, be supplied from the Carpathian.

Chap. 18. The History of the Medes.

a among the ancient and modern chronologers, that the Assyrian empire did not begin till the days of Pul; whereas Ctesias and his coptist Diodorus have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the Assyrian kings from Belus and his feigned son Ninus to Sardanapalus. According to the succession of Assyrian kings, as stated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas Herodotus tells us, that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the Assyrian yoke by Pul, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate succesor Tiglath-Pileser. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of Senacherib they shook b off the Assyrian yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of Darius, as we shall see in the following sections. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves, the custom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in Persia, having first taken rife among the Medes.

c The Medes were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of Asia, especially after they were reduced by Cyrus. In war they used the fame armour as the Persians, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into Persia, which at last occasioned the downfall of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the Medes. Polygamy was so far from being displeasent among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five husbands. In war they poisioned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called Naphta, whereas there was great plenty in Media, Persia, and Assyria. The arrow being steepe in it, and shot from a flack bow (for a swift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather encreased than extinguished the malignant flame; dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground.

d Some writers charge the Medes with being the first authors of making eunuchs; but others impute this execrable practice to the Persians, and even name the place where it first took rife (I). The custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the

1 ALUAN. var. hist. 1. x. p. 555. 2 STRABO i. xi. XENOPH. cyroped. i. i. p. 7. 3 STRABO i. xi. p. 526. 4 BARDENAN. apud Euseb. prepar. Evang. 1. c. 8. 5 ATHENEO. 1. 12. 6 STEPHAN. de urib.
The History of the Medes.

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the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the Roman times, was originally peculiar to the Medes. When they were to strike alliances they used to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, starting to the extremities, was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually fancied, and a league thus confirmed was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties.

The laws and religion of the Medes were much the same with those of the Persians: wherefore, we shall defer what may be said of them, till we come to the history of the Persians from the oriental writers. We shall only observe here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the Medes are in holy writ called unchangeable. A modern writer tells us, that those only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their strength or stature. But that there was no such law is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the Assyrians; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of Medea in those early times.

They paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of great king, or king of kings, which title was afterwards adopted by the Persian monarchs and their proud successors the Parthians, whole king, even in the time of the emperor Constantius, retained that title, writing himself in a letter to that prince, Soper king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the sun and moon, &c. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by mulets, and numerous guards consisting of the prime nobility, their wives, children, and concubines being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants themselves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themselves to trade, is what we find nowhere recorded: neither do we find any mention made by the ancients of their arts or sciences. During the short time of their monarchy, they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike excises, namely to the arts of managing a horse and handling the bow, in which they surpassed all other nations, the Median horse being no less celebrated by the ancients, than were in after ages the Persian foot. Thus much we have thought necessary to say apart of the Medes and their country: what else may be added thereto we defer to the fections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

\[\text{I Herodot. I. c. 74.} \quad \text{II Tacit. an. 12.} \quad \text{IV Dion. vi. 6.}\]
\[\text{III Alex. ab Alex. I. 4. c. 23.} \quad \text{IV Herodot. I. c. 99.} \quad \text{V Ammian. Marcellin. I. 17.} \quad \text{VI Xenophr. Cyr. op. I. 7.}\]

truth being told by men, if men may call them, of their species. To them the Persian kings committed, not only the guard of their own persons (26), but likewise the education of their children, it being a custom among them to put the heir appa-

(26) Xenophr. Cyr. op. I. 7.  
(27) Plato in Alcibiad. 1.
The Chronology of the Medes to the translation of their empire to the Persians.

Ctesias and his followers have darkened the chronology of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Medes with such enormous anachronisms, that 'tis no easy matter to ascertain the rise or fall of those potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearness and perspicuity so perplexed a subject will allow, we shall distinguish in the chronology of the Medes three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different areas, namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been subdued by the Assyrians, the rise of their kingdom after some years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy. The first king of the Assyrians, who brought the Medes under subjection, was either Pul, according to us the founder of the Assyrian empire, or his immediate successor Tiglath-pileser. For this prince having, at the prayers of Abaz king of Judah, made war upon Rezin king of Damascus, and reduced that city, transplanted the inhabitants to Kir in Media. Whence it is plain, that the Medes were then subject to the Assyrians; and consequently, that they must have been subdued either in the reign of Pul, or soon after the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the crown; for the empire of the Assyrians was already about six years grown great, and the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria to make war. Pul makes his first appearance in scripture during the reign of Menahem king of Israel, in the year of the flood 2228, before Christ 771. Tiglath-pileser, who is supposed to have been his son, succeeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before Christ 740. There was no Assyrian empire before the days of Pul, as is plain, both from scripture (K) and from the particular histories of each kingdom, so that the Medes could not be subdued by them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of Pul or Tiglath-pileser they continued in subjection to the Assyrians till the reign of Sennacherib, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before Christ 713, while Hezekiah was king of Judah (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or

(K) None of the prophets, who preceded Pul, and foretold the calamities which the people of Israel afterwards suffered from the Assyrians, ever name that nation, but only speak of a people that is to be raised up against Israel. Thus Jonah, who prophesied about sixty years before the reign of Pul, mentions indeed the king of Nineveh, to which place that of Assyria is changed before flaked off the Egyptian yoke, and was governed by a king of its own; but his territories were of (28) no great extent, as is plain from the fuid prophesies; neither was he called king of Assyria, but only of Nineveh. Amos prophesied about ten or twenty years before Pul began his conquests, and foretold, that God would raise up a nation that should humble the house of Israel, at that time elated with their success against Damascus and Hamath: but what nation he names not. In the prophesies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Zachariah, which were written after the Assyrian monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occasions. Therefore, as Jonah and Amos, who prophesied before the reign of Pul, never mention the Assyrians, and those who flourished after his reign, frequently do; it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the Assyrians made no great figure in the world, but were to be raised up against Israel; and by consequence reign in the days of Pul, who is the first upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of Amos, threatening Syria and Israel with captivity. Besides, we know from scripture, that till Pul made his appearance on this side of the Euphrates, not only Syria and Egypt, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. Sesiuc and Menmon were great conquerors, and subdued Chaldæa, Assyria, Media, Persia, Babel, etc.; and in their histories no mention is made of any opposition made to them by an Assyrian empire then flourishing. Homer mentions Bacchus and Menmon kings of Egypt and Persia, but knew nothing of an Assyrian empire (29). Whence it is manifest, that the Assyrian empire, which Ctesias makes as ancient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of Pul, who reduced all the abovementioned nations.

(L) That in the time of Shalmanasser they were subject to the Assyrians, is plain from scripture, where that prince is said to have transplanted the inhabitants of Semarim to Halah and Halor, and the other cities of the Medes (30). In this captivity Tobit was carried from his native country, the city of Nineve, in the tribe of Naught, with Ama his wife and Tobias his son, into Assyria; but the rest of his brethren were carried into Media, and planted there, particularly Gabaol in Rages, and Reguel in Ecbatao (31), which proves Media to have been in the time of Shalmanasser subject to the king of Assyria.


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of the sudden slaughter of his army near Egypt, and shaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms against the power of the Assyrians, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented Tobit from going into Media, according to his custom; and they must have happened about the latter end of Sennacherib's reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before Cirris 710. The Medes, having thus rescued their country from the Assyrian bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as Herodotus informs us, which gave Elam-haden or Assur-baden, who succeeded Sennacherib, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of Media, if not the whole country, anew under subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three which Deyoces, their first king, is said to have reigned. It cannot have lasted above twenty or thirty years; for Phraortes, who succeeded Deyoces, and reigned, according to Herodotus, twenty-two years, was slain by Cyniladan, or Nabuchodonosor, in the twelfth year of his reign. Nabuchodonosor came to the crown in the year of the flood 2251, before Cirris 648; so that Phraortes was killed eighty-fix years after the Medes had revolted from the Assyrians; from which number, if we subtract the fifty-three of Deyoces and twenty-two of Phraortes, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of Deyoces, who, as we read in Herodotus, had some time exercised the office of judge before he was chosen king, is evidently too long, and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of Deyoces to the destruction of Niniveh, which happened in the second year of the reign of Jebiakim (M), that is in the year of the flood 2290, before Cirris 609, Media may be properly styled a kingdom. From the destruction of Niniveh, we may date the rise of the empire of the Medes; for the conquerors, that is, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares, having shared the Assyrian empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Their empire lasted till the taking of Babylon; for Xenophon tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatana, and succeeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to scripture. Babylon was taken seventy-three years after the destruction of Niniveh, to which we may add the two years that Darius the Mede reigned over that city, so that the empire of the Medes lasted seventy-five years, at the period of which the Persian empire took its rise in Cyrus. That Darius the Mede reigned over Babylon, is unquestionable; for he is fain in scripture, to have introduced there the immutable laws of the Medes and Persians. In his reign the Medes are ever placed before the Persians, as the Persians in the reign of Cyrus and his successors are always set before the Medes.

Before we proceed to the history of the Medes, we shall exhibit the series of their kings according to several authors.

A Table

(M) In the reign of Josiah, when Zedehaniab prophesied, Niniveh and the kingdom of Assyria were standing, for that prophet foretells their fall (53). Not long after Pharaoh Nehoh led his army to the Emperors against the king of Assyria, and on his march flew Josiah (53); whence it is manifest, that the last king of Assyria was still alive. But in the third and fourth year of Jehoiakim, the successor of Josiah, we find Assurus king of the Medes and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, leading their armies against the king of Egypt, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the Assyrians. Whence we may conclude, that Niniveh was already reduced, and the conquest of Assyria accomplished. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the destruction of Niniveh and fall of the Assyrian empire, in the second year of Jehoiakim.

(52) Zeph. i. 1. and ii. 13. (53) 2 Kings xxiii. 20. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.
### A Table of the Kings of the Medes, according to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

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This table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of Herodotus and Diodorus, as he has borrowed it from Ctesias. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that Herodotus is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. Ctesias enumerates ten kings of Media, whose names are different from those mentioned by Herodotus, except the last whom he calls Ayages, and Diodorus names Apodan. The reigns of the eight first amount to 282 years, and those of the two last are omitted; but if they be supplied from Herodotus, they will come very near Thucydides's account, who supposes the kings of Media to have reigned 350 years. Eusebius and Syncellus differ as widely from Ctesias as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king Arvaces, and besides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to Herodotus, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, though they vary sometimes very materially, from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to inquire into them, especially, as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grossly mistaken (N).

(N) Ctesias Halicarnassus and Apian have followed Herodotus, with regard to the duration of the empires of the Assyrians and Medes. The former acquaints us (54), that the empire of the Medes was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (55), that the three great empires of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians, at the time of Alexander, did not last 900 years. The Persian empire continued 250 years, from the 6th year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad to the second of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the Assyrians and Medes lasted according to Herodotus, the sum be but 900 years. These are the sentiments of the most judicious among the profane historians, concerning the duration of the empires of the Assyrians and Medes. But, on the other side, Ctesias, Alexander Polyhistor, Diodorus Siculus, Cassius, Trogus Pompeius, and the abbreviation Jaffin, with Felixius Paternodus, have followed Ctesias in his catalogue of the Assyrian kings. Among chri-

If the empire of the Medes continued 352 years, as it must have done according to Ctesias, if we supply the reigns of the two last kings in his catalogue from Eusebius or Syncellus, it must be sup-
po\[pued\]ed, that after the empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by Arvaces, there were no Assyrian kings either at Nineveh or Babylon, and that the Medes were sole masters of Asia. But this supposition is evidently repugnant both to sacred and profane his-
tory. If we consult the scripture, we shall find, that the Assyrian empire was never more potent than after this pretended destruction of Nineveh. The prophet Jonah, who flourished in the reigns of Ahaziah king of Judah and Jeroboam king of Is-
rael, was sent to preach repentance to Nineveh, about eighty years after the supposed reign of Arvaces, and Nineveh was then a great city, three days jour-
dey long; it had a king of its own, and was so populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the use of reason (56). Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbish but eighty years before, grow to such a pitch of gran-
deur in so short a time? For, according to the pro-
et's account, it was then in the meridian of its splendor. Tho\[u\]se who follow Ctesias have been for-

We shall begin with what we may call the fabulous history of the Medes, being extracted from Ctesias, his transcriber Diodorus, and their followers. According to thefe, the Medes were governed by kings of their own before the early days of Ninus, the pretended founder of the Assyrian monarchy. For when Ninus invaded this country, it was ruled by one Pharnas, who, being worfted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children. Thus Media was reduced to a province of the Assyrian empire, and remained subject to the successors of Ninus till the time of Sardanapalus. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of Semiramis and minority of her son Ninus; for she is said to have invaded Media with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called Bagithan, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to Jupiter, and had on one side craggy rocks fifteen furlongs high, which the ascended on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to Chaon a city of Media, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she formed another pleasant garden with fatted edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From Chaon the advanced towards Ecbatan, and on her march levelled mount Zorceum, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up valleys, and in spite of nature opened a plain and cagy way to Ecbatan, which to our author's time was called Semiramis's road. These extraordinary works, as they were laying monuments of her conquests, not only over the rebellious Medes, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of Sardanapalus, that is, for the space of near 1400 years (O), when Arbaces governor of Media and Beltes governor of Babylon put an end to the Assyrian empire, in the manner we have related in the history of Assyria.

Arbaces, the first king of the Medes after their revolt, is represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-spirited Babylonian Beltes, who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immense treasures, that were concealed in the ashes and ruins of the Assyrian palace, as we have elsewhere where related at length. He is said to have subdued all Asia, and to have reigned twenty-eight years.

He

1 Diodor. Sicul. i. 2. c. 1. = Diodor. Sicul. i. 2. c. 1. vol. i. p. 886. vol. i. p. 938.

ced to own, that Nineveh was twice taken and destroyed, in the time of king. Jophophatos by Arbaces, and three hundred years after in the reign of Jabin. But the scriptures, Josephus, and all profane writers, allow only one destruction of that great city. The latter differs only in the time when it happened. Herodotus places it at the end of the reign of Cyrus, and Polibius does not much differ from him. Ctesias and his followers refer it to the reign of Arbaces three hundred years earlier. That the latter are mistaken is manifest from holy writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which Arbaces founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of Ctesias and the authors that follow him. The Assyrian empire must have raised itself again, Nineveh must have been rebuilt, and have past from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the space of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended destruction of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire, we find in scripture a series of Assyrian kings and a potent empire not subject to the Medes. Likewise, if we compare the destruction of Nineveh described by Ctesias with that we read in scripture and Polibius, they will plainly appear to be the same. Ctesias says, that Sardanapalus burnt himself, his concubines, and treasures; Polibius writes the fame of Saras. Ctesias tells us, that the Medes in conjunction with the Babylonians destroyed Nineveh; and the fame is confirmed by Polibius and the sacred penmen. Ctesias writes, that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amount to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the Assyrian empire, and one devastation of Nineveh.

(O) These stories are of a piece with what the fame author relates elsewhere, viz. that the army of Ninus consisted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that Semiramis employed two millions of workmen in the building of Babylon; that she disposed in the shape of elephants the hides of three hundred thousand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by Ctesias, and gravely related by Diodorus.
The History of the Medes.

He was succeeded by his son Mandances, who reigned fifty years, but did no Mandances.

ingthing worthy of notice, being himself, as he is represented, a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects delirious from some reprieve, after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign.

Soparmus appears next, by some called Medicus, he reigned thirty years, and this Soparmus is all we find of him upon record.

Artax, by some called Articas, by others Cardicas, reigned next. From his Artax, name fome, who indulge conjectures, argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word Arti or Arta in the composition of his name denoting greatness, as it does, according to the interpretation of Herodotus, in that of the Persian Artaxerxes.

All we can say is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen.

After him came Arbaces, in whose reign a war broke out between the Medes Arbaces and Cadufians, who, at the instigation of one Parfodes rising up in arms, shook off the yoke which they had for some time groaned under. Parfodes was by birth a Persian, but the chief favourite and prime minister of Arbaces king of the Medes, whom he served with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot and a thousand horse to the Cadufians, where he not only withdrew his obedience to Arbaces, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The Cadufians, being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to Parfodes, as the most proper person on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field Arbaces died after a reign of twenty years. If this Parfodes be the Parfondas mentioned by Nicolas of Damasus, we have already related what induced him to revolt.

Artacus came to the crown, while the Cadufians were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom, and understanding that Parfodes was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the insurrection of the rebels. And accordingly having raised an army of 800,000 men, marched out with this mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed and forced to save himself by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the Cadufians proclaimed Parfodes their king, who accepting the crown inspired his new subjects with that irreconcilable hatred which he had conceived against the Medes, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the Cadufians, even on his death-bed, to wage an eternal war with the Medes, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly abolished, loading at the same time with curses and imprecations such of his successors, as ever should upon any terms whatsoever be reconciled with them. In pursuance of this, as we may call it, his last will, the Cadufians watched all opportunities of harassing the Medes with inroads, and doing them what mischief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the Persians.

After Artaxus reigned Artanes twenty-two years, but did nothing worth mention. Artanes. He was succeeded by Artaburnas or Artabanus, in whose reign the Parthians Artabarnas: revolting put themselves under the protection of the Sace, a people inhabiting mount Hemedus, which separates India from Scythia. This occasioned a war of many years between the Medes and the Sace, who were then governed by queen Zanara, a heroine of great prowess. That prince is no less celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, refused her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her subjects, and insured them to military discipline and the toils of war. After she had for many years harassed the Medes, a peace was at last concluded between her and Artanes on the following conditions; that the Parthians should submit to the Medes, and the Sace and Medes quietly enjoy what they possessed at the beginning of the war.

Hitherto


(P) This queen was, according to our author, another Semiramis. She excelled all of her own sex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wisdom; she built many cities, made considerable
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Hitherto we have dwelt on what we may safely call the fabulous history of the Medes, those kings, or most of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination, of Ctesias, which was very fertile in the production of monstros. We now come to the genuine history of Media, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

The Medes, having thrown off the Assyrian yoke in the reign of Sennacherib, lived some time without a king, but were again brought under subjection by one of their own country, whose name was Dejoces. He is represented as a fierce crafty man, and aiming at absolute power, and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner. The Medes were at that time divided into several districts, in one of which lived Dejoces, who, seeing all kind of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. The Medes of the same district, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge; and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences referred from all parts to him in order to obtain justice; till at last no one would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. At last the numbers of those who applied to him for redress, increas'd in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administering justice being devolv'd upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reasable, that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickednesses prevailing to such a degree, that it was not safe to live in the country, the Medes called a general assembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion those who were in the interest of Dejoces observed, that if a stop was not put to the growth of the disorders that had already overspread the whole land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They advised therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could reduce their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolve'd on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person whom they should prefer to the crown, when Dejoces was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne. Thus was Dejoces created king; and being vested with supreme power he threw off the mask, and commenced tyrant; though the rigour he practis'd may perhaps have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation, after some years of anarchy, into any order or discipline.

The first thing he did after his promotion was to command his new subjects to build him a palace suitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obey'd, and on the ground which he chose a strong and stately fabric was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to chuse for his guard out of the whole nation such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settle'd on the throne, he united the several districts, into one, and which the Medes had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this also his subjects submitted, and the famous city of Ecbatan was build'd, pursuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in process of time became very famous in those parts (Q.).

Herodot. l. i. c. 95. Dejoces

The Medes resolve to create a king.

Dejoces chosen.

Year of the flood 2300.

Before Christ 699.

Considerable conquests, and raised the obscure nation of the Medes to a great pitch of glory. Whence her subjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vast dimensions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid she was represent'd by a golden colossus, and adored by her subjects as a goddess (37).

(Q.) Ecbatan in scripture (38) is called Achmetha; by Ctesias and Steph. Alex. Ecbatan. In the book of Judith it is said to have been build'd by Arphaxad king of the Medes; but whether Arphaxad and Dejoces be but two names of one and the same

(37) Dioscor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. (38) Ezra. vi. 2.
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Deioces, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever. That no one should be allowed to his presence, but transact all things by his servants and ministrers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household, and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence should be accounted a great indignity, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting, but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think of a superior nature to themselves. Though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to the end many emissaries in his provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

Deioces was so entirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though his reign was very long; for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the Medes fifty three years. He was succeeded by his son Pherortes, who being of a warlike temper, and not Pharnaces, satisfied with the kingdom of Media, which his father had left him, invaded Persia, Year of the 535. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of Per- sia, not to Pherortes, but to his son and successor Gyaxares (2). However, he subdued several of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the upper Asia, lying between mount Taurus and the river Halys. Elated with the good succours, that attended his army, at length he invaded Assyria, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the Medes, had withdrawn their obedience from the Assyrians. Nebuchadnezzar, or Chaldaean, at that time king of Assyria, raised a powerful army to oppose the conqueror, summoning the whole force of his wide-spread dominions, and inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. His embassadors were received everywhere with contempt, and no one people obeyed the summons. However, Nebuchadnezzar took the field with what forces he had, and, joining battle with Pherortes in the great plain of Ragas, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and purifying the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him prisoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered

1 Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

person is what we shall examine hereafter. Dr. Prideaux (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that Ezobatan was only enlarged and beautified by Deioces. He will perhaps have Araxes, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with Tigab-pisfer, to be the founder of it. Josphus (40) acquaints us, that the decree of Cyrus, about rebuilding the temple of Jerufalem, was found at Ezobatan, which plainly proves it to be the fame with the Achemenian of scripture, where according to Ezra (4.3) the said decree was lodged. (P) It seems plain from scripture, that the Persians were not subdued by the Medes, till after the taking of Ninious, by the joint forces of Gyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar. In the fourth year of Joshiachin, which the Jews reckon to be the fifth of Nebuchadnezzar, God threatened by his prophet (42), that he would take all the families of the north and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bring them against Judea, and against the king of Babylon, and against the king of Babylon, and against the nations, and make them an affrontment and insulting deflation, and cause all to drink the wine-cup of his fury; and in particular, he names the kings of Judah and Egypt, and those of Edom, and Moab, and Omon, and Tyre, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes, &c. Where it is to be observed, that in numbering the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the Assyrians, who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of Elam or Persia, as distinct from those of the Medes, whence we may conclude, that the Persians were not yet subdued by the Medes. In the beginning of the reign of Zedekiach, that is in the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the fame prophet foretold the approaching conquest of Persia by the Medes and their confederates: Behold, says he, I will break the bow of Elam; upon Elam shall I bring the four quarters from the four quarters of heaven—and there shall be no nation wheresoever the outcasts of Elam shall not come—I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, faith the Lord; and I will feed my people in the mountains, and in the lowlands of Elam, and in the whole inhabited country; and there will I make my name known in the Medes, and in all the lands of the Medes, and in all the lands of the Medes, &c. Where

entered Media, took many strong holds without opposition, and pushing on his conquests formed the famous city of Ecbatana, and levelled it with the ground. Flush'd beyond measure by this, perhaps more than expected, success, he returned to Ninivah, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days. Phraortes reigned twenty-two years, and was slain near the beginning of the reign of Jeshob; for this war was made after Pharnace, Mabob, Ammon, and Egypt had been conquered by Assarbadon, and when the Jews were newly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of Judith.

* The death of Phraortes his son Cyaxares was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprising prince, and indeed such a man was, then more than ever, wanting to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being already possess'd by the Assyrians. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (R), he soon recovered what the Assyrians had taken after their victory in the plains of Ragan. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the destruction of Ninivah. And accordingly, having assembled all his forces, he marched out with a design to treat that city, as Nabuchadnesar had treated the metropolis of Media. The Assyrians meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroy'd before Bethulia, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeat'd and driven into Ninivah. Cyaxares, purging his victory, laid close siege to the city: but was soon obliged to give over the enterprise, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom.

A formidable army of Scythians, having driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter Media. They were come from the neighbourhood of the Palus Meotis, and commanded by king Madyes the son of Protothus. This Madyes can be no other than Indathyrus the Scythian, who invaded Asia, as Strabo informs us (S), and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines of Egypt. Cyaxares no sooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the siege of Ninivah, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged, and the Medes, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occasion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, ver-ran not only all Media, but the greater part of upper Asia (S). From thence

* Judith. iv. 3. &c. Herodot. i. i. c. 102. supra. * Syr. l. i. 1. prop. initium.

(Q) As Arphaxad is said, in the first book of Judith (42), to have been kill'd by Nabuchadnesar, and likewise to have built Ecbatana, most writers will have Dejoces, the founder of Ecbatana, and not Arphaxad, to have remain'd on this unsuccessful war, and left his life in the mountains of Ragan (46). The passage in Judith, that Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatana, has load them astray, and made them conclude, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar translates edificavit, built, says only, that Arphaxad did build new buildings to Ecbatana. And what can be more natural, than that the son should finish so great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

The authors, in the history of Assyria, volume the first, page 898, place the defeat and death of Phraortes twelve years earlier, viz. in the year of the Flood, 2363, before Christ. 636. The cause of this variation seems to be this, in the first volume they compute the reign of Dejoces from the revolt of the Medes, including the twelve years of anarchy, but in this second volume, they allow the fifty one years reign to Dejoces, exclusive of the anarchy.

(R) He was the first, according to Herodotus (47), that marshalled the people of Asia into disciplined bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horde, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiscuously. But this we can hardly believe, when we consider, that the nations of this part of Asia were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art.

(S) Eusebius tells us, that Cyaxares took the city of Ninivah before the Scythians invaded Media. But as Herodotus and all the profane historians, without exception, unanimously agree in this point, that the Scythians broke into Media while he was besieging Ninivah, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have chose to follow them, rather than Eusebius, whose authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the Scythians Herodotus tells us, that the Cimmerians being driven out by the Scythians, invaded and laid waste part of Asia; and that the Scythians, not satisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far distant countries, and in this pursuit fell, as it were by chance, upon Media, while the Cimmerians were gone another way into Lydia. As the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians were all of the same race and nation, which Gerontus Bucanus learnedly proves in his Anamotica, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulsion of the Cimmerians was nothing else but the lading of a colony into Asia, with an army of Scythians to assist them in acquiring new settlements, and establishing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians were but one people,

(45) Judith, i. 1. (46) See Usher's Annal. at the year of the world 3347. (47) Herodot. l. i. c. 103.
In this expedition the Scythians poifled themselves of the city of Bethpage, in the territories of the tribe of Maaneth, on this side of the Jordan, and held it as long as they continued in Asia; whence it was called Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians. On their return from Egypt, as they passed through the land of the Philistines, some of the ragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Acalon, which was believed the most ancient in the world dedicated to that goddess. To avenge this attempt the goddess is said to have inflicted on those, that were concerned in the sacrilege, and their posterity, the hemorrhoids; which fews, that the Philistines still preferred the memory of what they had formerly suffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it seems, on this difference, as a punishment from heaven attending such sacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the Scythians with this crime, took care not to omit in their histories the punishment, which their ancestors had suffered for one of the same nature.

The Scythians were for the space of twenty-eight years masters of the upper Asia, namely the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, Iberia, and great part of Lydia. Cyaarses finding it impracticable to get rid of his troublesome guests by open force, resolved to try what might be effected by stratagem. And accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast which was given in every family. Each landlord made his guest’s drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The Medes

As the Cimmerians held their course swiftly along the shore of the Euaxine sea, to the Scythians took the other way, and having the Cappad in their left parted between that sea and the Caspin, they passed on without any obstacle to the river, bearing all before them, and finally designing to settle in Italy, divided into several bodies to facilitate their passage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the Romans. Mere necessity obliged these poor nations to inflit their neighbours and expel themselves to such dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in fainance, and that up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overthrow numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and menu to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage, that they might the sooner get rid of them; others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these, mentioned by Herodotus, took the way of the Euaxine sea, which they had on their left, as mount Caspin on their right. They passed through Colchis and Pontus, and arriving in Pharsalia fortified the promontory, whereon Simena was afterwards built by the Greeks. Here they left under a strong guard such as were left for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into Persis, Lydia, and Ionia, having no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the Iriss and the Hali they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the Lydians in the history of Lydia.

(48) Plutarch. in Marius. (49) Nakum. ii. 5. (50) Herodot. i. 3. c. 1.
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Book I.

Macedonians then repelled themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Hellespont, which was their ancient boundary westward.

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppression of the Scythians, found himself soon after engaged in a war with the Lydians. The occasion of this war is thus related by Herodotus: Upon a pedition which happened among the Scythian nomades, a party of them made their escape into Media, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by Cyaxares, but enfranchised with the education of divers youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow and the Scythian language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accustomed to return with some game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, Cyaxares, whom they used daily to present with some venison, treated them with most opprobrious language; this they resented, and agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dreads his flesh like venison, and serve it up to Cyaxares and his guests. They executed what they proposed, and then flying to Sardis, implored the protection of Halysates, king of Lydia. Cyaxares immediately dispatched ambassadors to demand the Scythians, but they not being able to prevail with the king of Lydia to deliver them up, a war of five years ensued between the two nations with various success (U). The battle fought in the fifth year of this war was of a most extraordinary nature, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by Todesninius (V). The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of Lachnutes, that is, Nebuchadneszar, king of Babylon and Syenagni king of Cilicia. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between Argenis, the daughter of Halysates, and Afynages, the eldest son of Cyaxares. Of which marriage was born the enlivening year Cyaxares, in the book of Daniel is called Davis, the Mede. Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the Lydian war, was to remune the fierce of Niniveh, which the irruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Having with this view entered into a fruit alliance with Nebuchadneszar king of Babylon, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter Amytis (X), he returned in conjunction with the Babylonians before Niniveh, took the

(U) Herodot. l. i. c. 166. Herodot. l. i. c. 73, 74. Herodot. ubi supra.

as we find in some modern copies 170 years after the foundation of Rome. Clemens Alexandrini (22) places this battle and the eclipse of the sun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from Eudorus whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time assigned both by him and Pliny does not suit with the reign of Cyaxares, but with that of his successor, Hagrus. The Sun and moon tables of Ptolemy, which are the same with those of Hipparchus, place this eclipse on the fourth year of the 4th olympiad, and on the 4th day of the Egyptian month of Paseon (or the 10th of September, according to the Julian calendar, on a Sunday) three hours, that is five minutes before noon. But according to Sir Isaac Newton it fell upon the 28th of May, in the year of Nabonassar 153, forty-four years before the taking of Babylon (53), and 585 years before Christ. Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Prideaux place the Lydian peace after the destruction of Niniveh, and the former fixes the eclipse of the sun, that happened during the engagement, on the 28th of May, 585 years before Christ. According to the computation of the authors in this volume, begins his reign 624 years before Christ; allow him to have taken up his two first years in preparations of war and besieging Niniveh, the Scythians hold Asia 28 years; Niniveh was taken in the second or third year after the destruction of Niniveh, and the 35 years after the reign of Cyaxares the battle was fought with the Lydians, the year in which Sir Isaac Newton places the eclipse, being the most inductive part of chronology in this volume, it seemed proper to make these observations.

(X) Some will have Amytis to be the daughter of Afynages and grand-daughter of Cyaxares. But Afynages could not at that time have a daughter marri-
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a. the place, now Sarac the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground. This was the proud metropolis of the Assyrian empire laid in ashes, purliant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before. *Woe to the bloody, it is all full of lies and robbery; he that defies in pieces is come up before thy face.* The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. I hear the noise of the chariots, and the noise of the rolling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. Their hoofs are as the bright sword and the glittering spear. The flash of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in scarlet. Their feasts are torches, they shall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is fierce. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Behold I am against thee, the Lord of hosts: I will destroy thee of all the thy ornaments. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold, for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is emptied, and void, and wasted. Niniveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is defoliate. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maidens shall lead her, as with the voice of doves taking upon her breasts. I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is no end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the she-lion and her whelps, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lions, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with roapine? The Lord shall destroy Affur. He shall depopulate the city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a defile. It shall be a dwelling place for wild-beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, it is said, fee that proud city, which was so stately and so exalted, which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by thee shall scoff at thee, and shall infilt her with bittings and contemptuous goitres.*

This victory with the destruction of Niniveh the Jews ascribe to the Chaldeans; the Greeks to the Medes; Tobit, Polybius, Josephus, and Ctesias to both. It gave a foundation to the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the Medes and Babylions, which rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy.

After the reduction of Niniveh, the two conquerors procuring their victory led the confederate army against Pharaoh-Neco king of Egypt, who had something before routed the king of Assyria and taken Carcemish. Pharaoh met them near the Euphrates, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the Assyrians.

b. *Naum iii. 1. 2. &c.* marriageable, and Nebuchadnezzar, had he married her, must have been at the time of his death at least eighty-five years old, and Affur much older. In the book of Tobit the drudgery of Niniveh is ascribed to Affur; son of Nebuchadnezzar for king of Babylon. This Affur can be no other than Carchares, who, as Sir Isaac Newton says, was called Affur, Affuris, Oxares, Ayres, prince Asares or Cy-Ayres, the word *signifying a prince in the Median language* (54). By Nebuchadnezzar is meant Nebuchadnezzar the great, both these names being given by the Babyloniens to their kings, as that of Pharaoh was by the Egyptian to theirs. That Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar was called by both these names, is plain from the book of the Rabbes, and from Josephus. R. Tuchows calls Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar (53) and David Ganz calls the father Nebuchadnezzar the first, and the son Nebuchadnezzez the second (56). Josephus in speaking of Nebaphothar sometimes calls him Nebuchadnezzar (57) and sometimes Nabubartner (59), which is a contraction of Nabapolisar. It is certain, it is evident, that the books of Tobit and Tuidih cannot be reconciled with any other ancient writings, the facts, the times, and the names, unless we allow the name of Nebu- chadnezzar to have been common to the kings of Babylon.

c. *Zeph. ii. 13, 15.* year 624 before Christ, according to the computation of the authors in this volume; the Septuagint prophecies Aia 28 years, and six years he was engaged in war with the Scythians, therefore, Niniveh could not be taken before the year 624 before Christ, so that if they are right as to the destruction of Niniveh, Ptolemy's death could not happen later than the year 636 as placed in the first volume; but this is contrary to Sir Isaac Newton's calculation of the eclipse and the former observations.

(V) On the ruins of the old Niniveh another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called Mejda (50), and flanked on the west side of the Tigle, where was anciently only a part of the isuris of old Niniveh; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river. The circuit of Niniveh was, according to Diodorus Siculus (61), 480 furlongs, that is fifty of our miles. Hence it is said by Jobah (62) to be a city of three days' journey, that is in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can walk in one day. Strabo (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than Babylon, and in the same place sits, that the circuit of Babylon was 38: faciunt, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles makes it, as Strabo says, much bigger than Babylon. We have already fixed the era of its destruction.

The History of the Medes.

BOOK I.

Affrians; for what had once belonged to them, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar looked upon now as their right of conquest (Z). After this victory they leizd on the important place of Carcemish, reduced all Cale-Syria and Phoenice, and then with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Madaities, and Ammonites, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 150,000 foot, and 120,000 horse, invaded and laid waste Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, &c. and at last besieged Jerusalem, and took king Jebozikim prisoner. Enriched with the spoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, Nebuchadnezzar purifying his conquests in the west, and Cyaxares falling upon the Affrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, which he subdued with great slaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of Persia (A) and Sufiana, accomplished the conquest of the Affrian empire.

The prophet Ezekiel enumerates the chief nations that were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar. After is there and all her company, viz. in Hades or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terror in the land of the living. There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living: yet have they born their frame with them that go down into the pit.—There is Melech, Tubal, and all her multitude (vizz. the Scythians); her graves are round about him: all of them unencircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.—There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.—There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which with their terror are gone down with the slain. By the princes of the north are meant such as were on the north of Judea, namely the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia, who fell in the wars which Cyaxares waged in reducing those provinces after the destruction of Niniveh.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of Media into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his Babylonian ally, died in the forty-fifth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

Cyaxes, who in scripture is called Abasaerus. This prince had by Araynis, the daughter of Halphites king of Lydia, Cyaxares II. called in scripture Durus the Mede, and who was forty-two years old at the taking of Babylon. The same year that Cyaxares was born, Cyaxes gave his daughter Mandane, whom he had by a former wife, to Cambyses a Persian; from which marriage sprung Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares, and consequently was in the sixtieth year of his age when Babylon was taken. Whether his father Cambyses was king of Persia, as Xenophon would have it, or only a nobleman of that nation, as we read in Herodotus, is what we


(Z) From this time the Jewish computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, and therefore the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar was by his father taken into partnership of the empire, is according to the Jews (64) the first year of his reign. But according to the Babylonian computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both these computations are found in scripture, we thought it necessary to say thus much in order to reconcile them. We must further observe, that as the Chaldean astronomers counted the years of their kings by the years of Nabuchadnezzar, beginning with the month Tobi; so the Jews counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Moses, beginning with the month Nisan; inof-much, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the first of the month Nisan, those few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his second year (65).

(A) While the Affrians reigned at Niniveh, Persia was divided into several kingdoms. Amongst others there was a kingdom of Elam, which flourished in the days of Zerubbabel, Manasseb, Tshob, and Jehoiakim, kings of Judea, and fell in the reign of Zedekiah (66). This kingdom feems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the kingdom of Tiran or Sylha, beyond the river Ouxus, with various successes, and at length to have been subdued by the Medes and Babylonians; which confirms what we have said before, viz. that the Persians were not subdued by Persartes, as Herodotus would have it, but by Cyaxares, in conjunction with the Babylonians.

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Chap. 10.  

we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Athyges* was very long, having

a. we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of Athyges was very long, having

lafted thirty-five years, yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except

his repuling the Babylonians, who, under the conduct of Eevil-merodach the fon of

Nebuchadnezzar, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length

e. elsewhere. The victory, which he gained on this occasion, was in great part owing
to the valour and conduct of Cyrus, who attended his grandfather in this expedi-
tion, and, though at that time but sixteen years of age, signalized himself in a very

b. particular manner, pursuing the Babylonian with great slaughter quite home to his

own borders. This rash, and seemingly unjust, undertaking of Eevil-merodach laid

the foundation of that animosity between the Medes and Babylonians, which ended

at left in the ruin of Babylon. From hence we may infer, that Eevil-merodach was

not the fon of Nebuchadnezzar by Amyite the daughter of Cyaxares, or, as others will
have it, of Athyges, but by some other wife; it not being likely, that they would
have thus engaged in war against each other had they been so nearly related. It is
still more improbable, that Eevil-merodach should undertake such holitilies while he

was on the point of marrying Niteris, as is commonly reported, who was by birth

a Mede.

Athyges after a reign of thirty-five years was succeeded by his fon Cyaxares uncle

to Cyrus. This prince was fcarce warm on his throne, when he found himself enga-
ged in a bloody war with Neriglissar, who had murdered Eevil-merodach and usurped

the crown of Babylon. This was carried on with great slaughter on both sides

by Cyaxares. This, during the reigns of the usurper Neriglissar, of his fon La-
borsaerch, and of Nabonadius, the fon of Eevil-merodach and grandson of Nebuchad-
nezzar, in whose time Babylon was taken, and the Babylonian empire utterly ruined.

But as this war, which lafted twenty years, was entirely managed by Cyrus, we
shall defer the relating of these important events, till the reign of that great and

glorious prince, which, as he was the fon of the Persians monarchy, we shall

deferve to the history of that empire.

As for Cyaxares, he is faid in scripture to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction

of Babylon and death of Belhazzar. For Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held

the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his

own valour. Nay, fo far did he carry his complaiance, that he let him enjoy the

first rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs

being vested in Cyrus, he alone was looked upon as the supreme governor of the

empire. And hence it is, that in Ptolemy's canon no notice is taken of Cyaxares,

but immediately after the death of Nabonadius, Cyrus is placed there as the next suc-

cessor. But that a Mede reigned at Babylon after the death of Nabonadius, or, as He-

rodatus calls him Labynetus, the fon of Babylon in the canon, is plain both from

 Xenophon 'and scripture: the former tells us, that, after the taking of Babylon, Cyrus

went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatan, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and

we read in scripture, that Babylon was destroyed by the Medes, by the kings of the

Medes, and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion; that the

kingdom of Babylon was numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the Medes and

Persians; first to the Medes under Darius, and then to the Persians under Cyrus: for

Darius reigned over Babylon like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the Bab-

ylonians, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the Medes

and Persians. In his reign the Medes, as we have observed elsewhere, are con-
stantly placed before the Persians; as the Persians, in the reign of Cyrus and his

successors, are placed before the Medes; which shews, that, according to scripture,
a Mede reigned at Babylon between the last Babylonish king in Ptolemy's canon

and Cyrus. This king can be no other than Cyaxares, as Xenophon calls him, or

Darius the Mede, as he is titled by Daniel. The scripture ascribes the destruction

of Babylon chiefly to Cyaxares, whereas Hieron allidges three reafons: 1. Because

Darius or Cyaxares was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the Medes were at that
time more famous than the Persians; and lastly, because the uncle ought to be pre-
ferred to the nephew. On the other hand few of the Greek writers take any notice

of Cyaxares, which we may easily account for. The Persians, desirous to magnify

and

1 2 Herodot. 1. 1. c. 130. 3 Vol. I. p. 965. a, b, c, d. 4 Xenoph. I. 1. Cyroped. 2 Dan. v.
vi. 8, 12, 15. 3 Dan. vii. 8, 12, 15. v. 28, viii. 20. 4 Est. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20.
6 Xenoph. Cyroped. I. 1. c. 19. 7 Comment. in Dan. v.

Vol. II.
and extol Cyrus their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conquest, and from them the Greeks borrowed their relations. Besides, Cyrus alone was employed in the siege of Babylon, Darius being then absent, and the confederate army under his conduct formed the town, and put an end to the empire of Babylon. We may add, that as Darius did not reign at Babylon full two years, before the fame of this great conquest was spread abroad in distant countries, Cyrus was in the entire possession of the Babylonian empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed such extraordinary feats. But Josephus, who was better informed, tells us, that Darius with his ally Cyrus delivered the kingdom of Babylon. The same author adds, that this Darius was the son of Abyages, and that he was known to the Greeks by another name. Now if we ask the Greeks the name of Abyages's son, Xenophon will tell us, that he was called Gyazares. As for the name of Darius, it was preferred in the Daries or Statutes Daries, those famous pieces of gold, which for several ages were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin: for we are told, that these were coined not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius, the first king of the Medes and Persians that coined gold. But no Darius, more ancient than the father of Xerxes, is anywhere found to have reigned, except this Darius, whom the scripture calls Darius the Mede.

After the reduction of Babylon, Gyazares in concert with Cyrus settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces, which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three pre dotyczące, who were constantly to reside at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispathe the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these Daniel was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deferred, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience; so that he now served the kings of Babylon full fifty-five years in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it roused no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who conspiring against him would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved by that providence, which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with Darius to issue out a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. Now, as Daniel was laying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accosted, and, as the laws of the Medes were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised, as we may well imagine, Daniel's reputation, both with Darius and Cyrus. This probably happened, while Cyrus was in Syria; for after having settled his affairs at Babylon, and furnished the garrisons with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the Red Sea and the confines of Ethiopia. In the mean time Darius remained at Babylon, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was Daniel cast into the lions den. The Daries were, perhaps, coined much about the same time out of the gold of the conquered Lydians (B). But in the reign of Cyrus we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors Gyazares and Abyages. We have hitherto supposed the former to be Daniel's Darius the Mede, and Nabonadius his Belshazzar; but as both these points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we dismiss the history of Media.

* Joseph, Antiq. l. 12, c. 13.  
† Xenoph. ubi supra.  
‡ Suidas in Αραπηρος, Παρσηρος, in Αραπηρος, Scholiast. in Arithoph. Eecl. p. 741, 742.  
§ Dan. vi. 1.  
‖ Dan. vi. 4, 5, 6.  
& feqq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. Bernard (67), as the proportion of gold and silver now stands weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; with us, to have been worth twenty-five shillings; but as it had very little alloy, it may be reckoned,  

(67) De ponder. & mensur. antiqu. p. 171.
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2 Media we must beg leave to offer some thing in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

CHAP.

As the whole history of Babylon, from the death of Nebuchadnezzar to the reduction of that city by Cyrus, is overcraft, we may say, with an imperceptible muff, writers are strangely puzzled to find out Daniel's Belshazzar among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his Darius the Mede, who was in that kingdom succeeded by Cyrus. In order, then, to reconcile with all the perplexities connected with the period in which so perplexed a subject we shall, first, produce what we read in the prophecies of Daniel relating to the last kings of Babylon; 2. what is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is confirmed by the concurrence of all the profane historians; and lastly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they allege to support them.

The prophet Daniel, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, relates the visions he had in the first and third year of Belshazzar, the last king of that prince in the following manner (68). Belshazzar, having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem. He drank in them, and his wife, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace. The king who saw the appearance of the hand was greatly frightened, and commanded his wife and men and foot-servants to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, Daniel was immediately sent for at the requisition of the king, who, on the alarm which this novelty had occasioned, entered the banquetting-room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of Daniel in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for profaning the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words are Mene Mene Tekel Uplovad, which he thus interprets: Mene, God has numbered thy kingdom and finisht it. Tekel, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: Peres, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

addition that night Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was slain, and that Darius the Medes took the kingdom, being about three and twofour years old. The former prophet informs us next (69), what order Daniel displayed in the realm, and relates the visions which he had in the first year of Darius and in the third of Cyrus. It is manifest, that Daniel speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of Babylon; namely, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were? a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile Daniel and the profane historians.

Most historians agree, that Nebuchadnezzar, after a reign of twenty-three years, for forty-five if we compare the two years which he reigned jointly with his father, was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, who reigned two compleat years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by Nergalzar. Nergalzar reigned four years, and was succeeded by his son Labon, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. Nabonidus came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and the empire overturned.

"Tis manifest, that Belshazzar was one of the four last kings of Babylon, and that he was of the race of Nebuchadnezzar, sire in scripture he is often called his son; but authors are strangely puzzled to determine which of the four bears this name in Daniel's prophecies.

Sir John Mason takes Belshazzar to be Evil-merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where Nebuchadnezzar is often called the father of Belshazzar, and Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that Evil-merodach and Belshazzar must be one and the same person. Bereftus (70) represents Evil-merodach as a lewd and wicked prince; Belshazzar in scripture bears the same character. Bereftus tells us, that Evil-merodach was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that Belshazzar was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However, and assuming these proofs may seem and confian to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet Daniel, after relating what happened to Belshazzar at his grand entertainment, adds, and in that night Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom. From these words it plain, that immediately after the death of Belshazzar the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians (73). But this did not happen upon the death of Evil-merodach, who was succeeded, according to Bereftus and Megalghenes, (74) and Sir John Mason himself, by Nergalzar, his father's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir John Mason, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose Nergalzar to be Darius the Mede, and the Medo-Persian empire to have begun in him; a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of Darius the Mede.

To which we have alleged out of Daniel against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet Jeremiah, who foretold (75), that all nations should serve him, (Nebuchadnezzar) and his son, and his son's son; and that the kingdom was transferred from his son to the Medes and Persians, as Sir John Mason would have it, it is manifest, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What the author urges in defence of his opinion, viz. that Belshazzar was, according to scripture, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, is very true not in a literal, but more extensive, sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor father; and that this is the file of the scripture, nobody, who is conversant in the holy books, can be ignorant.

To Evil-Merodach first succeeded, as we have hinted above, Nergalzar, who had married Nebuchadnezzer's daughter. We have nor yet met with any author that ever attempted to be Daniel's Belshazzar. He reigned four years, and left a son, named Laboniarch, according to Bereftus, or Laboniarchus, as Megalghenes is pleased to call him (76). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a most violent turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects after he had reigned only nine months (77). And this is the reason why he is omitted in Ptolemy's canon, where the whole year is

is reckoned to the king, that begins it, how soon
newer he dies after. If a king died but a few days
after the beginning of the month Tishri, he
was said to have reigned that whole year; and if
any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to
the beginning of the first month, his name was
omitted from the canon. And this was the case of Lab-
orousarched.

But to return to our subject: Joseph Scaliger (78)
will have Laborosarched to be Daniel's Belhazzar,
and founds his opinion on the following arguments,
that he was the last of Nebuchadnezzar's race; that
he was killed by conspirators, and that his
kingdom devolved to Nabonadius or Lab. nitus, who
was, according to Megalphines (79), a stranger to
the family of Nabalnezar. He adds a circum-
cumstance, that Daniel, which he takes to be of great
weight; the queen advised Belhazzar to consult
Daniel; this queen, says he, could not be the king's
wife; for his wives and concubines were at the feast;
'twas therefore the queen mother, which fülls
the scripture, and is the character of Nebuchadnezzar's
daughter, who was regent. If we object against this
hypothetical, that Laborosarched reigned only nine
months, whereas it is plain from Daniel, that Bel-
haazzar reigned from one year; we are answer'd, that
the scripture alludes to Laborosarched or Belhazzar.
He introduces the whole four years which the canon accounts to Neriigifar or Nassuclafar, as he is there called,
because Neriigifar reigned only as his guardian.
And here is, that he is the year of the first and third
years of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel (80); though Labor-
orousarched reigned only more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two unfor-
mountable difficulties, which, in few words, are;
1. That it supposes Nabonadius to be the Mede, a fiction which we shall plainly prove from holy writ to be false; 2. That it falsifies the prophecy of Jeremiah, promising the empire to Nebuchadnezzar, to his son, and his son's son; which is
the scripture, and in the Chronicles (81) it is said, that Neb-
uchadnezzar and his children or offspring reigned at
Babylon till the kingdom of Persia; 3. That the
nations of the east were to serve Nebuchadnezzar,
and his son, and his son's son, according to the pro-
phesy of Jeremiah (83); he must therefore have
been succeeded by a son and a son's son to the crown of
Babylon. Evil merodach was his son, and of all
the kings that reigned after him none but Belhazzar
could be his son's son. For Neriigifar was only his daughter's husband, and Laborosarched his
daughter's son. 4. Herodotus tells us, that the last
king of Babylon was son to the celebrated queen
Nicerita; and it is plain, that by Evil-merodach alone
she could have a son, who was son's son to Nebu-
chadnezzar. This is eminently the case with the
prophecy, which Megalphines (88) relates Nebuchad-
nezzar to have uttered before his death, foretell-
ing to the Babylonians, that a great calamity was to
perturb thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir John
Marshall, which we were inclined to embrace in
our history of Babylon.

Authors are no less divided in their opinions touching
Daniel's Darius the Mede, than they are about his
Belhazzar. Sir John Marshall (84), as we have
hinted above, stands up for Neriigifar; and still
will have the Mede-Persian empire to have begun in him.
He supposes Neriigifar to have been a Mede, for no
other reason, but because he married the sister of
Evil-merodach, who's mother was a Mede. We are
unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this
supposition, or rather conjecture; but should be
glad to know how, even in this supposition, the king-
dom of Babylon was upon the death of Belhazzar;
that is, according to him of Evil-merodach, divided
and given empire to the Medes and Persians. It is not more
certain that Belhazzar was killed, than that his
kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians; and
this happened immediately upon the death of that
king, as the words of the prophet plainly intinuate;
the kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and
Persians. In that night was Belhazzar king of the
Chaldean's Plain, and Darius the Median took the
kingdom (85). Besides, it is very plain from the
whole sixth chapter of Daniel, that Darius the Mede
was king of the Medes and Persians. He introduc-
Medes and Persians, which would have been very
impolitic in him, had he usurped the crown without
any friends or troops to rely on, except the Bab-
ylonians, whose laws he trod under foot and annul-
ed. And this, if we suppoze him to have been a
Mede, was his cafe; for he introduced the laws of
the Medes and Persians, as was at war with both na-
tions, and had no friends to depend upon except his
own subjects, who naturally must have hated him,
without any further provocation, as a stranger,
as an usurper, and as the murderer of their lawful
prince. To this we may add, that if the Medo-
Persian empire began in Neriigifar, Cyrus did not
destroy the Babylonian but the Medo-Persian empire,
which no author ever altered. But the strongest
proof, in our opinion, that can be produced against
this system, and that all of Scaliger, who takes
Nabonadius to be Darius the Mede, is, that Darius
is said to have taken his empire into 120 provinces
(86), which must be understood, not of the Bab-
ylonian, which was never so extensive, but of the
Persian empire. The latter on the conquest of
Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India by Da-
arius Hyrgodes, his other provinces added to its
former number. Whence in the time of that he
confined of 127 provinces. If this was the division
of the Persian empire in her time, the former must
necessarily have been of the fame empire. For if
the Persians ever extended to Ethiopia contained
127 provinces, the empire of Babylon alone,
which was hardly the seventh part of the other,
could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be
doubted, but Darius the Mede was lord not of the
Babylonian only, but of the Persian empire, which
cannot be said either of Neriigifar or Nabonadius.
Scaliger (87) maintains Nabonadius to be Daniel's
Darius, adding, that he was by nation a Mede, and
no ways related to Nebuchadnezzar, but freely
elected king by the Babylonians, who put
Laborosarched to death. That he was freely elected
he endeavours to prove from the words of the
prophecy of Daniel, saying, that he took the kingdom,
which imply a free election, and not a foreordained
invasion. That he was elected in the last days, he
adduces from the prophecy, which Megalphines (88) relates Nebuchad-
nezzar to have uttered before his death, foretell-
ing to the Babylonians, that a great calamity was to

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fall on them, which neither Belus, nor queen Belitis could avert; that a Persian mule should bring the Babylonians under subjection, being affixed by a Mede. The Persian mule is Cyrus, he being the son of a Persian and a Mede, who affixed him, was Nabonidas. If we ask Scagler how Nabonidas can be said to have affixed Cyrus in destroying the city and kingdom of Babylon, since he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquished and killed; his answer is, that Nabonidas forwarded the destruction of Babylon by being conquered and slain, and that in this sense (if in this there be any sense) he concurred with Cyrus in the overturning of the Babylonian empire. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore Isaac Vossius well observes (89), that the arguments produced by Scagler to support this wild opinion are unworthy of Scagler. As to his other proof, viz. that Darius took the kingdom; they imply, we own, no violence to Cyrus properly being said to have formed the town or won it by dint of arms; feeing this was performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, though with the joint forces of the Medes and Persians. The city being thus reduced by the troops of Darius and by Cyrus his general, Darius, without any farther opposition, took possession of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the Babylonian lords after murdering their king flew to some other place a Mede or Medean throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the division of the kingdom of Babylon between the Medes and Persians foretold by Daniel be meant of a king, who, though by nation a Mede, should be elected by the Babylonians, and peaceably and willingly joined to the Mede, and driven out by the Persians. This division must have been made after the empire was destroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this system contradicts not only the prophecy of Daniel, touching the division of the empire between the Babylonians and Medes, but that likewise of Jeremiah, where it is said, that all nations should serve him (Nebuchadnezzar) and his son, and his son’s son. If Nabonidas was Darius, who of all the kings of Babylon was Nebuchadnezzar’ son’s son? Since Scagler could not answer this question, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in displacing and solving, in the best manner he could, several difficulties that others might have started against his account; it is a case that the arguments of Berossus; but here he even falsifies him, for Diodorus tells us (90), that Nabonidas was a Babylonian. ‘Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus displaced the authority of history; whereon Macrobius, in his Commentary, is inclined to make him a Babylonian. But how can this be reconciled with scripture, where he is ever called Darius the Mede? He has a face for this fore too: the word Median or Mede is not, says he, the national, as the whole tribe of chaldeans and interpreters, single well-meaning men, have imagined, but the surname of Darius. But it is very unlucky for Josephus that Daniel should begin his 6th chapter thus: In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans. He was therefore by nation a Mede, and the son of a king of Media. But our writer seems to have been more conversant in the mangled fragments of Berossus, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may on that very account, richly deserve the compliments which in an ironic manner he belows on such as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we must forgive him, scorn and contradiction were the c叠加ial ingredients of his character; and had he not in most things been fin-

gular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a Scagler, nor the son of Julius.

The difficulties we have objected against the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for Darius the Mede elsewhere. They suppose, that there was one Darius a Mede king of Persia before Cambyses the father of Cyrus, who was also, according to Xenophon, king of Persia. This conjecture is supported by a passage of Ephesius (91), where that poet feebly supposes the first king of Persia there mentioned to have been a Mede, who with a powerful army took Sura. Next to him he places his son, whom he does not name, and in the third place Cyrus, whom he calls a happy prince. This Darius who took Sura and waged war with the Babylonians, they will have to be Darius the Mede, son of Ahaseurus. This opinion is liable to one strong objection, namely, that Darius the grandfather of Cyrus could not be alive when Babylon was taken, Cyrus himself being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we shall flew in the history of Persia, sixty-one years old.

Other writers, following Xenophon’s account, maintain Gyases, the son of Gyges and uncle of Cyrus, to be Darius the Mede. He succeeded Alcyoneus in the kingdom of Media, as Cyrus did Cambyses in that of Persia. These two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of Babylon and took the city. Gyases was supposed to rule one year at Babylon, and at his death Cyrus became master of the whole empire. This hypothesis is entirely agreeable to scripture, and free from those anachronistic difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by those who reject it. Their only exception to the hypothesis is, that neither Herodotus, Berosus, nor Megasthenes knew of any such king as Darius or Gyases Hecataeus, that Herodotus tells us in express words, that Abyges was succeeded by his grandson Cyrus. This immediate succession of Gyges to his grandson is vouched by Diodorus, Jahn, Strabo, Ptolemy, Arrianus, Ctesias, AREXIs, Herun, Aristobulus, Eiphias, Hierocles, Jahn, &c. but where, as they have only copied after Herodotus, add no new weight to the tale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give Abyges no other successor than Cyrus, but Xenophon (92) does, and likewise Josephus (93), forking herein Berosus, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not clash with scripture. Xenophon calls Alcyoneus the successor of Berosus, and Josephus gives him the name of Dari- sus, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of Babylon, being in that enterprise affixed by his nephew Cyrus (94), which is consonant both to scripture and chronology; whereon our author, it appears, perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we suppose, that Abyges had no other successor for Cyrus, we must allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, as the fiddlers for Herodotus tell us, before the siege of Niniveh, that is, seventy-three years before the destruction of Babylon. He must have been at that time at least thirty years old, and two years younger he reigned at Babylon. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to believe, that Abyges lived so long an age, we should willingly follow Herodotus, having a great respect for that venerable, and by some much injured, historian. His fiddle is no ways repugnant to scripture, where nothing is said of Darius the Mede, which may not be as well applied to Abyges himself as to his son.

A modern writer (95), to propofledge in favour of Herodotus, as not to call in question any thing that author afferts, endeavors to support his fide with a passage from the 13th chap. v. 6th of Daniel, where

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where it is said, And king Alyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received the kingdom. His quotation is right according to the vulgar, which is the standard in the church of Rome; but in our bibles these words are to be found in the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon xi. 1. However, we need not lay any stress upon this, seeing the same writer, who started the difficulty, has been so kind as to suggest an answer to it. For a few lines after he latches out into great commendations of father Tournemine, calling him a critic of great penetration, the most learned and honest man that ever was bred in his society; and these encomiums he bestows on that very honest Jewfuit for discovering, that the names of Cyaxares, Alyages, and Ahur- saurus were common to all the kings of Media (p. 96).

'Tis very surprising that he should appropriate the name of Alyages to the grandfather of Cyrus, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in Media. If

F. Tournemine's discovery be true, as perhaps it may, we should be glad to know, why the son of Aly- ages might not have borne that name as well as his father; and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned passage refers to the father and not to the son? This writer makes a confidence of forsaking Herodotus in the number of his kings, and at the same time does not scruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their respective reigns; for he makes Cyaxares reign fifty-four years, whereas Herodotus allows him only a reign of forty; wherein he is not least at variance with himself, after laying such stress on the authority of Her- odotus, than he is with that ancient historian. Thus much we have thought necessary to say on a subject, which has occasioned endless disputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have trespassed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compass of one note what has supplied matter for whole volumes.

(96) See F. Tournemine dissertat. 10. ad calcem Menabii.

CHAP. XI.

History of Persia.

SECT. I.

The Description of Persia.

In several names.

This country, like many others, has in different ages been called by different names, and those to some the setting of these may seem a dry and useless talk, yet, inasmuch as the subsequent history will be much enlightened thereby, we shall give the reader as distinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The most ancient name of Persia is that by which it is called by Moses, viz. Elam, or, as some write it, Epal, from Elam the son of Shem, the father of its first inhabitants. Herodotus calls its inhabitants Cepheus, and in very ancient times the people of this country are said to have called themselves Artei, and the region wherein they dwelt Arteis. In the books of Daniel, Esdras, &c. we find it called Paras, agreeable to the Persian denomination of Pars, or Parâs, whereby the proper Perse is called at this time. It has been also called Achemenida and Arsacida from its ancient kings. In oriental writers it is called Aqtem, Iran, and Shabihan, that is the dominions of the Shite. It is true, that, strictly speaking, Achemenida and Iran are not general names of Persia, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call Persia, they may well enough be comprehended in this list of names (A).

The


(A) The best commentators agree, that the Ela- mine, who were the ancestors of the Persians, were descended from Elam the son of Shem, and thus much has been altered and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in our foregoing

volume (1). It is likewise allowed, that the most ancient among the inspired writers constantly intend Persia when they speak of Elam and the kingdom of Elam. Thus, not to detain the reader with un-

necessary

(1) p. 162.
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Chap. 11.

a The extent of Peræa has been in different ages as various as its names. Ptolomy Extent.

bound it thus: on the north it has Media, on the east the Carmania, on the west Sasia, on the south the 500 English miles, in breadth, from Pontus to the mouth of the river Indus, about 2800 miles, in length, from the mouth of the river Indus to the Persian Gulf, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river Oxus to the Persian Gulf, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the north by the Caphian sea, the river Oxus, and Mount Caucaurus; on the east by the river Indus and the dominions of the great Mogul; as is commonly called; on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean, and on the west by the dominions of the Grand-Signior (B).

necessary quotations, when the prophet Jeremiah, after pronouncing many judgments against this country, adds these words, But it shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, faith Jeremiah (2). He is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the Persians by Cyrus, who subdued the Babylonians, as he had before subdued the Persians, and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word Ἑλλας, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or signification. Some are for deriving it from the Arabic word ḥālis, which signifies a horse. Some Persians historians say, that Ἑλλας is a proper name, and that the Peræan so called was the son of Ahasan, i.e. Archas the son of Shem; others make this Pharis the son of Japheth, &c. Some again, who would be nearer the truth, say, that he was the son of Elam the son of Shem (4). It is evident, however, that the Greek word Ἑλλας and the Latin word Peræa are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by Persians. The name Aræa is thought to be derived from the Persian word Aræ or Art, which signifies strong, brave, magnificent, intimating, that the people of this country were such in their dispositions (5). Ahræma, or Ehræma, as (6) Stephanus Byzantius informs us, was only a part of Peræa, (7) Strabo says nearly the same thing, yet sometimes it is used to signify Peræa in general, as particularly by (8) Herodotus, who makes Cambyses in an order call his people Ahræma, i.e. in the Armenian language Persia, as I have said, is called Shahberta, c.e. the country of the Shah. (9) The Ahræmae gave the name of Ahra-mæian to Peræa, because in their language Ᾱhræ signifies stranger or rather Barbarians, which, with great modesty, they impose on every one among their nation but themselves; hence the distinction of Arab and Ahræ, which signifies as much as the Towns of the Arabs and the Towns of the Barbarians. The Persians themselves call their country generally Iran, and Iran, for this reason, they say, for deriving the name of king Ecbatana their empire contained all the countries between the Caphian sea and China. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, and called that on the other side of the river Oxus Persia, and this Iran i.e. on the other side of the river, and on this side of the river, whence in the ancient Persians histories Key Iran and Key Turan signified the kingdom of Persia and the kingdom of Tartary; at this day the Persians monarch is called Peræus, and the grand vizier of Peræa, Iran Medery, i.e. the sole of Peræa (10). (B) The ingenious Sir John Chartier tells us, that Peræa is the greatest empire in the world, if we consider it according to the geographical descriptions of the Persians, for they represent its ancient boundaries to have been the following: the Black sea, the Red sea, the Caphian sea, and the Persian gulf, and also these fix rivers, almost as well known as seas, Euphrates, Araxis, Tigre, Phasis, Oxus, and Indus. It is indeed impossible to mark precisely the limits of this vast kingdom, for it is not with it as with the dominions of some petty sovereigns, where a rivulet or a pillar marks the frontier. Peræa has on every side a space of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited, though the soil is in some places the belt in the world; the Persians look on it as a mark of true grandeur, the leaving such defects between great empires, it hinders, fay they, all disputes about limits, and they serve like walls to separate an empire from another. The views and rivers before mentioned are far from being the boundaries of Peræa at this day, yet the late Peræan writers describe always their empire within the limits, for they insist, that of right all the countries try between them belong to them, and that they want only such another brave king as Abbas the great to refoke them to the possession of their ancient territory. Peræa, in the late I saw it, taking it from Groees, i.e. from the 45th deg. of latitude to the 80th, and from the river Indus to the mountains of Ararat, that is from the 77th to the 112th degree of longitude, contains in length about 550 Persia leagues which makes 730 French leagues, and in breadth about 450 (11). We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description on which he has given us of this country, and since it must be allowed, that his long stay there, his great parts, and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for such a work. If we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

The History of the Medes.

Book I.

In our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was exceedingly divided, we shall begin with Gedrosia, mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, and other writers. It is bounded on the west by Carmania, on the north by Drangiana and Arachosia, on the east by Guzarata, a province of India, on the south by the Indian ocean; it is called at present Makran, of old it was inhabited by the Arbites, Parsees, Mafornae, and the Rhamnae; its principal cities were Paphs, Arbis, and Cunus, Ptolemy places here a celebrated Emperium call'd the haven of women. The principal modern cities are Firink, Chalak, and the port of Guadal (C).

Carmania, divided into Carmania the defart, and Carmania proper. Carmania the defart is bounded on the north by Persea, on the west by Persia, on the east by Drangiana, on the south by Carmania proper. Carmania proper hath on the south the Indian ocean, on the west Persia and the gulph of Persia, on the east Geodosia, and on the north Carmania the defart; it contains the modern provinces of Chirman and Ormas, it was inhabited by the Isathaca, Zuthe, Gedanapyleis, Cameolosiis, Agantes, Rubidians, Arses, Charadees, Pasargadees, Armazetes; its ancient cities were Carmanae, now Khirman, full a considerable place, and famous for the scymetars made there, Alexandria built by Alexander the great, Armuzza or Armuzum, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of Ormus. The modern places of note before Khirman, Bermazet, Kubelek, and Injiquez, which gives name to a cape or promontory hooting into the Perian gulph (D).

Drangiana

1 See note C. n Voyages de Tavernier, liv. iv. ch. 1. a Ptol. lib. vi. c. 6. b Lib. vi. c. 8. Tavern. Voy. i. iv. c. 1.

(C) As it would have dwelled this chapter to an excelsior bulk, if we had in the text been very particular as to the respective provinces of Persia, so to avoid obscurity on the other hand, we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province in these notes, as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent, and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

The Gedrosia be constantly so called by Strabo and Ptolemy, yet (12) Dioscoridès Siculus, (13) Suidas, and some manuscripts of (14) Antonius Marcellus read Gedroia. The extent of this province cannot easily be as signified, because though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well settled, yet how to fix these at this distance of time is a question not readily resolved. Mount Bucius, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them springs the celebrated river Aris or Haraik, which after a short course runs into the Indian ocean, at the mouth of this river stood the Empepe of Ptolemy (15), mentioned also by Arist in his Indian history, who tells us, that this place was so called, because originally it was governed by women (16). The soil of this province was sandy and bare, very deficient in water, and the air interminably hot, so that Alexander's army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding they built their huts with aromaticick wood, and met with spices in profusion (17). Ptolemy mentions two illar dependant on this province Asfa and Cudane (18), Arrian, speaking of the voyage of Nearcias, tells us he observed several oases (19).

(D) Though other authors speak of Carmania in general, yet Ptolemy makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of Arabia Felix between Carmania Dyfarta and Carmania the proper. As to the first, it is very truly said (20) Ptolemy calls it, having in it several towns or villages, its soil an unprofitable land, its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner dellite of water (21). Carmania proper is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the Indus mentioned by (22) Pliny and (23) Ptolemy, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people anciently inhabited it, living in no very desirable condition, if the description given us by Pompianus Mela be true. "The Carmaniotes, say he, have neither fruits, nor raiment, nor house, nor cattle, but cover themselves with skins of flocks, and feeding on them for the most part, the bodies as well as heads of these people are covered with hair (24)." It may be, Pompianus Mela confounds the Darmiotes with a nation inhabiting the sea coast, and called from their manner of living Isthophysges, mentioned both by (25) Strabo and (26) Arrian, and who are said not only to have fed on fish but to have gathered nuts with their bones. (27) "Indians mentions the Carmanians a better charater. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing fleece which bear the finest wool in the world, they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new grass from January to May their fleece falls off of itself, and leaves the fleece quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarse hairs, and the fine only remains. The Gauri have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which consists chiefly in girdles much esteemed through the east, and in a sort of fortune, which are as soft and almost as fine as silk (28)." Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, island of Ormus, in compas about 20 miles, rocky and full of rocks, barren and desolate of all necessitie except salt, of which there is much plenty and so hard, that it is said houres are built thereof. The soil is composed of a white sand, formerly imported into Europe. Water (except such as after rains was preserved in cisterns) it had none, so that even in its moist flourishing times, when it was the emporium of

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Chap. II.

Drangiana, bounded on the south by Gedrosia, on the east by Arachosia, on the north by Aria, on the west by Carmania the defarit, derived its name, as fome say, from the river Drangius, and is called by the modern Persians Sigirjan; it was antiently peopled by the Dardane and the Baritt. Ptolemy reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of them were Ariospa and Prophrana; the towns now of note are Sisam, suppofed by fome to be the ancient city laft mentioned, Chalak, and Ketis. Some writers speak of a certain valley in this province called Malber, improved by a prince called Aladin into a paradise, though for very bad purpofes (E).

Arachosia, bounded on the west by Drangiana, on the north by Paropamisus, on the Arachosia, by the river Indus, on the south by Gedrosia, its modern name is not so well settled, inhabited of old by the Arimapis, who were afterwards called Margites, and then Enerjetes, the Syri, Repeuta, and Eorte. Ptolemy reckons up thirteen cities in this province, we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; Arachatous built on a lake of the fame name by the famous Semiramis, who is said to have given it the name of Cophe; Alexandria built by Alexander the great, and by fome thought to be the fame with the city now called Cabul; Araca suppofed to have derived its name from fome of the kings of Partibia called Arabces. As to modern towns of note we know of none (E).

Paropamisus

£ Pro. lib. vi. c. xix. * Tavern. Voy. ubi sup. * See note E. 'See note F. of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their virtues, but the very water they used, from the continent, the air in summer excessively fultry, fo that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At prefent there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its ancient kingdom, and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall not fay much of their proper place. (E) (30) Strabo, Ptolemy (31), and Pliny (32), agree in calling this province Drangiana; Dioscorus calls it Drangina, and its inhabitants Drangii (33).

A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called Bagous, runs through this country, and from that hence some have fancied that there ran a river called Drangius, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where highly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in ancient or modern times, chiefly at prefent from its being reported to have been the birth-place of Ruyfan, the celebrated hero of Oriental romances. As to the valley of Malber, or paradise of Afghanistan, as mentioned above, its history runs thus: A petty prince of this name cafted this valley to be adorned in the most elegant manner he could contrive, furnishing it especially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich fport pilots, and delicate provisions, he then flut up its entrance with a fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exprefl to perform, for it seems he was but a kind of freebooter, he chofe out fome strong, able, young man, and having fuffed him to drink to fuch a degree as to loose his knives, he taught him while in that condition to be removed into this paradise of his, where having fuffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled asleep in the fame manner, and fo fent home to his own house, then, under promife of fending him for ever to dwell in that Paradise, the joys of which he had faddled, Aladin quickecly drew the deluded watch to perpetrat the moft barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(F) It is on the authority of Monf. Tavonir* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to fand within the limits of the ancient Arachosia; however, fince some writers are poftive, that the ancient city of Arachatis or rather Arachata, for it is a Greek appellation, was feen where now stands the city of Cabul (36), we will take this opportunity of infcribing a defcription of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as ufeful, and more needful of becoming more entertaining to our readers, than a dry recital of the confufions of geography relating to this province. "Cabul is a large city, the metropolis of the province of Cabulisfani, or Caboul, and hath two castles well fortfid, and becaufe feveral kings have held their courts there, and many princes fucceffively have had in it their portion, there are a great many palaces in it; it lies in 33 deg. of north latitude. The mountains about it produce plenty of Mirafbonia, which from thence the caftlemen call Canouf, or real forts of drug, and honeysuckles, which with the iron mines in them yield a great profit to the inhabitants. In this town they maintain a great trade with Tartary, the country of the Ubeckis, and the Iolyis. The Ubecks alone fell yearly in this town above forty thoufand hufles, and the Perjians bring hither great numbers of sheep, and other cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho' the country about it is but cold and barren, unfels in fome places which are thattered by the mountains, being rendered little the more frefh by the two rivers that water it, and have their source in the mountains. From this province especially come the large cunes, of which they make halberds and lance; and they have many grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and province are most of them Turficks, and therefore in all towns and villages are many pagous. They reckon the months by the moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feast called Hadow, which lasts two days, at the full moon in February. At this feast they are all clothed in a dark red, and after they have prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they fpend the rest of the time in dancing by companies in the streets,
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Paropamisus, bounded on the west by Aria, on the north by Bactria, on the east by the dominions of the Mogul, on the south by Arachosia. It is called by the moderns Sabelfan, including likewise the kingdom of Candahar; its ancient inhabitants were the Balite, Arisophili, Ambante, Partite and Parsi; its chief cities Ortopanam and Naulibis; modern cities there are many of great note, such as Bokhabat, Afix, Buh, strengthened with one of the finest castles in Persia, and adorned with various beautiful Karavaneras (G).

Bactria. 2 Bactriana, or Bactria, now called Chorasan, anciently inhabited by the Salatarae, Zaraspe, Chematri, Coni, Aitacace, Tombyzi, Thacare, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note; it was in the first ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too; in latter times it boath a thousand cities, the chief of these were Bactra and Ebusmi, both royal cities as Ptolomy tells us; Maracanda and Charracharta; its modern cities of note are also numerous, but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

Margiana. Margiana, bounded on the west by Hyrcania, on the north by Tarary, on the south by Aria, and on the west by Bactria; now called Escharab, it is divided from Tarary by the river Oxus, called by the modern Persians Ruth-khan-kuran, inhabited anciently by the Derbice, the Massagetae, who came hither from Scytheia; the Parini, the Debe, and the Tapurni. Among its cities of note we may reckon Alexandria, one of the six cities of that name in Persia; afterwards called Chorasan, and after that Seleucia, Nigeer, or rather Nyce, mentioned by Ptolemy; as to modern places of note, Escharab, Amud, and Damak, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

Hyrcania. Hyrcania, bounded on the north by the Caspian sea, called sometimes Mare Hyrcanum from its washing the shore of this province, on the west by Media, on the south by Parthia, and on the east by Margiana; now called Mazandran, and including likewise the province of Kylan. The old inhabitants of this country were the Maxeare, Abrahami, and Choridi; its ancient capital was called Hyrcania, as well as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it is still called Hyrcan. Tabrarez, a very strong place at the time Arsaces began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are Farsabad, a port seated on a navigable arm of the Caspian sea, a fine city much frequented by Russian merchants, as being not above a fortnight’s fall from Afracan; Girum, Telarapet, Ciaran, and Eseref, are also places of note in this country (I).

**Aria,**

**Tavern. Voy. ubi supr.**

**Tavern. Voy. Tom. I. i. iii. p. 394.**

**Tavern. Voy. I. iv. c. 1.**

**Clav. ubi supr.**

**Proli. vi. c. 9.**

**Sir Thomas Herbert’s Travels in Harris’s collect. Vol. I. p. 434.**

(H) The name of this province is differently written, generally Paropamisus, sometimes Parapamisit, and again Paropamits (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain Paropamisus, which is a part of Taurus, but was falsely called Caeacus, to flatter Alexander the Great, that it might be said of him that he had passed that famous ridge of mountains; a strange vanity! and fear to be credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of the highest credit (39). The foil of this country in general is not over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overshadowing the valleys so as to render them cool and pleasant. We have observed above, that the kingdom of Candahar is included within the ancient province of Paropamis; this little realm hath for its capital a city of the same name, which is looked upon to be the bolth fortified place in all this part of Asia; as the caravans passed constantly through it in going to, or coming from.

(37) Tavern. in Harris’s collect. Vol. II. p. 355.


India, it is consequently a place rich and full of trade. Tournier has given us an ample description of it at the end of the 2nd book of his travels; as to the history of its princes and of the various fortunes it has fulfilled, we shall give a readie, a distinct view of them, when we have deduced the Persian history as low as to the erection of this little kingdom.

(l) Many ancient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleasant rivers, amongst the rest with the noble river Oxus, so famous in Greek and Latin authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. Antiochus Soter was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even included the whole plain, watered by the rivers Aria and Margue, with a wall 1500 stadia in circuit (40). Escharab and its present capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggers and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).
other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interspersed with meadows and patural lands, and in some places with the least pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb. As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will be better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of Holstein's embassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir John Gardin, in speaking of their Perσia.

"It must be confessed by all those who have travelled in those parts, that the province of Ki1an is a terrestrial paradise, abounding in silk, oil, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, and all sorts of other fruits; the vines (which spread themselves with their branches up the trees) being very excellent here, being as big in compass as a man in the waist. The Ca1fian sea, as well as the rivers belonging to this province, afford to the inhabitants prodigious quantities of fish, as their plentiful grounds furnish them with great store of cattle, and their forests with venison and wild fowl, which makes me admire, how John de Laet, who follows the footsteps of Johannes de Persia, could affect with so much credulity, that Mazzanderan (part of the province of Ki1an) lies under so cold a climate, that the fruits there fail, and however they are fertile, though the empire there is none that challenge prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that of Mazzanderan, which, beyond all dispute, produces the best fruits of all Persia. Schoe Abas was so well convinced of this point, that he gave the preference in his opinion to this province before any other of its dominions, which made him lay the foundation of the city of Ferabah, his ordinary residence where he died (43).

(43) It is not easy to determine, whether the Persians and Arians were the same province, or, if they were not, how they differed. To discuss perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what, to the best geographers, has appeared inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text we have followed Perσion exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow, that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the feverish fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river Arians, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the thirty-five cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other ancient writer, and of those the greatest part are found altogether in a paragraph of Ammianus Marcellinus (46). It was annually a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with deferts, heaths, and forests near the mountains; indeed, where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so long a body as to keep fourteen or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The ancient city of Aria, now known by the name of Heri or Herat, is still large and populous. Sir Thomas Herbert in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a governor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roves, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in Europe. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of Europe, but even those that come from the rest of the Perσian looms (47)."
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a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattel fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, Chacau, Ceni, Catin, &c., (L).

Prefis

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of Parthia by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province, more accurately, than in this general description of the Persians, as we are prepared for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the Persians, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it. "The Parthians (says he) are also derived from the Scythians: for they were exiles of that country, as their very name testifies. For in the Scythian language banzaid mew are called Parthi

ani. Those, in like manner with the Bactrians, being by civil wars driven out of Scythia, first fixed themselves by stealth in the country adjoining to Hyrcania, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of Parthia: in ancient time, Polbijus, says, that it was called Hecatomenpols, because all the roads through the Parthian dominion centered here (43). Curtius says it was built by the Greeks, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It should seem that Hecatomenpols is rather a Greek interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but what then was this in the Parthian language was perhaps too subtile to say, I have not been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed in the text of Spauwson's being founded on the ruins of the ancient Hecatomenpols, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds wherein to found this opinion (43). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided prefer the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are Heider, and Neumot-Olabi. The inhabitants of these places, noting their advantageous position, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, flew notwithstanding, on all public occasions, a warm and invertebrate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe this enmity to another cause, they say, that Heider and Neumot-Olabi are the names of two princes who reigned anciently over Perzis, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have inhabited different parts, not only in Spauwson, but in the several towns of Persis. Such as say this, however, own, that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct cities, called by them Decedebte and Joubar. It may be wondered, that magistrates in the course of ages have not found these natural feuds. An enquiry into the cause would be impertinent here, if the answer were not short, they have been always indulged by the magistrates, because these quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous Timur-Bez, corruptly called Tamerlan, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that Spauwson owes the glory it now possesses to the great Shah Abbas, who, after the conquest of the kingdoms of Lar and Osmans, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1628 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of Persia (54). Among Europeans it is usually written Hjapbon, or Ijapbon, it is also called Spbub, Spachen, Afgaban, Izaun, and Spabun; the Nubian geographer calls it Ijadbon, and the Persians themselves pronounce it, as it is written in the text. "Spauwson, which orthographers have taken the freedom to introduce, since the badi writers are divided on this head. Taunvrier and Sir John Chardin write it Ijapbon, Dr Gemelli Careri, Spabun, M. le Brun, Spabon, but all these authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as settled by us. The etymology of the word is no less difficult to be discovered, than the manner in which it should be wrote. Before the time of Tamerlane it is said to have been called Spabon, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, Spi, in the old Persian language, signifying an army, and the plural thereof Spiuban confusely signifying armies. Another derivation there is from an Arab word signifying a battle (54): but it is a time to quit these dry enquiries for something more useful, as well as more entertaining, face in the description of the capital of this province. It would be easy to omit an exact account of its capital, especially since we are furnished with such noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of Sir Thomas Herbert, the Hoflein ambassadors, M. Traversier, Sir John Chardin, Dr Gemelli Careri, M. le Brun, and others. Chardin, Spauwson, which orthographers have so cumbrously described thereof adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as easy to form a just idea of it as of London or Paris. All who seek of Spauwson are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation thereof: it stands in a plain spacious and fertile, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer and the piercing winds of winter, and through this plain run several rivers which water Spauwson, and contribute alike to ornament and life. The flint of these is the river Zenderoud, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its rise in the mountains of Jevahat, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of water: but Ahas the great cut a canal, whereby he brought a brilliant stream of fresh water to fall into this river, that it might benefit him of the water more, and by this contrivance the Zenderoud is as broad at Spauwson in the spring, as the Seine is at Paris in the winter. The united waters of these rivers are sweet, pleasurable, and wholesome, almost beyond comparison, as indeed are all the springs which are found in the gardens, longing to the houses of Spauwson. The river brought by Ahas into the Zenderoud is called Mahmond, and we shall have occasion to speak both of it and the Zenderoud in another

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Another place. Befides there are two other firearms, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of Abor unge: One of these is very considerable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally speaking equal, for which reason several attempts have been made to bring it to the Zenderoud. King Tahmas in the XVth century expended an extensive sum of money on a project of this fort without success. Abas the great did the same thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, discourage Abas the second from twice endeavouring at the same thing, in which likewise failing, he looked on a third attempt impracticable (55). The extent of Spahavan is very great, not less perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth, poorly built, and so covered with housetops and hallowed with gardens, that in many places it is difficult to know under what thing they are covered; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is shared by most of the great towns in Persia, whence many travellers have been led to represent them as not walled at all. The Persians themselves are wont to say, Spahavan Neppe gekon, i.e. Spahavan is half the world. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there seen wider accounts than those which different authors give us of the number of souls in this city. Sir Thomas Herbert says, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir John Chardin says, that some have reckoned eleven-hundred thousand (57); but he is himself of opinion that it is not more populous than London. At a distance the city is not easily distinguished, for the streets being many of them adorned with plantains, and every house having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The streets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them: the first is that being built on common sewers, there are frequently broke up which are very dangerous, causing the rivers of it to be; the second is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the streets, which are as dangerous; the third arises from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their housetops; the latter is indeed in some measure qualified by the dryness of the air, and its being quite removed by the peasants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir John Chardin reckons eight gates; four looking to the east and south, and four to the west and north, viz., the gate of Hafjin Alam, the gate of Jauhur, the gate of Atlas, the gate of Seidabadem, the Davourse dentis that is the imperial gate, the gate of Lomdon, the gate of Yekhi, and the gate Deredecht; he reckons also fix piastrons. Other authors say there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entering Spahavan at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the name of the streets, and even of the housetops of this vast city may satisfy his curiosity; it is very entertaining to be surrounded by perceiving Chardin's elegant description, which is at once pLENT and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious

description, we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in Spahavan, as they are described by that gentleman and Mr. Browne. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has fix gates, the frist called Ali-Kope, that is the gate of Ali. The second Hoomam Kope, or the gate of the Serail, the third Muragag Kope, the gate of the kitchen; the fourth Gaunag Kope, or the garden gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapers and eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth Ghajarana Kope, or the gate of the taxmen, because those belonging to his Majesty have apartments near it. The sixth Gomna Kope, or the gate of the secretary. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two first gates first mentioned. The Meydan, which is the principal ornament of this great city. It is a grand market 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south. On the fourth side stands the royal palace, and on the north the Na- chrome-choon a building wherein are placed the king's band of mufle. On one side of the Mey-don stands the mosque called Sjig-lof-allae, so called from one of their doctors who is reputed a saint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue flowers encrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal. On the west side of the Mey-don stands the royal mosque extremely magnificent. At some distance from thence appears the gate called Ali-Kope, and between these stands a range of fine buildings inclosed with porticoes full of columns. The middle space is taken up in a great measure with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening to make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this space the mountains are clothed with flocks, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize consists generally in a cup of gold, or something of the same value, and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of Nowset, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery or theatre called Talat, very curiously adorned on the gate of Ali. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal street of Spahavan, called Chooa-lang, i.e. four-gardens, one of the grandest ornaments of this city; the streets therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof in every respect convenient and pleasant. From thence runs the bridge of Allardering, which, over the river Zender- wadeh, 550 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones; it has three and thirty arches, some of which are founded on the land, which is firm and stable; and through these, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety-three niches upon this bridge,
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Benaran, Lar, Bender-abadis, or Gembroon, and Bender-engas, are reckoned the chief (M).

Sufiana

bridge, some flut, some open, and the corners there- of are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain diliances, which afford the finest prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit-trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of the pleasures of life. There are other bridges, mosques, and publick structures, which deserve to be particularized, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with observing, that the citadel or fortres, called by the Persians Tabareshek, is a very mean structure and three thousand canes, and its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though there are some cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made use of, from an apprehension that the walls would fall if those pieces were discharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in ancient authority, and therefore the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as present, state (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; some emeralds indeed are found there, but of no great value. On the coast of the Persian gulf the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than Palms; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though by small rivers, than most of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly against Alexander the Great by Arishabarzani, a noble Persian, who gave a check to that conqueror's progress, and immobilized his name by this gallant performance in the service of his country. As to Perspolitis, the ancient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the Persians, Diodesrus Sciusalu informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time that it was subdued by Alexander. Whose followers took it by storm put all the men to the sword, riled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver. Alexander referring to himself the treasures in the citadel, which had been amassing there from the time of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thousand talents of gold; in fine, the spoil was so great, that the neighbouring countries were contrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burden, besides all they had conceiv'd such a dislike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was resolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the fame writer observes, Perspolitis, once so famous for its magnificence, became no les remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is Schiras, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from Spausbawon to the Indies: "From thence (i.e. the-minor) to Schiras is an hard day's journey, especially when the snow lies on the ground, and the road is like a sea. The city of Schiras, which may have to be the ancient Corysopolis, the metropolis of the province of Persia, lies in 78 deg. 15 miles long, and 29 deg. 36 miles latitude. It is seated in a plain, about 300 feet above the sea, extending from north to south, and about five leagues from east to west. Upon the finding of a lake of salt water about four leagues in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and is famous for the belt wines in Per- sia. The city itself has nothing handsome in it; for it looks more like a ruined town than a city. It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houses are built of earth dried in the sun, and whitened over with lime; so that when they are well moistened with rain, they often fall down of them- selves. There are no fountains, other than those built, and some of the mosques, are of brick; and the belt of these mosques, which is called Jao- Shiryaque, is kept in something better repair than ordinary out of a particular devotion; but there is a street which goes in a straight line quite through the city, which is only the college which, as the guides say, has some fine fountains, with the aid of the rain, and at certain fesives are several great gates which have neat little houses built upon them, from which is a pleasant prospect into the gardens planted with rows of cypris. The streets of this city are often over two furlongs wide, and marked off by trees and canals, and basons of water very pleasant. There are a great many fair covered bazaars with great thops well furnished with all sorts of Indian and Turkish commodities, and every commodity has its particular bazaar. In the college there are professors who have salaries for teaching theology, philosophy, and medicine, and it is said it has sometimes 500 students in it. There are in this city three or four great baths, where they make great and small bottles to transport the forees waters made in this city, as also several other vessels to put their pickled fruits in, which they send in great quantities into India, Banzore, Batavazia, and other places. They make their glass of a white stone almost as hard as marble, which they set in great vases and candelabrums, and sell it by them parts to all the men of the sword, riled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver. After Alexander's conquest of the Persians, the city of Schiras was taken by storm and all the inhabitants were exterminated, and the city fell into ruins. However, it is now inhabited by natives, who have made it a place of trade and commerce. The hills to this part of the city are vineyards, belonging to several persons, two leagues long and one broad, which is watered with the river Bendecir, which is sometimes dry in summer, because it never rains there but in spring and autumn. The wines made here are made in large vats, and are of great quality. The soil about this city is very good and produces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that
Chap. 11.

The History of the Persians.

a. Sufiana, bounded on the north by Assyria, on the west by Chaldea, on the east by Persia, by Persia, on the south by the Persian gulf, believed by some to have been the land of Havilah, called now Chafshan, inhabited by the nations following, viz. the Elymae and Caesare. Its capital the famous city of Susa, the 1 Susiana of the Scriptures, and Tarsiana, called by Ammianus Tarsiana "a. The modern towns of note are Abyazan, Sehbar, Ram-boromus (N). There are two other provinces of the Persian empire, which need not be Cordisian and described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are Schirwan.

b. Cordisian, containing the ancient Assyria, and 2 Schirvan, of old styled Media. A famous modern traveller a tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of Persia upwards of five hundred considerable places, walled towns, and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwise than varied, according to the situation of the several parts thereof, some being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the same time of the year, which cannot be fyleed wonderfull, since it is natural, and occasioned by causes for which we can easily account. The air, where-ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is sometimes moist: In order to give the reader a just notion of this, it will be necessary to observe, that all along the coast of the Persian gulf, from west to east, to the very mouth of the river Indus, the heat is for four months so excessive, that even those who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houses, and retire to the mountains, so that such as travel in these parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expense of their own health. The extreme heat of the air as it renders it insupportable, so it makes it also prodigiously unwholsome, strangers frequently falling sick there, and sickness declining. The eastern provinces of Persia, from the river Indus to the borders of Tarsia, are subject to great heats, but not quite so unwholsome as on the coasts of the Indian ocean and Persian gulf: but in the northern provinces, on the coast of the Caspian sea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moisture, as unwholsome as on the coast before-mentioned. From October to May there is no country in the world more pleasant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither strength nor spirits, though about the end of April.


that we have, and oranges and lemons in abundance. They have vast quantities of roots, from which they drawwith such plenty of sweet water, that they furnish all the Indes with it. They have a great deal of corn, but give much to their horses to be eaten in the blade, because they say that for want of water it would never come to maturity. There is a great deal of opium made at Schirwan, for round about the town are large fields sown with white poppies; they have also store of capers which they send into all parts (62).

(59) Sufiana, as described by Ptolemy, includes the province called Elymais (53), which Pliny also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been distinguished from it by the river Eulaus (54). It received its name from Sufa, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the Persian kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at Echatawa, Pliny says, that it was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes (65); but this is not to be taken literally, for certain it is, that the Darius he speaks of could only be his rekker, since Sutras positively affirms, that it was built by Titusania the father of Memnon (66); and Hordubus long before this, that Sufa was called the city of Memnon (67). Too difficult to determine whether in pleasantries, magnificence, or strength this noble city excelled; seated it was, as sacred and prophanous authors agree, on the river Ulai or Eulaus, called also the Chosaphis, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, for the Eulaus and the Chosaphis, meeting at Sufa, run together in one stream, and are afterwards divided sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, Diodorus affirms, that Alexander, when he fixed the palace here, took pains to make the noblest mansion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the Persian empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of in any emergency, and not be invaded away at the will of the prince. Alexander took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of Shafarum being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where of old stood Sufa (69).

April they abandon their houses, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. In a word, the unhealthiness of this place is so notorious, that when a person is sent to the government of Ghilan, it is generally looked on as a kind of disgrace, and the people at Spaubasun are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered to deserve such a commission. But this motifness in the air is only in these parts; the rest of Persia enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be seen, the sky being so clear that the stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which halts till within an hour of morning, which gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerably warm garment. The feasons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happens thus; the winter, beginning in November and lasting till March, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost, and snow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never descending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the west of Spaubasun, on which the snow lies for eight months of the year. It is said, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if crufhcd feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of March to that of May, there are brisk winds, from May to September, the air is serene and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in September and November the winds blow as in spring. It is to be observed, that in summer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short, which, joined to the coolness of the nights, renders the heat of the day fo moderate, that this feason is as supportable at Spaubasun as at Paris. The great dryness of its air exempts Persia from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail, and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there is no vapour sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light flashing through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the Gulph, as all travellers agree (O).

(O) As to the air and climate of Persia, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir John Chardin, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers; the most effectual on the same subject. M. Tavernier and he both agree in reporting, that at Spaubasun it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to Kilaus (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have abode on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by Olearius is full found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the Hellenic ambassadors and their retinue crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not supposing that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at Gembrum, all authors are agreed about it. M. Tavernier says, that people often find themselves struck by a fouth wind in such a manner, that they cry, I burn, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. le Brun says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the feals of letters. At this time people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to M. le Brun and his company, had a well in which he tasted some part of the day. Among the inconveniences consequent from this malignant disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingardening in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author handled has therefore just reason to say, that a feverer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes, there are many people of worth and good feneke, who, for the sake of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here, and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

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A kind of natural Bastions or Ramparts to this vast region, and it is very likely contribut in other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these hills there is found a fort of mili neral salt, which is sold very cheap. As for particular mountains, we have already men tioned most of them, which defer to be remembered in our description of the sever provinces of Persia.

In respect to rivers, it has already been observed, that, except the Araxes, there is not Rivers. one navigable stream in all this country. There are indeed in moft of its provinces some little rivers which run from courtes and would be more considerable than they are, if through want of water the inhabitants were not forced to divert their streams, in a great measure arises the mighty difference between the productions of ancient and modern Persia. He affirms, that a Persian of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that, within the space of 24 years, no less than four thousand channels had been choaked up and loft in the territory of Taurus. As to the four thousand channels that were choaked up and lost, the northern provinces of the Persian empire ly on the Caspian lake or sea, of seas, the northern provinces of the Persian empire lye on the Caspian lake or sea, of

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ecu, which an ample description has been already given. On the south the Persian shore is washed by the Indian ocean, and by the waters of the Persian gulf, or gulf of Ballora, flowing out of the Indian ocean near the ille of Ormus, from the south-east to the north-west, having Persia on the east, and Arabia on the west, it runs as high as the ancient Chaldæa, where it receives the Euphrates and Tigris united in one stream, and very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amifs to take notice here, that the gulf is sometimes styled the red sea, as well as the gulf of Aten (P).

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(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in Persia, the reader need not be surprized that we say little of the several streams which water that country, one of them we shall have occasion to speak of under the head of natural rarities; but the river Araxes deferres to be farther considered on account of the mistakes which some writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occasioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers; Oltarixus gives us a very difficult account of this matter, which we shall therefore recite in his own words. * The 7th we crossed the famous river of Arax (Araxes) by the means of a bridge of boats near Taranit. Q. Curtius, speaking of this river, in two different passages, and in a different sense, has not a little puzzled the ancient historians and geographers, who indeed for the most part put it in the same province, but can't agree in the description of its course, for Q. Curtius in his fifth book puts it in Perseis, and says its course is to the south, whereas in his seventh book he makes it pass through Medea, and to differ ence in the Caspian sea. Strabo is no less dubi ous, and Ruderus, endeavouring to dissolve this kno to affront that the river Medias, before it is join ed with the Araxes, has its course to the south, and afterwards exonerates itself into the Caspian sea, it fallen into a great mistake; for how is it to be conceived, that the river should make its way through the vast mountain Taurus, which is so many leagues in breadth, and divided not only all Persia but even Asia itself, and so continue its current from Persepolis to the Caspian sea? The foundation of the whole mistake lay here, that there are two rivers which bear the name of Araxes in Persis, one in Medias, the other in Perseis, to the last, which waftes the walls of Persepolis, (now called Schiraz) Q. Curtius has left the right name of Araxes, but has taken the liberty to impose the name of Taranit upon the Tarsantes, which passes through Scythia, as he has given the name of Caucasia to the eastern branch of the mountain Taurus, but with what reason I am not able to determine. That which passes through Persia by the Persians called Bax-Emir, from a signal miracle there performed by Ali, and difembogues in the ocean in the Persian gulf, that which we speak of now keeps its ancient name, and rises out of the mountains of Armenia behind the great Ararat, and being joined by many other rivers, the chief of whereof are Karafa, Snik, Khuret, and Arpa, it turns its channel near Karafa into the country, and afterwards near Orthes is again to the plain of Makan. Its course is very slow, and after having received into its channel about twelve leagues about Taranit the river Cas or Cyrus (as large a river as itself, coming northward out of Georgia) it continues its course into the Caspian sea. This sufficiently refutes Pelops and those who follow his footsteps, who make the Araxes and the Cyrus fall by two different channels into the Caspian sea. Thus they would have Ctesipolis called Scamachis, which Magnus would infer from the degrees of latitude given by Pelops: But according to that supposition these two rivers must not be placed above, but below, the city towards the south, it being certain, that when we travelled in those parts, we found the confluence of those two rivers at 39 deg. 44 min. and the city of Scamachis at 40 deg. 30 min. which is 13 leagues thence and under another meridian. Neither is there any other river within 19 days journey of Scamachis on either side, which bears the least comparison in name or otherwise to this river (73).* We should not have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of conformity, as will appear in the subsquent history, where this account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto confounded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that M. Le Brun in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74). As to the Persian gulf, it

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After this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren; however, here and there, there are valleys fruitful and pleasanter enough. The earth in some places is sandy and stony, in others heavy and hard, but everywhere so dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not so much as grass. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however, very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the sun are so brisk and so drying, that the rain has not much effect. But where-ever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked, how this description suits with what we find recorded, in ancient authors, of the luxury and profusion of the Persians, such a demand is capable of various answers; for first, Persia is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, which must induce barrens in a country, where the soil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great measure produced this difference, the ancient kings of Persia were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the Medes, have been always proud, over-bearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the Persians or Gaurians, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the Persians, like other Medes, are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themselves the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall into their way, and, in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder, that fertility has enfluened, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with Quintus Curtius, Annius Marcellinus, and other such like authors. Sir John Chardin therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the Turks were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is, whereas if the Armenians or the Persians were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its ancient splendor. It must not, however, be imagined, that there subsists not at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. Media, Iberia, Hyrcania, and Babæa, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their Productions; as along the coasts of the Persian Gulf the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the Persians are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land, that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year, there being a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from Sennobsen, between two and three foot high, over which when once the snow rises, the Persians, who first brings the news to court, receives a considerable reward for his pains. But it is now time for us to speak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

Among the trees, the most common in Persia, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornel, called by the Arabs Seder, and by the Persians Conar, from whence probably came the Latin Cornus, and thence our cornel. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane hath a singular virtue against the plague, and all

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1 Voyag. tom. iii. p. 18.
2 Tavern. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. i. p. 414.

it is not to be questioned, that the ancients filled it, as well as the gulf of Arabia, the Red Sea; what renders it most remarkable now is its pearl-fishery, of which no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them in many places of the gulf, but especially about the islands of Baharim. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, Sir John Chardin says, more than a million in a year, the largest weigh generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fishermen are directed under great penalties to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is, however, believed they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by divers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fathom water, by the weight of a Stone fixed to their toes, pick up there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco; those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fish for pearls from the end of June to the end of September, besides the pearl-oysters, they catch others in this sea excellent for eating (76).

(75) Chardin. tom. iii. p. 31.
(76) Tavern. in Lavi's Collet. s. ii p. 314.
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a all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert, that there has been no contagion at Spawbason, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in streets and gardens. The tree which bears Gall-Nuts grows in several parts of Persia, but particularly in Kowfiran. The trees which produce Guns, Mustick, and Incefe, are found very commonly in most parts of Persia, that, however, which bears Incefe is particularly found in Carmania the desert, resembling in form a large Per-Tree. Tarpentine Trees, and Almond Trees, with the wild Chefians, are common. The tree which bears Manna is also frequent, but there are several forts of Manna in Persia, the best of a yellowish colour and of a large grain, it comes from Persia, the best of which is known by the name of Basteira. There is another fort called the Manna of Niphoun, which is a part of Basteira. There is another fort called the Manna of Niphoun, which is a part of Basteira. The herbs in Persia, especially such as are aromatic, exceed those of other countries, roots, le- 
drugs, and gums without danger of their creating any crudities in the stomach. Many of our Eu- 
ropean roots and legumes flourish here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in Europe, men were by religion restrained from eating flesh. As to drugs, Persia produces as many as any country in Asia; for, beside Manna, Cassia, Senna, the Nux vomica, are common in most provinces, gum ammoniac, called by the Persians Osfitce, is found in abundance on the confines of Parthia towards the South. Rhubarb grows commonly in Coraffan or the ancient Sagdia, but it is not so good as that which is brought from the country of the Tartars, between the Caspian-Sea and China, and for this reason they endeavour to confound both under the name of Rivenduch, i.e. rhubarb of China; in Coreaffan they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of Persia is esteemed the finest in the world, not only in respect to its beauty, but because its juice is by far stronger than the juice of the same plant elsewhere. The Persians call this juice Afsoun, from whence our word opium; the beet is made in the territory of Lingen six miles from Spawbason, though others prefer the Afsoun of Cazeron, which is towards the Persia, as being less apt to ingender crudities in the stomach. Tobacco grows all over Persia, especially about Hummadan, which is the ancient Sals, and in Courfion near the Persian gulph, which is esteemed the finest; the Persians themselves, however, who are great smokers, prefer what they call Tenbaco Inglez, or English tobacco to their own; but Sir John Chevlyn says, that this tobacco, which was no other than Brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite loft. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and especially about the Caspian Sea and in the neighbourhood of Hummadan, and is much esteemed. The plant called by the Persians Biliet, and supposed to be the Camphor plant, is common everywhere, but abounds most in Sagdiana: there are two forms of it the white and the black, the white is the least esteemed, because less strong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the east called King, and the Indians consume vast quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and sauces; it has by far the strongest odour of any thing hitherto discovered, since places where it has been kept will retain its scent for whole years, and the vessels in which it is transported to India are so thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its scent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both sorts is a great Persian commodity, the first is taken from embalmed bodies, such as are dried in the sands, the other is a precious gum which diffuses out of a rock; there are two mines or sources of it in Persia, the one in Carmania the desert in the country of Sar, which is the best, for it is certain; that there is no bruise, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty-four hours. The other mine is in Coraffan, the rocks from whence it diffuses belong to the king, and all that issues from thence is for his use, they are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers in the province, once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king’s treasure. It derives its name from the Persian word Moun, which signifies literally an unguent, the Hebrews and the Arabs make use of the same term; the Persians say, that the prophet Daniel taught them the use and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common all over Persia, but there is a tree which some-
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what resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, and of which many uses are made. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deserve to be mentioned here.

In speaking of the fruits of Persia, melons certainly claim the first place, they have above twenty forts of them here, the first are called Guermec, i.e. forced by heat, they are round and small, a spring fruit, insipid in the mouth, and consequently no way pleasant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiously wholesome, and on their first coming in eat for a fortnight or three weeks together twelve or thirteen pound weight each day, may an author of good credit and a physician says, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly anything else, and Sir John Chardin says, that they eat more of them in Spanbawun in a day than throughout all France in a month; the best grow about a little borough called Craguerde on the borders of Tartary, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to Spanbawun for the use of the king. The people in general are so fond of melons, that they take great pains to preserve them in certain reporitories during the last months of the year, and even till the guermec are again in season. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen forts in Persia, the most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are so large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preserve grapes all the winter in Persia, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preserve them from the birds. In Courdefian, and about Sultania where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raisins, which at once give them a fine taste and render them the more wholesome; the best grapes in the neighbourhood of Spanbawun are found on the vines belonging to the Gaurs or ancient Persians, for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating these trees, which for the same reason are neglected by the Mohammedan Persians. The dates of Persia are without comparison the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey, the best grow in Courdefian, Sifan, about Perspolis, and the shore of the Persian gulf, and particularly at Javor, a town in the road between Schiras and Lar; strangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwise it is apt to overheat the blood, sometimes to such a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any such inconvenience. Dates grow in clusters on the palm-tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top, it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our European fruits grow in great perfection here, their apricots are excellent and of several sorts, nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the peach is broke, and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a tawse the most delicious that can be imagined. The Persian pomegranates grow of several colours and in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound; to sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent; apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in Iberia, dates in Carmania, pomegranates about Schiras, oranges in Hyrcania, and all sorts of things in Bactria, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiously large, and sweet as apples; pitaflaces, almonds, hazels, filberts, and figs abound; and Sir John Chardin tells us, that at an entertainment near Spanbawun, he saw fifty several kinds of fruit provided for one deer.

The grain most common in Persia is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean, as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in some places, as in Courdefian, when their wheat-bread is exhausted before the return of harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the Armenians are settled, who make great use of the latter in Lent. Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in Persia, for this reason they are extremely careful in its cultivation, for after they have thrown it in the same manner with other grain, they in three months transplant

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a transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, viz. by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt.

b There are in Persia all the sorts of flowers which are to be found in Europe, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, exceptive heat being more destructive to them from frost: which is the reason that in India they have fewer than in Persia, and that those in Persia have more vivid and delightful colours than those either in India or in Europe. Hyrcania in this respect excels the rest of Persia, as much as Persia does other countries; there are there whole woods of oranges, the jeffamine single and double; and there all the flowers we have in Europe, with many we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called Mazenderan, is a perfect parterre; from September to the end of April the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroying them in succeeding months. Towards Media, and on the northern frontiers of Arabia, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemones, ranunculus, of the brightest red, all springing of themselves in other places, as in the neighbourhood of Spinabow the jonquils grow wild and subsist all the winter. To recite all that is paid on this subject, by such as have travelled through Persia, would not be agreeable to the design of this work; let us content ourselves therefore with adding, that roses of unknown beauty are frequent here, the bushes bearing often three different coloured roses on one branch, viz. yellow, yellow and black, red. Pietro della Valle, who reports that the Persians are wont to make use of art in dyeing their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumstance contradicted by Sir John Chevlin, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no skill, and that the nobility of Persia are so far from being curious in such things, that they take no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with fingling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smoke, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there (Q).

Metals of all sorts are frequently found in Persia, especially of late years; and since the reign of Abbas the Great, who was at immense pains to search them out, and make the best use of mines where ever they were discovered, iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver there are no mines open at present. As Persia is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the Persia dominions. In the country of Guandamon, near a town called Kervan, four leagues from Spinabow, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the fearcarty of wood its produce has never equaled its expense; and it is therefore become a proverb in Persia to signify an unlucky undertaking, that it is like the Mine of Kervan, where they lay out ten to receive nine. There were also silver mines in Kirman and Mazenderan, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in Hyrcania, in the northern Media, in Parthia, and in Babaria, but it is not so pliable as some European iron. The mines of iron are the most valuable of any in this country, and produce in such abundance, that

(Q.) Though there is scarce a province in Persia which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more elemeined than the wine of others; but Sihiria wine is universally allowed to be the very best in Persia, inomuch, that it is a common proverb there that to live happily one must eat the bread of Tend, and drink the wine of Sihiria. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the fun (77).

M. (77) Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.
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Book I.

that Sir John Chardin tells us, it is not worth above sixpence a pound; this fleece is so full of sulphur, that if you take of the filings thereof and cast them into the fire they make a report as loud as gunpowder; it is so fine and close, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glass, and as the Persians artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It is to be observed, that this fleece is quite a different metal from iron, which appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and destroyed; the Persians call both this and the fleece of the Indians fleec of Damascus, in order to distinguish it from European fleece. Copper is found in greatest quantity at Seray in the mountains of Mazenderan; there are also mines of it in Belviana, and towards Caffin; it is, however, poor and not fit for use, till mingled with either Swedish copper or copper of Japan; the lead mines are towards Kirman and Tezde. Minerals are also found in Persea in vast abundance, sulphur and salt-petre are taken out of the mountain of Damavend, which separates Hyrcania from Partibia. Salt is made here by nature without the least affission of art, as are also sulphur and allom; there are two forts of salt in Persea, that found on the earth and rock salt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, sometimes ten leagues in length, covered entirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or allom; in Media and at Skandeon the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as freestone, nay in Carmania the desert the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, freestone, and slate, are found in great plenty about Namidian; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red and black, and white; the best is found about Tuiris, it is transparent as crystal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that stone have questioned whether it be really a stone or not; in the neighboorhood of the same city they find azure, but it is not so good as that of Tartary. In Hyrcania, and especially in Mazenderan, the Petroleum or Naphtha is met with, of two sorts, black and white, but the richest mine in Persea is the Turquoise; there are two forts of this precious stone, one at Nichapour in Corajan, and the other in Phirous-Cou, or mount Phirous, between Hyrcania and Partibia, four leagues journey from the Caspian sea; this mountain derives its name from an ancient king of Persea, who subdued this country, and in whose time the mine was found; nay the very fowes carry his name also, for though we call them Turquoise, because they come from the true and proper Turkey, yet throughout the caft they are called Turquoise. They have of late years discovered another mine of the same sort of stones, but they are by no means so valuable, but are distinguished among us by the name of Turquoises of the new rock, to difference them from those taken out of the ancient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after selecting the most beautiful, sells the rest to merchants, the reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines is, because they are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out.*

The horses of Persea are the most beautiful in the caft, though they are not so much esteemed as those of Arabia; they are higher than our saddle horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the Mogul on one side, and of the grand-seignor on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asles, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in Persea, heavy and doltith as asles in other countries are, the other originally of an Arabian breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accouterments, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefits, affect to ride much on these Arabian asles, and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good as being worth at Speinbaton twenty-five pittoles. Camels are numerous in Persea, and so much in esteem that they are called Kekby-krouch-konion, i.e. the ships of the earth, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here would be improper.

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A proper, since they are rather more employed by the Arabsians than by the Persians; let us content ourselves therefore with observing, that the Persians make use of three forts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called Rectrare, i.e. the goar, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker, or flower, time, the camel moves brisker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little cat in Persia, their oxen are generally employed in ploughing and other forts of labour. Hogs are nowhere bred in Persia, if we except a province or two on the borders of the Capelian sea; theep and deer are very common throughout all Persia, and as to the former, Sir John Chardin affirms us, that he has seen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of pathurage. As to beasts of chase they are not so common here as in most of the countries of Europe, because it is generally speaking devoid of wood; but in Hyrcania where there are woods, deer of all forts and gazelles are found in great abundance; the gazelle is a creature common throughout the east, and so many of them have been brought into Europe that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before alligned with respect to beasts of chase, except in Hyrcania, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. so that the ancients spoke very truly of Hyrcania, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all Persia are there any wolves, but the chakal or jackal, a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the Hyena, is common everywhere, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to insects, the drynels of the air prevents our having much to say about them; there are, however, in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts or grass-hoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the Persian dominions they have large black scorpions, so venomous, that such as are stung by them die in a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog; they are said to attack and kill men sometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants Hazar-i. e. thousand feet, its whole body is stucced with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and smaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ears.

There are in Persia all the several forts of fowl which we have in Europe, but not Birds. in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the Armenians, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their greese. There are, however, vast numbers of pigeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses, they are most of them fixt times as large as any we have in Europe, they are built of brick and plastered on the outside, everything being disposed in the most convenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of Spahbend they reckon more than three thousand of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three-pence the dozen pound. The Persians call this manure Tizbalgos, i.e. enlucening; it is a great diversion among the lower sort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose they have pigeons fo taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called kefor-persoon, or pigeon-dealers, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body’s pigeons they can find. The patridge of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other forts

forts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces; the finging-birds here are of the same kind we have in Europe; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the spring; martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the same fize, called, by them Neura, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger fize, the most considerable is the Pelican, called by Persians Tocab, i. e. water-carrier, and also Mife, i. e. peep, because it is as large as one of those animals, its feathers white and soft like those of a goose, its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a sack or pouch, in which it prefers a quantity of water for moistening its food; it usually reeds this long beak on its back, which would otherwise inconvenience it very much. The Pelican lives chiefly upon fish, in taking of which it shows an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in such a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net; when it opens its throat, the passage is large enough for a lamb; it is called the water-carrier, because in Arabia and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its nest at a great distance from streams or wells, foreseeing, that there will be less danger of disturbance in such places, though this situation obliges the bird to fly sometimes two days journey for a supply of water for her young, which she brings in the sack before-mentioned; and hence the fables of the ancients of the pelican's tearing her breast open to feed her young. There are in Persia various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from Shiraz, there are some of the largest and finest in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of these birds, each of which has a perron to attend it. The Persian lords are likewise great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practice it much; for neither this, nor shooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in Persia.

We shall divide the fishes of Persia into fresh and salt water fish; as to the first, they are not very plenty, because there are no great rivers in Persia; however, there are of these three kinds, those of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the kereses or subterraneous passages; those in the lakes are carps and shadles; the river fish is chiefly d barbule, which is also the fort of fish commonly met with in the subterraneous channels; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the sun, but living altogether in these foul and cold streams. There is in the river at Spajbawm a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are esteemed a very delicious food. As to sea-fish, no country is better served; the Caspian sea, as we have seen before, contains very fine fish on one side, and the Persian gulf on the other is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world; they fish there twice a day, morning and evening, and such fish as are not sold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before fun-fet, are thrown back into the sea. There are taken on the coasts of this gulf a fort of fish, for which they have no particular name, its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious, and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its flesh will take salt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive; for which reason, whenever they intend to keep either fish or flesh, the inhabitants content themselves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of smoke.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of Persia, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of these we are to take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub or plant, called by the Arabians Chark, by the Persians Gulbad-Samur, i. e. the wind-poisoning flower; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the consistence of cream, sharp and four to the taffe; it is affirmed, that where-ev' er the wind blows over a member of these plants, as it does frequently in Germany the desert, thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that relishes it. There is likewise another shrub in the same country, viz. Carmania the desert, singularly noxious, it is called Kerothre, i. e. aëres poisson, because


c Chardin, tom. iii. p. 13.
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a cautic those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewife held to be poisonous, the trunk of this shrub is as large as one's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of fix feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round with a rising kind in the middle; it bears a fort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the Greeks called it Rosadamros, the Arabians as well as the Persians call it the sail or poison of an afs. Some are of opinion, that it is the Nertium of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in French Rosage. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the shore of the Persian gulf, afford the bezor, so much esteemed in medicine, but the very best is taken out of these creatures, in the province of Corassan or Baghria, and is thought to excel by far the bezor of Golvenda and the rest of the Indies. The naturalists in Persia give as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more mortificous and efficacious the bezor found in its proves. Corassan and the coasts of the Persian gulf are allowed to produce the dryest herbage in the world. It is no fable, what has been reported, as the formation of bezor, for there is generally found in the core of such balls, lumps, or stones as it grows in, a little nip of bramble or other bush, round which by a continual accesion of matter the ball of bezor is formed; this stone is here found in heap as well as in goats, but it is not in the Indies. Its very name is of oriental extrait, and should be wrote Pezaar, i. e. poison killing, for the eastern people held it heretofore to be one of the strongest counter-poisons; quacks, however, were, those who commended it most, and its virtues were rather taken upon trust, than supported by experience; the number of the credulous, however, being great, raised its price very high; but of late years it is much funk in its reputation, as well in the east as in Europe, it being now regarded chiefly as a sudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that clafs. The manner of giving it in Persia is thus, they either scrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a dose into a spoonful of role-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made use of to this end were, generally speaking, resin and Spanish wax. It may not be amifs to observe, that the polish which bezor stones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outside is of a rough greenish hue, just as the stone appears within. The Almelec, i. e. water of locust, or grasshoppers, is a bird which deserves to be described better perhaps than most others of which travellers have given us an account, because the facts relating to it are not only strange in themselves, but are also so well and so clearly attested that, however surprizing they may seem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locust, or grasshopper. It is of the size of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its head of a greyish colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the starlings are wont to do with us; but the thing which renders these feather birds wonderful is, that they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in Corassan, or Baghria, that wherever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved; for where-ever the occupants fall, the Armenian priests, who are provided with this water, bearing a quantity of it, and placed it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day, whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locusts, (R). The river Mamboudker, i. e. Mamboud the deaf, is a noble

* Chardin, ubi supra.  † Chardin, tom. iii. p. 19.  ‡ Chardin, tom. iii. p. 40.  

(T) Sir John Chardin has given us in his description of Persia the following passage from an ancient traveller in relation to his bird. "In Cyprus, about the time that the corn was ripe for the field, the earth produced such a quantity of caterpillars or locusts, that they obscured sometimes the splendor of the sun. Where-ever these came they burnt and eat up all; for this there was no remedy, since as fast as they were destroyed the earth produced more; God, however, raised them up a means for their deliverance, which happen'd thus. In Persia, near the city of Choræb, there is a fountain of water, which has a wonderful property of destroying these insects; for a pitcher full of this, being poured in the open air, without passing through house or vault, and being on a high place, certain birds which follow it, fly and cry after the men who carry it from the fountain, come to the place where it is fixed; these birds are red and black, and fly in great flocks together, like thistledown, the Turks and Persians call them Musafineons. These birds no sooner came to Cyprus, but they destroyed thelocusts..."
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a noble natural rarity. At some distance from Sanaibawan there is a range of rocks, a
plain and equal for a considerable space, except that here and there they have
openings, like the embrasures in batlions, through which the winds pass with
surprising velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble
bafon, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one a-
scends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it,
like a fleeting lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of un-
fathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they make a most amazing
roaie, whence this river derives its name. After its descent from the bafon before
mentioned, it rouls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river Zenderoud;
some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from
the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, diffuses through
the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before mentioned; and this they think is
in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is, how-
ever, lost after it joins the Zenderoud. Under a certain mountain called Tagte-
Rafian, so called from the ruins of a building on the summitt thereof, supposed to
have been erected by the giant Rafaan, there runs a grotto, which defers a place
among the natural rarities of Persia; from the top of this grotto there diffuses thro’
the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which, falling into proper
 receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the
plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of April, a great number of Indiens
assemble to celebrate a feast in honour of a hermit or saint of theirs, who lived
long here, and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of garments, garments who
have come hither to be cured of their idiozie, and have found relief. Not far from
hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and
shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other
publick buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if
the description of Persia did not already begin to swell under our hands; though
we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing,
which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let
d us now pass to the artificial rarities visible in Persia.

To begin then with the ancient Persepolis, the ruins of which still testify the
truth of what some ancient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its prosperity
it was one of the most august cities in the world; nay, when we consider all things,
when we compare the description of travellers one with another, when we consider
what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most
famed; we shall be induced to confess, that the Persepol empire in all its grandeur
could boast of nothing more glorious, nor hath left any thing more astonishing to
pottosity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a
full account of these noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reason-
able this chapter should go. We are writing a geographical description of Persia;
we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or
which may enable him to understand thoroughly that history which is to follow;
but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical description and this
history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care
that it be of a piece, and not refleme a flatue, with the body and arms of a man,
and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reason we think ourselves
obliged to contract the many diffusive accounts, which we have read of the ruins
of Persepolis, within reasonable compass, giving the reader such an account as may
enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the same
time how useful fine daughts and exact relations of them may be, towards settling
many points of ancient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius
of that nation, whose capital this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves in

b CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. 2.
1 LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 246.

" locuits with which the island was infected; but
" if the water be spilt or lost these creatures im-
" mediately disappear, which accident fell out when
" the Turks took this island, for one of them go-
" ing up into the fleape of Famagusta, and finding


" there a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it
" contained gold or silver, or some precious thing,
" broke it, and spilt what was therein, since which
" the Cyprusits have been as much tormented as ever
" by the locuits" (77).
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In order to give the reader some idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we shall here give him a concise account of such authors as have written on this subject, and whose descriptions we have perused. The first is Sir Thomas Herbert, who, in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himself saw at Persepolis, but of what has been said by ancient authors on that head. He has given us also a specimen of the characters which are to be seen in the ruins, belonging to those buildings, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of Le Brun. He has likewise inferred his conjectures concerning these antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we shall be obliged to mention most of these from M. Le Brun, it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader with them, we shall therefore confine ourselves to what we have already said concerning the remarks of our worthy countrymen, to the draught which he has left us of those ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be said to bear any resemblance to the accurate descriptions of Chardin and Le Brun (79).

Prior in point of time to Sir Thomas Herbert, but far inferior to him in every other respect, is the concise description of their remains of antiquity given by our countryman Mr. Geoffrey Ducker, who in 1658 prefixed this work. The main of what he says may be reduced to this, that Persepolis was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deferves any credit, or whether it was the slip of an inaudient author, as well as heedless observer, we presume not to determine (80). The same was observed by André de Mandelset, who observed these ruins in the year 1639; he left us a better description of them than most of the writers who went before him, and as there is something very plain and instructive in what he has left us on this subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has said with what we have recorded in the text.

The account of the ground-work, on which this vast structure was erected, is raised 22 geometrical feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of pillars of white marble of 93 steps, flat and broad that twelve horses may go up conveniently together abreast. Before you come to the main body of the structure itself you pass through a number, whereby, for the ruins of a wall and the remainder of two great gates, each of which has a horse head-molded and chiselled after a very antic manner, carved on one side, and on the other two creatures resembling a horse, except that they have wings on each side, and the head is crown'd, and like that of a lion. On the right side of the wall is a great black marble, the like of which are 8, and some one ell high without the bath, but whether they had been intended for the support of some large hill, or were built purely in the air is not to be distinguished at this time. The inscriptions, speaking of some unintelligible characters engraved on a square pillar, tells us, there were twelve horses, one of which was only three inches higher than the three others, that they carry not on in them the bulk of barbarism, but seem rather to have been brought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the vices of the inhabitants, who, without the least regard to so noble and so ancient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other stone, for the quicker dispatch of public and private buildings; he also deprecates the want of perfect draughts of those wonderful fragments of the ancient magnificence of Persia (81). Sir John Chardin in the year 1674 took a view of these ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inferred in the second volume of his travels; it is true, M. Le Brun, who stayed there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw than this gentleman had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description; but whoever, with calmer and candour, what Sir John Chardin, with great peripity and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact forer the descriptions of M. Le Brun may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir John Chardin are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars which the last author left unrecorded (82).

Dr. Gemelli Careri has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of Darius, and the ruins of the antient Persia; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of Italian authors. He has illustrated his narration with many curious antiquities, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. Le Brun, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these antient monuments of Persia, and has taken upwards of thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies, which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful, ornaments to his book. Befides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir John Chardin, wherein the antiquities of Persepolis are further explained (84). From these materials a very copious description and very curious observations might have been thrown together, especially when we consider, that, besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject, such as the most judicious doctor Hakluyt in his learned and useful book on the religion of the antient Persians, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning some of the enigmatical figures represented on the walls and pillars of these antient buildings (85); but it is our business to hint only where the curious and inquisitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to the monuments of the Persepolis, in our present inquiry, our description being confin'd to that part of the outlines of a regular dissertation on this head, far far what has been said above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, serve for a sufficient apology.

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The plain in which this famous city stood is one of the finest in Persia, and indeed in all the east; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in some places two, in others four, and in some places six; it is watered by the great river Araxes or Bendemir, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those in the mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain on the west side has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from industry or art. It consists of a range of mountains steep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a rising terrace in the middle, the summit of which is perfectly plain, and even all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and the terraces are so fine, and so even, that one would be tempted to think the whole work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly these banks were the very places where the advanced guards from Persepolis took post, and from which Alexander found it so difficult to dislodge them. One cannot from hence design the ruins of the city, because the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every side the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are speaking. On the west and on the north this city is defended in like manner, so that, considering the height and evenness of these banks, one may safely say, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place so fortified by nature. The ancient palace of the kings of Persia, called by the inhabitants Chil-minar, i.e., forty columns, is situated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this superb building are still standing on their sides, and it has the mountain on the east. The front is in extent six hundred paces from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west, quite to the rock, without any stair-case on that side; till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged stones, it is easy to get to the lowest part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet seven inches in height, and in some places not so high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in some places; but in most thirty quite to the mountain, where there is still a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds also before the west side several rocks, which rise towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It seems, as if there had been a stair-case antiently on this side, and some buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very smooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a platform of go0 paces, which extends itself in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three sides, runs a pavement of two stones joined together, which fill up a space eight foot broad; part of these stones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and fix in breadth, but the rest are smaller. The principal stair-case is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the south, being fix hundred paces distant from this, and only a hundred and sixty-five from that; this stair-case is composed of two flights of stairs, forty-two feet ascender at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the steps, which are as long as the stair-case is deep, within five inches; each of these steps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, so that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty-five on the north side, and fifty-three on the south, but the latter are not so whole as the former. Ascending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty-one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the stair-case; the stones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary size. The two flights of the stair-case are separated by the wall of the front, but in such a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and suits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

The upper part of this stair-case consists of 48 steps on one side, and on the other, some of which are damaged, notwithstanding they are cut in the rock. At the top

Ruins of two of the Portico's
The History of the Persians.

Chap. 11.

Top of thee there is another landing-place, between the flights of stairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great stones, some 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad (T). To speak now of what is to be seen when one is amongst thee ruins. The first thing that plates thee eye in a strait line, 42 feet distant from the front before thing, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the first is 14 feet 4 inches in breadth, and the second is five feet lower than the former, much damaged by time, and the second is sunk 5 feet lower than the former.

One sees in the front of each pilaster a large figure cut in bas-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind-feet, and 14 feet and a half high. The heads of these animals are entire destroyed, their breast and feet project from the pilaster, and their bodies are very much damaged. Thole of the first portico front towards the staircase, and thole of the second which have wings on their bodies towards the mountains. One sees above the pilasters certain characters, but they are so small and so high that one can make nothing of them. The first portico is still 30 feet high, and the second 28. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. In the present condition it is not easy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader who will find some account in the authors cited at the bottom of the page, and will judge for himself which is the most probable of those taken notice of there.

The two columns which stand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their bases they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the first portico, and 56 from the second, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between thee and the first pilaster, and those of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the last mentioned portico the fourth, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a space of about 130 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfurled.

Le Brun, ubi supr.

Chardin, ubi supr.

(T) In the description in our text we have adhered pretty closely to M. Le Brun, and that for many reasons; first, because his profession, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of describing minutely, and of defining exactly, all the wonders of Persepolis, than any former traveller, whom either business or curiosity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himself to consider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, the relics of Persian architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our last note, but Mon. Chardin's curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on that head. Fourthly, there is such an agreement, in material points at least, between his accounts and those of Chardin, notwithstanding his affecting on all occasions to quarrel with that gentleman's sentiments, that we did not think it at all necessary to trouble the reader with any particular of a dispute of no great importance in itself, and which, though prosecuted with warmth, seems to have commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the fame of these ruins has, for the two or three last centuries, been so great, and the desire of the Virtuosi to see exact plans of them so strong, that some have ventured to publish the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of Chaldæa. Such was the view of Persepolis sent into the world by Sebastian Serlio an Italian architect, in his account of noble buildings ancient and modern, since therein are found just forty columns adorned with chapiters of the Corinthian order, which no traveller ever had the happiness to see. In the voyages of John Struys, amongst a multitude of other strange things and temerarious affections, we have a wild description of these ruins, and a wild plan, said in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by guess; since it is not only quite different from the plans published by others, but contains also such palpable mistakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witness of these noble works, especially one who looked on them with a design of describing them to the rest of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that where-ever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them must be mistaken. M. Le Brun and Sir John Chardin vary very little in what they say, relating to the pillars yet standing at Persepolis; but there is a considerable difference on this head between what they say and what we find recorded in the writings of Figures, Herbert, and Thevenot, all of whom testify nearly to the same point. Time and the barbarity of the modern Persians, who make very little account of these ruins, have made considerable alterations since they were first described; and it is very probable, that whoever sees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly answerable to what is said of them by M. Le Brun (85).

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Book I.

unfitted, and therein differs from all the rest; it is about two feet in compass, and a
12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but
wild heaps of broken stones.

Turning from these porticoes to the south, one sees at the distance of 172 feet
another flight of stairs, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former,
one fronting towards the east, the other towards the west. The wall is still about six
feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almost entirely ruined. The extent is 83
feet of the east flight of stairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermost of them,
that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the stair-case are
still some foliages visible, with figures in bas-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger
than the life. The stair-case is half buried in earth, and one sees certain small
figures on the wall, on both sides. The west flight consists of 28 steps; the other,
having suffered more by the accession of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet
long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are these towards
the top broken, and two or three entirely destroyed, tho' cut out of the
rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the stair-case, there is another front,
whereon there are three rows of small figures, one above another; of the first row
there is nothing now to be seen but the parts below the girdle, the rest being de-
stroyed by time; the second row, which is the best preserved, has notwithstanding
received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but
their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which
there is still five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the first step
to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of
the same size with those before described. From what remains of the inner wall
it appears, that it also was covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case
there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner
turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same
height; returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before mentioned, we
meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an
interval of 67 feet to the west front. This side like the former is adorned with three
rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an as, with a horn in its forehead,
d between these animals and the figures there is a square space filled with characters,
of which the highest are quite effaced; the figures on this side are fairer than on the
other, the ground being less elevated; there are 25 steps here. The wall from the
stair-case westward extends quite to the front; but beyond the stair-case is unadorned
with figures.

At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs, there is an open
place, paved with very large stones between the stair-case and the first columns, which
are 22 feet and two inches distant; they stand in two rows, each consisting of six
columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight bales, and some broken
pieces of the rest. There are fix rows of columns 70 feet eight inches distant from
these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty-fix columns are 22 feet
two inches one from the other, as the former are. There are still seven of these intact,
with the bales of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Of those which are
left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third, and one of each
of the rest. One finds, between these columns and those before mentioned, several
large stones, heretofore part of some subterraneous building. Seventy feet eight
inches west from these columns, towards the front of the stair-case, there were 12
columns more disposed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The
bales of seven more are visible, and the ground is covered with ruins of those which
are decayed. One can discover, however, among the fragments of those ornaments,
which lie half interred, that each of these columns was surmounted by the figure of
a camel kneeling. To the south of these columns stands the edifice most elevated of
any in these ruins, but it is necessary for us to observe, that on the east there are
still discernible two rows of columns, consisting of six each, of which the bales of
four or five remain; all above the earth, and in all appearance those were opposed
to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing still towards
the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, consisting of porticoes, piazzas,
and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and these ruins take up a great
space; but to return to the edifice spoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the
columns, and the wall of its front is yet five feet seven inches high, composed of
Chap. xii. The History of the Persians.

a of one row of stones only, some of which are eight feet broad, extending from east to west 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain stone foundations still visible, but what end they served cannot be guessed, since there is no stair-case on this side. This wall is adorned with no sort of ornament as the rest are; there are, however, two stair-cases, one on the north, the other on the south side, but almost entirely ruin
b ed; on the landing-place, however, we shall discover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the rest of the building, which consists of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly square. On the north there are two porticoes, and

c open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the west, with two openings; and a third to the east, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of these openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the east. One door under the two porticoes on the north, on each side, the figure of a man; and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth, under one of these on the west side, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left hand, and strikes a poignard into the belly of the beast with his right; on the other side the figures are the same, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and flays the beast with his left. In the second portico there is the figure of a man holding a staff, resembling either a deer or a lion, by such a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon its back. Under the portico to the north, the same figures are visible, only the man combat here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; these figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both sides of the portico towards the south, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head resembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has some ensign of authority in her hand. Above these figures are three niches full of characters. On the pillars of the first portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of stairs last mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left; one of these only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the same kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two stones standing up, one on the right hand, the other on the left; of these, that towards the east is broken, the other towards the west is still 28 feet high. There is on the top of this stone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which seems to have been cut after the rest. The like inscriptions are seen in the niches or windows before-mentioned, each tablet consisting of one stone only. To the south there are two flights of stairs, the one to the east, the other to the west; but of these only five steps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which separates them, there are still visible the stone small figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground; a hundred feet from thence to the south, the last ruins are found of these edifices, consisting chiefly of porticoes and enclosed spaces of ground, and between these two heaps of ruins another stair-case, of which only seven steps are remaining, which serve, however, to show that anciently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the east-side of this stair-case there are certain subterraneous passages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid. M. Le Brun entered them, as several travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any discoveries, the passages being so narrow, and so dark, and moist, that it was impossible to go far. However, even these experiments are sufficient to show, that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, since from the structure of these vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or some such like purpose, than to be made the repositories of royal treasures. There would be no difficulty in following M. Le Brun's description much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures spoken of before; but for the reasons already given we shall stop here, that we may have room to say somewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning these remains of the magnificence of ancient times. The proceedings delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown

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unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations, which are still found in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this ancient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in Persia. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are what remain of the ancient palace of Persepolis, which they think strongly confirm'd by the description left us by ancient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion say, that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the Persian emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents; as to the inscriptions they are, generally speaking, illegible, by the Persees or ancient Persians themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple, and, if be, were some of the spoils of Egypt, brought thence by Cambyses's army, led by Smerdis the Magian. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old Median and Persian robes, as they are recorded in Greek writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of latter times; but whether Cyrus was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by Darius, and finished by Xerxes, is a point not exactly, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, it appears, that Cyrus terms probably for us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, of the course of the human bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this, and of the reasons which incline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the ancient Persians. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confuted, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This may, however, in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be; there is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative style of these eastern nations, and that in use amongst us; but as we shall elsewhere shew, even in respect to these ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eastern writers, as from the ardent memoirs of some of our western historians (V).

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as short a compass as possible, what ancient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of Persepolis; to begin then with what is said by Dio Chrysus the Stilus on this subject. He relates, that, after pulling the river Araxes, Alexander met with near 800 Greeks, most of them old men, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and some their noses, which had been cut off by the Persians of that district; which so incensed him, especially against the inhabitants of Persepolis, that he called, says our author, the Macedonians together and told them, "That Persepolis, the metropolis of Persia, of all the cities of Asia, had done most mischief to the Grecians, and therefore he gave it up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the king's palace. This was the richest city of any under the sun, and for many ages all the whatever houses were full of all sorts of wealth, and whatever was deifiable. The Macedonians, therefore, forcing into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man's goods and estate, amongst which was abundance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments of all sorts. In this place was hurried away here and there vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiery. And thus the royal feast of the Persians, once famous throughout the world, was now exposed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom. For, though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the Macedonians was insatiable still thievish after more. And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one another with drawn swords, and many, who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value, they divided with their swords, and each took a share; others in rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold upon a thing that was in dispute. The soldiers ravished the women, as they were in their houses and rich attire, and then followed them for slaves. So that by how much Perses excelled all the other cities in glory and worldly felicity, by as much more was the meagre of their misery and calamity. Then Alexander-feasted upon all the treasures in the citadel, which was a vast quantity of gold and silver of the public revenues, that were being kept up, and deposited there from the time of Cyrus, the first king of Persia, to that day. For there was found an hundred and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of silver. Part of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered another part of it to be treasured up at Sogdiana. For this purpose, he ordered, that a multitude of mules, both for draught and carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-faddles should be brought out of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Sogdiana, and with these he conveyed all the treasures to the several places he had appointed. For, by reason of his great hatred to the inhabitants, he resolved not to trust them with anything, but utterly to ruin and destroy Persepolis: Of whose palace in regard of its fabulous structure, we conceive it will not be improper if we pry something. This fabulously fabric or citadel was surrounded with a triple wall.
At two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains in the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by several names; sometimes they style it Kabrešon-Gauron, i.e. the sepulchres of the Goths; sometimes Nech Rukhan, the pillars of Rukhan; and sometimes Shule-Rukhan, i.e. the throne of Rukhan. This Rukhan, as we have observed before, is the Hercules of the caull, or rather the Anubis, for the stories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our buffaloes, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better polish than marble; it is levelled by art, its sides are perfectly perpendicular, so that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures represented in bas-relief, with great skill and beauty.

The history of this, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents a combat between two knights, mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right-hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right-hand; at the foot of each of their horses lies a man grovelling on the ground. All these figures, as well of horses as of men, are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we trust tradition and the Perisan poets, it is thus to be understood; they say, that one of these cavaliers was Rukhan or Rukhan, the son of Sat the white, the son of Sun, the son of Narman, king of the Indies; the second Rukhan or Rukhan, the son of Tabavner, king of Persia; these two princes are said to be engaged in long and bloody wars, and at last to have agreed to determine their quarrels by the manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one excelled a ring of iron in his right-hand with the other laid hold of, it being previously agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, should be esteemed the victor, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it; they say too, that the king of Persia, who is the person represented by the figure, having a long band, vanquished the king of the Indies in this engagement. Besides this ring and mace, these combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the sides of their horses, which it is to be supposed they let fly at each other in the same manner as perfons sometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are represented as of a less stature than in that before described, viz. not above seven feet high; there is a person represented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked sabre with both his hands; he is said

"would burn the palace, and to the glory and renown of Persia might be said to be brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women.

"This spreading abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men, (who commonly take little use of women when drink is in their heads) presently

"one cries out, Come on, bring us fire-brands, and

"so incites the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety the Persians had committed in deifying the flames of the temples of the Greats. At this

"others wish joy let up a shout, but said, that if

"brave an exploit belonged only to Alexander to perform. The king shuddered at these words expressed to his motion, upon which as many as were present left their caps and leaped from the table, and said, that they would now celebrate a victorious festival to Bacchus. Hereupon multitudes of firebrands were presently got together, and all the women that played upon musical instruments, which were at the feast, were called for, and then the king withacus, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this whore, Thaïs, who next after the king, threw the first fire-brand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest, and all, in that short time, the whole city burned by the violence of the fire was consumed to ashes (87). We have transcribed this long passage to avoid a multitude of quotations, since several authors have either copied Diodorus, or the authors made use of by him. Plateeh, in his life of Alexander, gives us an account of this translation, little different from that which we have just

(87) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 7.
The History of the Persians.  

Book I.

faid to be the same king of the Indes before-mentioned, because his bonnet and a beard resemble those of the figure so called in the former piece; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the shoulders downwards, perhaps to signify that they are prisoners; behind him, there are three other men in the same position, who seem to be making signs to the five over against them. As to this representation it is impossible to say any thing with certainty, since we are furnished with no lights by ancient writers, and the traditions of the modern Persians on such subjects are little to be depended on; though to say the truth, the common people in Persia are rather more modell'd than elsewhere, for when they are asked about the meaning of these figures, they generally say, God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they relate to the ancient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At a hundred and twenty paces distance from this figure, one finds the first tomb, but before one comes thicker, one sees here and there on the mountains several tablets, which seem to have been designed for such representations as have been before described; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfinished. One sees before this first tomb the representation of a combat between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little as of that of the former. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence another, and at the distance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the last. There are two inscriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of Persepolis. There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and sound, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themselves much on destroying images. We shall not detain the reader any longer on obfuscating a subject, since our deficiencies, however prolix, would never afford him the fame idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inferred in their travels by Chardin and Le Brun.

Befides, should we run into a long disquisition on the conjectures, which have been or may be made in relation to these leporelles, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the elucidation of the reader. On the whole therefore, we shall content ourselves with saying, that these stupendous monuments


full seen; indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of Thoas than Diodorus does, whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whether Thoas had any concern therein or no. Arius Elyx, that Alexander hirst at Ptolemais on the money which had been laid up there by Croesus, and then adds, the royal palace of the Persian emperors he burn'd, much against the will of Parmicus, who interceded him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his valor, but that he would thereby disoblige the Attians, and render them less benevolent to him, for they would then suppose that he would not keep Aisia in his possession, but abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid waste. To which Alexander made answer, that he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries his country had received by the Persians, who, when they arrived with their army in Greece, fled from Athens, burnt their temples, and committed many other barbarous devastations there. But this, in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politic action in Alexander, and was no revenge upon the Persians at all [8]. Strabo speaks very concisely on this subject, his words are these, Alexander destroyed the temple of Persepolis in revenge of the injuries done the Greeks, whole cities and temples the Persians had formerly destroyed with fire and sword [87]. Curtius has nothing singular upon this head, except the following observation. The city of Persepolis was fo

far from being rebuilt, that unless the river Araxes ran near it, there had not been the least sign left to have gueussed where it stood; that it was first aed twenty fadia from the banks of this river, the inhabitants rather believe than know with any certainty [90]. In this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken; for first, he is the only author who says that Persepolis was ruined. Diodorus says indeed that it was plundered; but as to burning and destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace; besides, after the death of Alexander, he informs us, that Antigonus, taking five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at Ecbatana, marched into Persia, and after twenty days arrived at its capital Persepolis [91]. Arius also speaks of this city as still standing after the dissolution of the palace; and, if we may believe the author of the book of Maccabees, it continued a great and noble city. What he says on this subject, from our translation. " About this time, came Antiochus with ditionhorn out of the country of Persia. For he had entered the city called Persopolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city, where, the multitude, running to defend themselves, with their weapons, put them to flight; and so it appeared, that Antiochus, being put to flight of the inhabitants, turned with flame [92]. In the first book of Maccabees, there is still a most extraordinary passage in respect to the point before us. " About that time, says the author, king Antiochus, tr

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Chap. xi.

Monuments of ancient magnificence are sufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wisdom and genius of the ancient Persians, before superstition and flattery took place (X).

They are not the only Greek, heard say, that the city of Ephesus was a city of art, and greatest of all the temple, wherein were

coverings of gold, and breast-plates, and shield,

which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian,

king, who reigned first over the Greeks, had left there. Wherefore he came and fought to take it, and to spoil it, but he was not able,

because they of the city, having had warning thereof, resolved up in his battle; so he fled, and departed thence with great victual, and re-

turned there. These are the language of antiquity, and in the city of Ephesus was Parosfellis, which city this Ephesus signifies in Greek to more than the city of the Persians; Ephesos signifies the same thing, as also Pharsis-abad, which Sir John Charle

des conjectures to be its ancient name in the Persians; hence therefore we may with probability conclude, that its most ancient name was Ephesus, derived from the name of Pheneis, Flamin, that is, in the first time when the city was called Parosfellis, and that the Greeks might translate either of these appellations into their own language by the word Persepolis; all which we submit to the curious and inquisitive reader (X).

(B) Besides the tombs spoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of Persepolis, which Sir John Charlebois says, appeared to him the most curious remains of that city, not in all probability did the Greeks ever commit the Persian name thereof to writing.

One thing we will venture to observe here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any other writer. It is, that the Persians or Persepolis is Persis, in Greek, that in the temple, and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side, since it is affirmed, that when Alexander conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of Cyrus (X). As to the other hand, we know, that Persepolis (as) reports a mighty sum, and that in the mountain of Nabel, in Pars, it is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, cou-

cur in believing that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in their re-

positories of the dead, but at the same time they affirm this, they assert with equal confidence, that the palaces within the tombs form a kind of labirynth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. Sir John Charle-

bois, however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these fishing spoils; he had been the head of a small company of men, who resided in a little town in the neighborhood of Perse-

polis. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who retired in the kingdom of the Medes, and under the protection of his revenues in this part of the country, having disgraced his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand-violer, threaten-

ing him, in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling his wife and children for slaves, in order to produce the sum he was in arrears. The poor man, dreading with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himself, but checking this thought on a sudden, he said in his mind, Why should I destroy myself without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by other means? in yeon house of idols (to the Isenmen stand all places where there are figures in bas-relief) (93) I never agree the fewer, there are valuations of wealth concealed, why should not I go seek for it? If I succeed, I shall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live kindly myself all the rest of my days; and on the other hand, if I perish, death is the same thing in these two cases. Having taken this resolution, he provided himself with

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The great perfection, which appears in their ancient works and those of Persepolis, leaves us no room to doubt, that those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already put ourselves under such restrictions, as forbid a prolix prosecution of this hint, and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking here, that Mr. Le Brun takes notice in his travels of some remains of antiquity, which he, with two English gentlemen, saw near a mountain a league and a half from Schiras, on the left of the plain. There stood here a mosque, called the mosque of the mother of Solomon, square, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three porticoes exactly resembling those at Persepolis, the first on the caff, the second on the north-west, and the third on the north-eaft. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilafter the figure of a woman as big as the life, with something in her hand, in the same attitude with the figures on the wall at Persepolis. North-eaft from this ruined mosque, the same author says, there are seen on the side of the rock nine small figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above-ground; and on the north-west a flone of prodigious magnitude representing a caff or tan. All the ground thereabouts is covered with bones, and most of the pilasters are out of their places, which could not possibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice, however, or the middle one is very little damaged: a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are seen of that wall, which anciently surrounded this mosque; and about a league from the mosque, the same gentleman tells us, that he saw several figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. This first table contains three figures, one of which is represented leaning with its hand on a great sword. The second represents a man with something not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the first, leans its hand on the guard of a great sword; they are very much broken and damaged, so that it is difficult to describe them particularly.* For which reason we may suppose the author has omitted the description of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the representations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller, we may with some assurance, that the figures are neither so old, nor executed near so well as those on the mountain of Nachs-Rajemen, which they resemble much more than any thing which is to be seen at Persepolis. Mr. Le Brun speaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to such things as these; but there is no necessity of examining their accounts here, since we shall be obliged to give an ample account of these matters, when we speak of the Persian history, as has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleased to observe, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that, on a strict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in Persia, than those hitherto described and magnified so much.


With lights and with some provisions, and then效力 to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was so lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large square room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the sun he brought back was not quite sufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his first had been happy; for, by some means or other losing his way, he perished in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themselves, and where their spirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are said to be in this mountain, but most of them have perished in vain, though not all; for Pietro della Valle, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he saw a square room, built up in the form of a tower close on all sides except a door which was almost at the top, and altogether inaccessible; this he took to be a sepulchre. Sir John Chardin could find nothing like it, but he declares, he does not doubt the fact, and tells us, that he was a firm of his own knowledge, that these subterraneous passages are really very perplexed, frequently cross each other, and are full of a moist vapour which quickly extinguishes lights (95).


SECT.
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S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the ancient Persians.

The Persians, were, without all doubt, a very ancient nation. Their country was first peopled by Elam, or as Josephus calls him, Elymus, the son of Shem; whence Persia is constantly called by the sacred writers Elam; but does it appear, that it was known to the Jews before the captivity by any other name. The descendants of Elam settled first in that province, which from them was called Elam, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into Susiana and other adjoining provinces; as appears from Daniel, who places Susa, the metropolis of Susiana, in the province of Elam (A). All the Greek interpreters by Elam understand Persia, and in the acts the Persians are called Elamites (C). Whence it is probable, that they were descended from Elam, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of Persia, we have shewn already.

The government of Persia was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of Elam seems to have been very powerful even in the time of Abraham; for Cchedarlaomer, king of Elam, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is laid in scripture to have invaded the Lankumum and Emins, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of Sedam and Comorra; troy he was at last overthrown by Abraham, who came to the rescue of Lot, whom the Elamites had taken prisoner. In the time of Jeremias Elam must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretells the increase of Nabuchadnezzar's dominions, and particularly, that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tygris (B).

The majesty of their kings. But to speak here of Persia, as the second of the four great empires; for of the kings who preceded Cyrus, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter the Persian monarchs were under no control, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. Speeches and Bulls both Laecdemonians refuted, as Justin informs us, to comply with this ceremony, as did also Conon the Athenian; and Iophon the Theban declined it, as we read in Aelian (C), by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up. Timagoras, as we read in Valerius Maximus (D), was put to death by the Athenians for paying this veneration to a Persian monarch. In the time of Apollodorus none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony Antiochus and Mithradates were put to death, as we read in Xenophon, by Cyrus the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who flew Smerdis; all others, of what rank soever,

(A) And I saw in a vision, says the prophet, and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam, and I saw in a vision, and I saw by the river Ulai, Shushan is without doubt the city of Susa in Susiana, which stand on the river Eulaeus, or, as the prophet names it, Ulai. (B) Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the heaven, and will scatter them towards all the winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come. For I will cause Elam to be desolate before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, faith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in Elam, and I will set a throne in the midst of the king and his princes, faith the Lord. (C)
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foever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a meffinger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vafls pay'd him we learn from Herodotus, who tells us, that Xerxes being once in danger by fire, many are the king's firft crowe, who should be the first in leaping over-board to lighten the vefsel, and fave their prince's life, at the expence of their own. They all lived in no lefs dread of the king's wrath than of the anger of the Gods; whence they lookt upon the incurring of his dif- pleafure as the greateft misfortune that could befal them in life, and were ready at the leeft intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and befowed on the eldest of the deceased king's law- ful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contentes, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at Perægara, or as Pliny calls it Peræ- gara 1, by the priests, who bore a great fway in the court of Peræa. This cer- mony was performed in the temple of the goddefs of war; where the king used firft of all to cloath himfelf with the garment, which Gyrus, the founder of the Peræan monarchy, had wore before he was rafed to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat fome figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup of four milk, then put the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the king's children, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all over Peræa, the greateft honour a fubject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called Cidaris, being a kind of turban rising up with a fharp point without bending; whereas the other Peræans wore turbins bending, in token of fubjeftion, down to their foreheads. However, the defendants of thoee, who with Darius the fon of Hylæbes flew the ufurping Mage, were allowed to ufe a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other fubjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word Diadem in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only enigne of royalty we find among the Peræan kings of the firft dynasty. The king's birth-day was kept as facred, and celebrated with publick sports and the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by fhumting the tribunals of justice for five days, and that occasion alone extinguihed 1. The king's abode was according to the feafon, from months at Sufa, three at Ecbatana 5. Whence they are compared by Aelian 6 to cranes, and by Aristotle to the Scythian Nomades, who, by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate feafon. They likewise removed fometimcs to Pefargara, and fometimcs to Peræpolis, which at last became their ordinary refidence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty was not only to defend the king's per- 4 Herodot. I. viii. 1 Plin. l.c. 6. 2 Plut. in Artaxerxes. 3 Diog. Sic. l. viii. = Zonar. Annal. i. l. 1 = Aelian. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3.

(C) Sufa, called in fcripture Susianam, was the metropolis of the province Susiana. It was built on the banks of the river Euæta, called by Daniel Ula, by Memon, as some fay, the fon of Tribonæus, who was flain by the Phenicians in the Trojan war (2). Strabo (3) and Pausanias (4) compare the walls of Sufa even with thoee of Babylon. Callo- dorus tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. Pothinus, as we read in Strabo (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no lefs improvable, confidering the king of Peræa refided there three months in the year, and that great part of the roy- al treafures were lodged in it, as Diodorus informs us (6). It was called Sufa from the many liles which grew in that neighbourhood, says Stephanus, and in the Peræan language bore that name. It is also called Memnonia by Herodotus (7) and others from its founder Memnon. In fcripture it is confantly named (8) the palace; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the profane writers. The city was feltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agree- able during the winter; but in fummer the heat was fo piercing, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as Strabo writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). Sufa was in ancient times a wealthy and magnificient city; Alexander found in it 5000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an in- estimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vefels. Here Darius ftayed his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as Towonr, informs us, by the name of Sogdian or Sufian.
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Chap. xii.

a. For, but to give him notice of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; wherefore they are called, some the king's ears, others, as Aristoph. in
forms us, the king's eyes. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part ever it happened of that vast empire.

The king's palace was deemed holy, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly fret with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and Herodotus mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to Darius by Pythius a Lydian, who after the kings of Persia was accounted the richest man in the world. The body and branches of this vine, says Athen. ubi supr., were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones. It hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his beds-head food always a chef or cook containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolter, and another at his feet with three thousand talents, and joining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks studded with all sorts of game for his diversion. Tally tells us out of Xenophon, that Cyrus planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. Alexander enriched them with trees and plants out of Greece. The Persian kings drank no other water but that of the river Choaspes, which was drawn about with them in silver vases whithersoever they went (E). They drank only Cappadocian wine made at Damascus in Syria, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of Asia in Persia, and their meat was brought from Egypt. The magnificence of their publick feasts exceeds, as appears from holy writ, what we read of in histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with somewhata of the product of each nation subject to them. Among the prisoners taken by Parmenio at Damascus were, as Athen. ubi supr., 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the dishes, 17 who ministered water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 656 whole province it was to prepare garlands used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental music, and 300 women, of the sweetest and most melodious voices, were in constant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewise their province.

a Arist. de mundo. b Herodot. i. vii. c Athen. libri. vii. vid. But. deff. l. iv. d Budræs ubi supr. e Cíc. de fencéct. f Herodot. i. c. 159. g Either. i. Athen. viii. h Idem. l. xii.

(D) Pythius, if we believe Herodotus (10), entered at Caria in Persia Xerxes and all his army, as he was marching against Greece, and moreover offered himself towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father Darius. Xerxes with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand Darius pieces or Dracae to be given to Pythius, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave Caria till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the Choaspes and the Eulasus be one and the same, or two different rivers. Pliny (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in Media, but that the Choaspes discharges itself into the Eulasus, and the Eulasus into the lake Chorassan. Polibius Likewise, as we read in Strabo (12), supposes them to be two different streams, though he makes them bifurcate themselves into the same lake. On the other hand, Salmasius (13) takes them to be one and the same river under different names; for the Choaspes rising in Media bares itself under ground, and again appears not far from Sula; in Media he thinks it is called Choaspes, and in the province of Sasanus Eulasus. This seems agreeable to what we read in Ptolem. (14), who mentions that springs of the Eulasus (for he no where name the Choaspis) one in Media and the other in Sasanus. Besides, Herodotus tells us (15), that the Choaspis washed the walls of Sula, and that the Persian kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the Choaspes and Eulasus are one and the same river at least in Sula, and even Pliny (16) and the other writers, who distinguish them, place the city of Sula on the banks of the Eulasus, and all the interpreters take the river Ulass mentioned by Daniel (17) to be the Eulasus. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the same river should be known in different places by different names; thus the Donuc was called by the Latins Danubius and Jauer, the Wisser Tierra and Vajguris, the Pabadas and Eridanus, &c.

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Book I.

provin't to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning. Most of the Persians were so dissolvo in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing beside their own satisfaction. Xerxes was not ashamed to propose, by a publick edict, an ample reward to any one that should devise a new pleasure. The king's children allotted others to his table, besides his wife and mother; such as received this honour were so placed as not to see, but only be seen by, the king; for they thought it was, in some degree, a degrading of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Their lust and voluptuou'shef sufficiently appears from the book of Esther, and Titus adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, etc. Nay Socrates mentions an embassador, who being sent into Persia spent a whole day in travelling through a country, which was called the Queen's Girde, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory, called the Queen's Head-arrays.

The king's children.

This king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old they learnt under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises; at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude.

The king's children.

The king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of Persians. Curtius mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called the king's relations; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all Persians, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called immortals. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

The king's guard.

But the grandeur and magnificence of the Persians kings appeared no-where greater than on occasion of the publick sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in life among the Persians.

The manners of the Persians.

Now to say something of the customs and manners of the ancient Persians, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, left if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or Magi, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contriving debts. They learnt also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went to hunt, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

How they educated their children.

The Persians were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the bow of Elam mentioned by the prophet Jeremias, and the quiver of Elam by Isaiah, as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as Herodatus informs us, to manage a horse, to use with dexterity the bow, and to speak truth. A numerous staff was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shoot a numerous off-spring received yearly presents.

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

* Idem ibid. 9 Cie. Tusc. Quer. Val. Max. i. x. c. 2. 2 Cie. in Ver. ad v. 2 Socrat. in Plat. Aleibiad. 2 Xenoph. i. l. c. 11. Brissin. Polit. 2 Isai. c. xix. 35-37. 4 Isai. c.
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a. Fests from the king. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, the at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups, but the matter of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected. When they met they sat with a kifs on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other, but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they met or accosted their superiors. They bestowed most value on those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or smaller distance from them.

No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the Medes, but they assumed their dress; in war they used the Egyptian armour after they had subdued that kingdom, and imitated the Greeks, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the vort of vices, as Herodotus himself owns. They were indulged many wives, and besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great prowess, as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits.

c. They bore such respect to their parents that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were inflicted by their laws on such offenders, and if any one was to be killed for committing any heinous a crime he, was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. To affirm a falsehood was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that the being in debt, because it excused a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself by committing some offence against the law. All strangers that were subject to this distemper were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we shall speak in the next section, we have learnt of Herodotus, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm to be true.

The most severe punishment in life among the Persians was that of putting them up between two boats, which was done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpose so even, that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other, then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron-tools into his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature, left he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey, which inviting the flies and wasps, they tormented him no less than the warmers of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unremitting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for Plutarch, who describes this cruel manner of putting to death, tells us, that Mitridates, whom Artaxerxes condemned to this punishment for killing his brother Cyrus, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and livers of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their head and right hand struck off, which sentence was, by order of Artaxerxes, executed even on the dead body of his brother Cyrus. But by the ancient laws of Persia the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent, and if his faults were found to overbalance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure, if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely. Poisoners were presaged to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon Gis, a woman greatly favoured by Parsa, mother to Artaxerxes, for having conspired with her to poison queen Statira.  

The Persians were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own filters and daughters; thus we are told, that Artaxerxes married two of his daughters, Artosiris and Atteis, though he had promised them to others. Minustius Felix reproaches them with marrying, or criminally contracting with, their mothers; and Ennius quotes a laying of Bardanes, which shews, that they were indulged by law to marry their filters, daughters, and mothers. This infectuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in Egypt, Phrygia, and Gaetulia, as Ennius witnesseth, which they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named Magnesetis, or added to magic. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called Eunuchs, which Petronius Arbei and Seneca implicate to their infamous lechery.

The first that cauht gold and silver to be coined in Persia was Daris the son of Gyaxares, or as he is called in scripture Daris the Mede, the founder of the Medo-Persian monarchy (E). In his reign were coined the famous pieces of gold called Darics, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer, clothed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigy of Daris. To these pieces alluded Aryshis, when finding himself obliged to quit Asia in order to support his tumults, which Artaxerxes had by dint of gold stirred up in Greece, he said, that the king of Persia had driven him out of his dominions, with thirty thousand archers. The Darics were of the same weight and value with the Attic drachm. Daris seems to have learnt the art and use of money of the Lydia, for the Medes had no money before they conquered Lydia, whereas Croesus, king of Lydia, had coined innumerable pieces of gold, called Croesias; as it was not reasonable that the coin of Lydia should continue current after the downfall of the kingdom, we may supposeth, that Daris recouined the Croesias with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian, but also of the Macedonian race, were called Darics from this Daris, in whose reign they were first coined (G).

There was, it seems, no great learning among the Persians before the time of Zeruasestir, whom the Persians called Zerutuseth or Zarathothes, who flourished in the reign of Daris Hystaspis, and was the great mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The Mages, being instructed in the mathemetics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by Hystaspis the father of Daris, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. Hystaspis had travelled into India, and lived there some time among the Brahman, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, with which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the Mages what he had learnt, improving that that not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section; we shall only add here, that this knowledge was locked up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any, except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct.

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AEnor, contra gentem. (E) We are told by Suidas, Harpocrateion, and the forehead of Aristeophanes (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by Daris the father of Aesnas, but by a more ancient Daris, who must necessarily have been Daris the son of Cnaxares, king of the Medes, since we know of no other Daris reigning to early in the cull.

(18) In these parts of Scripture that were wrote after the Babylonia captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarokion, and by the Talmudists are called (20) Dachmuth, both from the Greek word, that is Dario. They were probably coined by Daris during the two years he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent on his Persian, Egyptian, and other expeditions. According to Dr. Bernard a Daric weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

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The poverty of the ancient Persians, and their contempt of riches, shews them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of Lydia they had no money, nor any clothing but skins; they used water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the speech of the king of Lydia, assigning as impediments to invading Persia. After they subdued Lydia, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likelie applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities which their country wanted, and at the same time dispose of their own productions. But as we country wanted, and at the same time dispose of their own productions. But as we

The Persians learnt from their childhood to ride and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exercise of hunting instructed themselves to the toils of war. They never parted with their bows, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand; which customs the Romans, who never used any weapons but in the field, look’d upon as unbecoming a civilized nation. As soon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age, to appear under their respective colours, and attend the king in his expeditions. They used no mercenaries in the time of Herodotus, nor maintained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likenesses of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they wore short swords, hanging from a belt on the right side. Their horse’s were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in Xenophon, Curtius, and Ammianus Marcellinus, &c. They were fine marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the Persians; however, in the time of Procopius, their arrows did


(H) Herodotus tells us, that while Darius was marching from Sardis with his forces against the Scythians, Oebodas, a noble Perisan, who had three sons in his army, begged, that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word. Oebodas was fearful departed, when Darius commanded the officers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father’s house. We have another, still more dreadful, instance of the Persian severity on such occasions, Pythius the Lydian, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence Xerxes and all his army, and offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety thousand pieces of gold to defray the expenses of the war which he was carrying on against Greece. The king was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant him whatever he should ask.

Pythius had then no request to make; but some time after being frightened with an eclipse of the sun, and confessing in the merit of his liberal offer, and the king’s unlimited promise, entreated him to discharge the eldest of his five sons who were all in his army, that he might have some body to take care of himself while he endeavoured to rid his state. He had no sooner uttered this request, but the king, transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise and the former merits of Pythius, commanded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both. So heinous a crime it was, according to the Persian discipline, to except one’s self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H) They were rather droggers than swords; for Jophæus (42) compares them to the poignards used by robbers, and Darius, finding in his trial engagement with Alexander that the length of the Macedonian swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the Persian swords, or Xeinothen as the Latins call them, to be considerably lengthened (52).

(42) Herodot. i. vii. Xenoph. i. viii. c. 17. (44) Jophæus, Antiquitat. i. xxi. c. 7. (52) Diêdor. Sicul. i. xvii.
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did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slowness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the Roman arrows. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they pass’d before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they past mutter in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same basket; when they were all past, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This custom continued even in the time of Persepolis. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king’s was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies.

They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereto from their infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in public but on horse-back; on horse-back they transacted all their private and public affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, &c. This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury; the Persians striving to outdo each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as Dionysus expresses it, champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses. They were the first, if we believe Xenophon, that introduced the use of chariots armed with lightest (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp, which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their preference, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their armour.

In what manner they marched we learn from Herodotus, who describes the march of Xerxes’ army thus. The baggage, whether carried by servants or beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction. Between these and the rear of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was.

Before him marched a thousand horse-men, and the like number of spear-men with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses, bred in the plains of Media called the Nisian plains (K), caparisoned with rich furniture, being consecrated to Jupiter. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After Jupiter appeared the king in a chariot drawn by Nisian horses; a thousand chosen spear-men, all Persians, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse ten thousand Persian foot advanced, and of these two thousand armed with javelins, which, instead of the common ornaments, were embellished with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranates of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand Persian horse, and at the distance of two fæces. The rear of the forces advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thousand men were employed to cover three pieces of ground as they possibly could, and a kind of hour being drawn round them, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued so doing till the whole army was computed. When they

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1 Procop. I. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18. 2 Procop. ubi supra. 3 Herodot. I. ix. Xenoph. I. vii. p. 156. 4 Plut. in Artaxerces. 5 Xenophon. I. iv. p. 81. 6. vii. p. 190. Justin. I. xiii. c. 3. 7 Dio. 8 de siuo orib. 9 Xenophon. I. vi. p. 124. 10 Xenophon. Cyropolis. I. viii. prope finem. 11 Curt. I. iii. 8. 12. Xenoph. I. iv. p. 75. 13 Herodot. I. viii. 14 Herodot. VII. 15 Herodot. I. vii. 16 Herodot. I. viii. 17 Procop. I. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18. 18 Dio. 19 Xenophon ascribes to Cyrus the invention of chariots armed with lightest (25). But Diodorus tells us out of Cyrus, that Semiramis, in the war which the waged with the Bactrians, had in her army 7000 chariots armed with lightest (27), and seems to make the Assyrian kings the first inventors of them. Whence it is plain, both from Xenophon and Dio-

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26 Xenoph. Grec. v. &c.

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intended to make war upon any nation they sent heralds or embassadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to submit and acknowledge the king of Persia as the sovereign lord of their country (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the Medes, as Plutarch informs us, and the Medes seem to have imitated that, as in many other things, the Assyrians, who, as appears from the book of Judith, used in that manner to require an entire submision. In time of action the king was always in the center, and used to encourage his men with a speech. The signal was given with the sound of trumpets, and followed by an universal shout of the whole army. The watch-words were in use even among them, for Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, tells us, that his was, *Jupiter our leader and protector*.

The royal banner was a spreed-cage of gold, carried on the point of a long spear. They reckoned those happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour; or, as Ammianus Marcellinus expresses it, thought it unmanly and base to Real a victory. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the rising of the sun. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of Darius and Pobdama. This is what we have been able to gather, from unquestionable authorities, relating to the military discipline of the ancient Persians.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by Xenophon, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever, and observes, that other law-givers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the Persian laws was to inspire men with a love for virtue and abhorrence of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to publick schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered till they had attained the age of fifteen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not under the care of common mercenary masters, but governed by men of the first quality and public characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for their schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practicing of virtue.

The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cretes, no other drink but water, at least from the age of seven to fifteen. Those who had not been educated in these schools were excluded from all honours and preferments (M).

(L) Some hermeneutically imagined, that by this demand nothing else was meant, but that those to whom it was directed should furnish the Persian army with such a quantity of provisions. But the contrary is plain from all the accounts, especially from Herodotus, who tells us, that Darius dispatched a messenger to Indus, and found the king of Persia on the sea-coast, and to present him with earth and water in token of his submission. To this messenge the Syethian returned an answer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter his progenitor and Persia queen of the Scythians*, and that, instead of presenting him with earth and water, they would send him such a present as he desired, and perhaps might make him repent of his insolence in assuming the title of his master. And accordingly he sent him sometime after a messenger to present him on his part with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, which Darius would fail have interpreted as a tacit submission, and a giving him possession of the land and water; for,
There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity. When any one went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion he stood upon an ingen of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholsome, if otherwise, he was publicly whipped.

Before we close this section, we shall add some particulars, relating to the Persian kings, gathered from the best authors. The kings of Persia were above all others the most arbitrary and absolute, and look upon their subjects, however distingguished by birth or fortune, as the means of their existence. None, their own children, b not excepted, durst address them with any other title, but that of Lord, great king, king of kings, c which high-founding titles they seem to have borrowed from the Assyrians; for Daniel in speaking to Nebuchadnezzar, gives him the title of king of kings. As the Persians imitated in this the haughtiness of the Assyrians, so did the Parthians that of the Persians, and continued this title even to the time of the emperor Constaninus, to whom Seper king of Parthia wrote himself, king of kings, par- taker of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, &c. But to return to the Persian kings, as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity forever distinguished, but that of slaves; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other respects as arrant slaves. To this spirit of slavery, which is inconsistent with true courage, Plato ascribes the downfall of the Persian monarchy. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the Persians, that even those who were by the king's order publicly whipped, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them. Whoever betrayed the least reluctance to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult, or sooner, was to forfeit his head and right arm. The coltum of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is by Tellus fathered upon Cyrus the great. None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but of all foreign ministers and embassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's chair was open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of Hesiod and Memonius; nay, even to their statues and images, for Philestratus acquaints us, that in the time of Apollonius, a golden stature of the king was presented to all those that entered Polyben, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, Live for ever, Let the king live for ever. To fit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the apparel which he had used, to

(N) Ssecur therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the Macedonians alone; except Alexander costs, says he, man of all the data adversus ingratias ex (11), that is, in no nation, except the Macedonians, ingratitude is actionable; where some read Macedons instead of Macedonians, but all the ancient copies have Macedonians.

(O, 2, Carus tells us 1322), that when Alexander marched his army into a certain province called Galcia, one of his fothers arrived at the palace, which they were to encamp, and informed him of the excessive cold of the season, and climate, that he had almost lost the use of both his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by the fire, which they had kindled in the open field, no sooner saw the father in that pitiful condition, but rising up, and with his own hands pulled off his mantle, placed him in the chair in which himself was sitting. The folder by degrees recovered, but was very near freezing again when he found himself seated in a royal chair and the king laughing, by him. But Alexander encouraged him to stay since all fear, by saying.
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(3) to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q.), to shoot in hunting, or strive at the game before the king (R.), were all capital crimes. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his despots, were punished with great severity; whence Alexander, as his historian tells us, could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives shifting rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. No-body, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went towards his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flaked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, &c., others milk, cheese, dates, &c., every one according to his ability. The Persian kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vicious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and adjudge with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or merits prevailed (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus Artaxerxes Longimanus ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads, that the things with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments wrapt instead of their persons. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom. There were called royal judges, administred justice at stated times in different


saying. Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under us, than that of the Persians under their king; and you laughed in the Persian king's chair; it had cost you your life; to have reft in wise less feared it. Hence it was, that Artaxerxes, as we read in Herodotus (1), though unable toarra, showed so great reluctance to comply with his order, when he commanded him to put on the royal robe, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(4) Plutarch tells us (13), that one Tribachus, who was very familiar with Artaxerxes, whom he used to call his son and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the Laws of Persia. Tribachus, not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the reign, soon appeared in it at court, where the Persians reflecting as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigorous Laws. But Artaxerxes saved him by telling them, that he had commanded Tribachus to appear in that gown as his fool.

(5) In one of these litter Herodotus, who was desirous to have a private conference with Artaxerxes, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being observed by the Persians, who began to be jealous of him (15).

different provinces, and some of them attended the king whither-ever he went. The king often advised with them, and in matters concerning himself referred the whole to their judgment. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer such only as were famed for their integrity (U).

The Persian kings had several wives, besides what number of concubines they pleased. Darius maintained as many as the days of the year. Artaxerxes had by his concubines 115 children. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn, whence some have concluded, that the ancient Persian year consisted of 360 days, seeing that several of the Persian monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings inconstant courses (W).

We shall end this fiction with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the ancient writers, both sacred and profane; and from the great sums, which Alexander found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of Damasus he found 2000 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 200 more; in Arbela 4000 talents, in Susa 4000, and 9000 Darics, in Persopolis 120,000, in Paphragd 6000, in Ecbatan 180,000. These immense funds arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the affeission of Darius Hystaspes. For, during the reigns of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the Persians gave Darius the nick-name of Merchant. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of Herodotus, amounted to 145,600 Lydian talents, besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of Asia only, but in process of time the islands and several provinces of Europe, with Egypt, Syria, &c. were likewise taxed, which encreased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe Justin, Alexander, after the conquest of Persia, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 500,000 talents. The Persian kings preferred their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary. The lands of the Persians were free from all taxes, but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and, in time of war, of his army. Thus the provinces of Syrene and Barca were, besides the ordinary taxes, affeised at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the Satrapes of Babylon maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The Ethiopians and adjoining people made a present every third

[U] Aratoceres, Chief to one that dignity, as Anianui informs us, who was not a Persian, but a Mede by birth, for having condemned his own son to death, according to the power which parents had in those days over their children. And Cambyses being informed, that one of the Judges had received a bribe, caused him upon conviction to be killed alive, and having covered the face, on which he pronounced the unjust sentence, with his skin, appointed his son in his room, ordering him to sit in the same chair when he pronounced sentence (43). These judges, according to Josephus (44) and Xenophon (45), were few in number, which they gathered from the compilation of Aratoceres to Eran, who was first of the king and his seven counsellors (47). (W) This conjecture is not altogether groundless; but we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange, that the same writer should allude to the authority of Quintus Curtius to prove, that the ancient Persian year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in express terms, that the Persian year consisted of 365 days; his words are, Magi tres centes et sexaginta sunt gentes ibique sunt decretum, sed in toto spatio anni (48); that is, the Magi were followed by 365 youths, answering in number to the days of the year, for among the Persians one day is divided into 365 days. But Curtius in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken, since Herodotus, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which Darius Hystaspes laid on the provinces subject to the Persian empire, says, that the Cilicians were obliged to furnishe Darius with 560 white horses, that is, one for every day of the year (49).

(43) Anianui, i. i. c. 547. (44) Josephus, i. 6. (45) Timarchus, i. vi. c. 5. (46) Curtius, iii. 5. 8. (47) Herodotus, i. iii.
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third year of two Chreixes (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopia children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size. The Colchians or Colchi presented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the Arabians with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, &c. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hence to the most entertaining and important part of the Persian history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

* Herodot. ubi supra.

(X) Chreix was a Greek measure containing such a quantity of wheat as served a man one day.

S E C T. III.
Of the Religion of the Persians.

Here is hardly any subject, which hath employed the pens of authors ancient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the Persians, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers, is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having subsisted now for some thousand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are still extant of the religion of the ancient Persians, are far from corresponding exactly, and the descriptions, which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in Persia and India, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the one from the other, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations (A).


(A) The accounts, we have of the Persian religion, are, as we have stated them above, of two forts; first, such as have been collected from books; and these again may be divided into two classes, one extricated from the Greek and Latin writers, the other from Oriental historians; the second consists of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the present Persians, who themselves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practice the religion of their ancestors with little or no variation. As to such as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we shall frequently have occasion to shew, prodigiously milled in their opinions, sufficiently enough delivered on this subject. For as to the Greek writers, such as Herodotus, Strabo, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewise under this disadvantage, that being polytheists themselves, they of course conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the Persians worshipped the fire, because they prayed before it; the air, because in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it; and the sun, because they professed to reverence it (1); nor was this all, they forged, for the sake of making their histories uniform, such facts and other religious rites, as seemed to them correspondent with the notions which they had framed of the Persians religion, and attributed them to the Persians. Thus Herodotus, speaking of the passage of Xerxes into Greece, relates impossible things of the Magi, with as much boldness as if he had been eye-witness of the things. The country (says he) that lies about the mountain Poisines is called Psilites, on the west side extending to the river Agis, which falls into the Strymon itself. At their arrival the Magi offered a sacrifice of white horses to this river; and after they had thrown them into the stream with a composition of various drugs, the army broke up, and marched by the same Way, the one section, where they found bridges prepared for their passage over the Strymon. But being informed that this place was called by the name of the Nine Ways, they took nine of the fators and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the manner of the Persians is. And I have heard, that Amyrites, the wife of Xerxes, having attained to a considerable age, caused fourteen children of the best families in Persepolis to be interred alive, for a sacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they say, is beneath the earth (2). We have thrown in the text, that the Persians were indeed reducers of water as well as fire, but that they sacrificed to it, or threw anything into a running stream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which consisted in preferring the purity of those elements and


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If we had still any considerable collection of the ancient Persian records, we should double find in them what would satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men; but as these are either most of them long since destroyed, or at least are hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the Persians have preferred the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion, through a long course of ages, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their matters, a thing singular, and in some fort commendable, if we consider how much they have been deprefed, since the death of Tzdragherd, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the Mohammédans, who are wont to call them and christians, with like contempt, infidels. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the Arabian impostor; and though the modern Persians (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have just reason to believe, they will at last acknowledge the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the christian church (B).

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and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcases; and in respect to sacrifices, Herodatus himself in another place acknowledges as much (3). 2. Carthus with like hardiness describes the chalice of Darius, in which he appeared in the field against Alexander; it was adorned (says he) with images of their gods in silver and gold, the axel-tree therewith covered with precious stones; upon it were two images of gold, the one representing Nino, the other Belus, of a cubit stature each; between them was an eagle of gold displaying her wings over both, &c. (4). All this is downright fable; Nino and Belus were never worshipped by the Persians; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them; what makes it probable, that Carthus was the inventor of this whole fable, is this: that Arrian (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other ancient historian; but Carthus was so great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but on the contrary, loaded all his descriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the Persians, or as some call them Perfs, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of, such intimate things than these. As for Henry Lard, whose small treatise in relation to these people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or not; he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall on occasion make use of, what ever is related by Herbert, Ovington, Tavernier, Thevenot, Courdon, or other travellers concerning the Persians, their rites, and customs; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of these; the very learned and judicious doctor Thomas Hyde, who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, as well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the ancient Persians, wherein every thing he lays down is supported by ancient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from Zerdust, a compendium of whose writings contained in the book Sozder, the Exemplification of the modern Persians, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7). (8) Since the introduction of the Mohammédan religion into Persia, the ancient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion; for the Mohammédans being generally speaking bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but on every occasion are fritting up their princes to oppress and destrov, under colour of religion, these reliefs of the ancient Persians. It is true, the Mohammédans have in all ages had among them some men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever enquired thoroughly into the doctrine of these poor people; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to lead them with opprobrious names, and such as they, in no way deserve; thus they call them Nagypuh, i.e. Zabian, or defeter of the true faith; Ghurbi, i.e. infidel; this word is as differently spelt as it is differently pronounced, the most usual way of writing it is Ghvar; they likewise file an ancient Persian Aligh-persh, i.e. fire-worshipper; Pheliv or Calive, i.e. fool or madman; the most gentle term they make use of is Mogian, that is, Magician; but then they frequently say that a Mogian is Aligh-persh of that sort, that is, a fire-worshipper and a Saducee; for among other calumnies with which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is one; however, though they may amongst themselves destroy their good name, yet with strangers their apercitions do the Persians no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of these poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affirming both pity and esteem; it would be an easy matter to support all that has been advanced in this note, by quotations from the best accounts we have

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We have heretofore shown, that the original inhabitants of Persia descended from the sons of Shem, and from those two patriarchs, it is most probable, they derived the true religion, which at first flourished amongst them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious traditions and creeds. At such a time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of Zabujah, from which some affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch Abraham, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superstitious, when he was taken by them. If this were so, Abraham

b condition, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants. But if this were so, it was never so far obscure as to admit no degree of comparison between it and the worship of the Persians, which was introduced by the Persians continued under the service of One God. This was not the case with the worship of the Persian empire, the worship of Zeus was introduced by the Persians, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

c The only objection, to which the ancient and modern Persians have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire and to the nature of the fire; yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that there is nothing idolatrous in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship the fire as a God. They should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest, by means of fire, and the losses of all life; but, instead of saving the reader, it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five precepts which the Persians acknowledge as the rule of life, which every Bokhah or Layman is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr.络j.

1. To have a flame ever with them, 2. To provide a man who never opposes his inferior, if he had any flame; a man would not be afraid, if he had any flame; a man would not fear false witnesses, if he had any flame; a man would never be overcome with drink, if he had any flame. But because this is bad advice, men are ready to commit any of these, and therefore fire the Bokhah or Layman must think of blame.

II. To have fear always present with them, and that every time the eye twinkled or closed his lids together, they should think in fear at these times of their prayers, lest they should not go to heaven: the thought of which should make them fear to commit sin, for that God sees what men do not see. III. That whenever they are to do any thing, to think whether the thing be good or bad that they do about, whether commanded or forbidden in the Zerdoshtery; if prohibited, they must not do it; if allowed by the books of religion, they may chance and pronounce the same.

IV. That whoever of God's creatures they should first behold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put them in mind of their thankful offerings to God, that had given such good things for men's service and use.

V. That whenever they pray by day they should turn their faces towards the sun, and whenever they prayed by night they should incline towards the moon; for that they are the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witnesses, most contrary to Lucifer, who loveth darkness more than light.

(C) That the Persian religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles, and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerable person. The Persians themselves confess it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver Zoroaster came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of Zabujah heretics had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it cost this reformer of magism to root these foolish superstitions out, will be delivered in the life of Zoroaster or Zerdosht, which is extant. The reader at large in the history of the Persians from the Oriental writers, under the reign of that monarch in whole days he flourished; for to have infected so long a digestion here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recitalations in the fabulous history.
to be the symbol to them of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at Jerusalem, that God revealed himself to Moses by a flame in a bush, and chose to testify his presence in the hol of Israel by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the day. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the mistakes of ancient writers, or at the stories told us by some Mohammedi an authors, on this head, since it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious customs and tenets of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator Zoroaster or Zerdusht, as appears from the book Sadar, to teach either their ancient language, or its character, to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion. If any farther regard had been had to the sun in ancient times, it would certainly have been defended with the other parts of their religion to the modern Persians; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor Hyde affirms us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of Mithra, (to the Persians call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the Persian settled in India, At what seasons, and with what ceremonies, they adore the sun? They answered, They never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked on it to come nearest to the nature of fire. The same excellent author oblects, that among the precepts of Zoroaster, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain Niyashe, i.e. salutations, consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of Profishe, i.e. worship, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of religious adoration; for the Persian Mohammedians, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the Armenians, who dwell in Persia, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing of the body, was even among the Hebrews a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to speak more properly, the same word, viz. Hibrab-nasab was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbinc says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols; but as a civil rite, the Jews were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to perfons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect these Persians of idolatry on this account, than any other of the Oriental nations, since the sun is no more than the Kibla of the Persians, as the temple of Jerusalem is to the Jews, and that of Mecca to the Mohammedians, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of Mecca from whatever place they are in.

As to the notions which the Persians have of the sun, they are not, as we shall see hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun, as a symbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the Persians never called Mithra a god, or ascribed to it any name of the divinity; and so far from directing any petitions

(D) It may seem strange, how so odd a notion as this of the peculiar sanctity of one point of the compass ever established itself in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion so universally received as it is at present. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learned Mr. John Gregory of Oxford (9), who, in treating of two texts of scripture which seem to have some relation to this point, hath thrown a confusion of knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for such intricate and abstruse inquiries. For us it is sufficient, that the field is as we have stated it, since, whether it be right or wrong, the Persians must be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(9) Zach. iii. 8, vi. 128.
petitions thereto, they constantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the sun with the praises of the most high God, to whom alone their prayers are addressed. As to the fire, before whom the Persians worship, taking that word in an extended sense, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, elevating it a symbol of the deity, they first prostrate themselves before it, and then standing up they pray to God. Thus among the ruins of the ancient palace at Persepolis there are seen many marble statues of kings, standing praying to God before the figures of the sun and fire, which are also placed on the wall before them, only one figure is seen kneeling with the same symbols before it as the rest. As the fire in the temple was reputed sacred among the Jews, so the Persians might from them take this custom of praying before sacred fires; which is the more likely, since it was the manner of God's chosen people to prostrate themselves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was also a custom among the Persians to tender cakes before the fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the Jews, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preferring it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which last case the Persians went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings also and principal persons were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, filling their Epulae Ignis or fire dainties; but still all things done to or by fire were performed to the honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurrent testimony of Persic writers yet remaining, and the constant abbreviations of those who still profess this religion (E).

There is yet another point in which the Persians are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them, after the time of Zoroaster's reformation of their religion, certain caves, adored not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which symbolical representations were called milibus figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the Persians, who were a d wise and well-instructed people, for with them they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true figures of the universe; for which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented, by Zoroaster himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove at large, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man.

Having thus shewn in general the nature of the Persian religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations, either in the east or in the west, we shall proceed to show what the Persians themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to essential points, universally received among them.

The great fame of Abraham, which from a concurrence of various causes had diffused itself throughout the whole east, induced the Persians, as well as the Zabans, to


(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this, Whether the ancient Persians had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not? and what degree of evidence there is on each side, it may seem surprising, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. Haraotan, who tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the Persians on holy-day, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour; for he owns, that the ancient Persians had neither altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifestly relates what other Greek writers, full of spleen against Xerxes and his successors, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). Neoplaton's authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had wrote decisively, and spoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the Persians, and the mighty character he hath afforded their laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the Persians (11). Pusateri, in a passage hereafter more fully cited, speaks very respectfully of Zoroaster, and affirms nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the ancients who affereated two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the Father of good, but who acknowledged there was a demon from whom all evil proceeded; this, says he, was the doctrine of Zoroaster, who flourished four thousand years before the Trojan war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the Magi, which we shall have occasion to infer in our text. Dr. Hyde has produced an authentic relation

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to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, Styling their faith at all times Kish-Abram. They likewise ascribe the books which they hold sacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their Sefal or Bible, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from Christ, or the Mobsmedans, that God revealed to Mobammed his Koran. In attributing books to Abram, they agree with the Jews and with the Mobsmedans, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The Persians say further, that Abram, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of Babel, which they from thence style the city of Abram. But though it must be allowed, that the old Persian religion agreed in many great points with the religion of Abram, and though it should be admitted, that his fame might even in his life-time be with very advantageous circumstances published throughout all Persia, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable, he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at Babel. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of Zarofsar, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of Moses and other sacred books among the Jews, and that the city of Babel received the appellation of the city of Abram from Zarofsar, on account of his making it the residence of the archimagus or high-priest of the religion of Abram, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in ancient time.

Though fire was held the symbol of the divinity among the Persians, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them, in somuch, that the Greeks and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them Cultores Elementorum or worshippers of the elements, a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things, wheresoe'er they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill odours, and, for their officiousness on this head, Herodatus, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. They hold (says he) the whole universe to be Jupiter's.

That they might in like manner preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preserving all the elements pure was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and as such meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come, for in all things they were great affectors of cleanliness, and flaccidious, in an especial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, because they were most liable to be contaminated, and hence the Greeks, mistaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without scruple, worshippers of those elements, and tells us formal stories of the sacrifices offered to both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and such as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; so that it is not impossible, that some of the Persians princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, because the Persians universally held, that whoever willfully polluted either fire or water deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that to come, and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For these reasons the Magi, where-ever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, affixing them keepers.


(15) Vid. Sader lictor Magnus ad Hylae.

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a keepers, whose sole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had staked lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to pre- serve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve for symbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the manifestation of angels, so they believed, that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called Ardisir or Ardashir, for whom a particular Nyshis or satiation was prescribed, the title of Ardisir, in which their ancient books runs thus, Hymn to Ardisir, for the benefits received from the fire, rivers, wells, and fountains. In this hymn they praised him for taking care of all these places, and prayed, that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise disposition thereof throughout the earth; they were of opinion, that in paradise such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been careful of dehling water, and had in this sense preferred a respect for that element during their lives, for which cause they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires and the water used in their houses; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters, except in the mysteries of Mifes, which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as such detested by the orthodox magiim. In their love to purity and their esteem of water, the practice of the Jews, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, especially if we consider, that in waiting the hands, and putting on the girdle, solemn forms of prayer were enjoined the ancient Persians, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life.

b With respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests who attended it by no means deferred the appellation of Ignorii Sacerdotes, i.e. fire-priests, for they were truly Sacerdotes Dei, priests of the almighty, who though, like the Jews they prided, they waited on, and took care to preserve, the sacred fire from being extinguished; yet this was far from being their only duty; for these, as well as thee, read every day publick prayers, and did other sacramental offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of Ashese-peers, i.e. fire- worshippers, so dangerous a thing as to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him: yet they inclined to perform these publick acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the fun, as the witnesses of their actions; in like manner the Jews confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not altogether free from superition (F).

c (F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole number; this is a bold assertion, but I will venture to give an instance of it, which I am positive will prove the truth of my observation. Mr. Tawney has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in Oriental literature. In his sketch of the original and purport of this sect, he confounds the Ashes with Aherism, in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells us of a king, whom he calls Nardos, probably Nowar, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to this, how much he was confused on this subject; and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the Gauer or Gazer, as he calls them. Their prophet's name, as set down by him, was Eresh-seer-Shanta; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of these people, and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But I must defer the reader to take notice, that I do not agree with Mr. Tawney's celerity so to find which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the side of one of his sects: "The Gazer render no such honours to the fire as agree with this term of worship, they are not idolators, they acknowledge one God, the creator of the heaven and of the earth, and him only they profess to worship. In the rest of his sects he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not
In the most antient times the Persians had no temples at all, but rear'd alters, wherein they preferred their sacred fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places. It was Zoroaster, who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving their fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a pyram, or fire-temple, but this had no relation to Mibra or the sun, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air; neither did it subvert their antient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls, for their pyrae did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the Greek temples by Xerxes, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this sort, though many Greek and Oriental writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extensive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and testify'd to the honour of the Persians, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever.

The Persians in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things; him they called Tezad, Izad, or Izad, also Ormazd, Hormazd, or Hormizda; joining this with the modern name they say Hormizda Choul, O suprême God. They acknowledge also an evil created being whom they called Abariman, Abriman, or Abriman, and in verbo Abriman, which signifies amongst them the devil. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the antient Persian books was thus wrote, and signific's to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern Persians call the devil Dzir.  

Some have asserted, that the antient Persians held a co-eternity of these two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that Abariman was created out of darknes, and that Ormazd first subsisted alone, that by him the light and darknes were created, that in the composition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. Pituarch, who was a very ingenious and a very inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of Zoroaster, very conformable to what has been already said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchy, except in a few fibles of fable, which were either infected by the mistake of the reporter of that abstrait, or were invented by Zerdusht, to account for those things which surpass human understanding. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darknes thus. Ormazdies, say they, said once within his mind, how shall my
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a my power appear if there be nothing to oppose me? this reflection called Abriman into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God, and thereby in spite of himself contributed to his glory. The fools of man, according to them, were at first un bodied spirits, but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring against Abriman, clothed them with flesh, promising them, that the light should never forsake them till Abriman and all his servants were fulminated: after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good and 
b the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the scripture on these heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they say ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because without opposition his attributes could not have appeared with such luster as they now do. That the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil one leave to chuse which three thousand years of the final judgment he would come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, they say, this power was given to Abriman, man lived in a state of innocence; but since that since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that therefore, shall in time pass away, and man live again for a certain space in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twenty thousand years; and as to the demand, they assert, that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings: at last, however, even these are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the blest, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that state from whence through the mercy of God they were freed (G).

c The point in which the Persians differ most from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they say, happened not in six days, but in six fœtuses, each fœtus containing many days; the lift of the fœtus they fyle Mid-yumzeram, containing forty-two days; in this, they say, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The second they fyle Mid-yujobam, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named Pitiphabim, including seventy-five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called Iyefram, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of Midyariam, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures receiving being. The last they fyle Hamispitamidini, comprehending seventy-five days, wherein was made man.

d It is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the Persees, ancient and modern, in the exercice of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in affording an uninterrupted fuc-
c e

cce

(G) In the course of ages it is not to be wondered, that fable notions crept into their religion in loose places; as among the Hage of Cappadocia, who not only worshipped with idolatrous circumstances their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that hereby, that all others threatened the religion of Zarathustra mol was Mino-
chom; for Mazes that arch-heretic refuted long in Perses, and there breathed his abstained notion of two eternal, immanent beings, and, by mingling the doctrines of Manjaph and Christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (25). However, these notions were rooted out, as will be hereafter given, by the authority of the civil magistrate, so that the present Peres have amongst them none of their whimsical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are a religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very revered, from whence proceed the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they do speak they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help dwelling on such occasions an invererate dislike against two persones celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are Alexander the Great and Mohammed, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).


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ceffion of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of Zerdusht to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the page. Their high-priests were under still stricter obligations, and all of them were bound to discharge their ecclesiastical offices with mighty exactness and devotion. As to their public worship, it was, and is still, thus performed: in every pyreum, or fire temple, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest. When the people assembled in order to their devotion, the priest put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauze or cloth palling before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the Liturgy, which he held in one hand, speaking very softly, and in a whispering tone of voice, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which, as soon as the service was over, he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to God, for such things as they floated in need of, and when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed. But to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words: "Forasmuch as fire was delivered to Zerdusht by the Almighty, as the symbol of his majesty, wherefore it was required that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an emanation from the fountain of light, and that we should love all things which resembile it, especially the sun and moon, the two great witnesses of God, the light of which should put us in mind of his Omnificience; therefore let us, without superfluous, keep the command given us, ever more prudently God for the great usefulness of this element, and beleeving him to make us always bear in mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards him, which is necessary to the wealth and happiness of the mind, as light and fire are to the cafe and welfare of the body." (4)

They keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six lessons, wherein all things were created; after each of these feasts they keep a full of five days in memory of God's resting five days, as they believe, at each of those feasts. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part


(1) Among the ancient Magi there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archiepiscop like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was elected diged for the fice of Zoroaster, and held the supreme head of their church. The name in the old Persian language were filled Magy, i.e. Magus, Mihkat, i.e. judge, and Mhak Mubban, or Mubbak (22). Lord's account of the religion of the Persians, call them by other names, viz. Darsav, Hrabas, and Dreffses, the last he makes equivalent to Mhak Mubban, and says there is never any more than one at a time; the chief of the clergy of the Persians. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, etc. 1. The observing of the rites prescribed in the history of Zoroaster, because God is well pleased with that form of prayer which he has preferred. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's, for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only flaying a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and the priest not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that he may for just cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, though himself the pattern of meekness that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God everyday, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for publick benefits when they desire it, and to perform confidently the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by Zerdusht, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, feeling to this end it was revealed (23).
part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanliness and uncleanliness in meats, which expel some religions to ridicule; but as they are a very complaisant, as well as provident people, they abstain from swines-fleeth, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the Mediomarci nor the Babylonians, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup.

When their children are initiated into their religion they send for a priest, and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest tells it to its mother, who then lays, my child is called so or so, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the Perseus, where the priest first pours some water into the wind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he parts on a linen calicox next his skin, which defends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, bids him be a true Perseus all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by Zerdusht (I). Of their marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five forts: First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young man

(I) As to the High priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is directed to observe the following thirteen precepts (244): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanliness of others, also to throw his humility in a low station. 3. He is to take the layman's tythe, i.e. the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use, for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to distribute to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and show of dignity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is fixed, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by living much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law but with all the sciences, feeling he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors dilute the faculties of the mind, and discompose that firmness of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in all spiritual causes, he must require feiners without any regard to their rank, and they must bear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause but God's. 11. He must above all things be industrious to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though, in consequence of his high office, he may for his consecration receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the ever-living fire brought by Zerdusht from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

(1) It is very possible, that the reader in the perusal of this section may incline to with, that in some things we have delivered ourselves more capriciously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the Persean history, as delivered by oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retract various points relating to the religion of the ancient Persians, because much of their history depends upon them as to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; that we have purposely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their priests at confirmation fell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. Hyde is of opinion, that the English saying, anger, nudo, has some allusion to this (26).

(244) Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxxiv. (245) Lord's religion of the Persians, p. 36. (25) Relig.
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young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational. The parties, designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight, opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness with which they will the new-married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his forefinger on the woman's forehead, and says, If fit thou have this man to be thy wedded husband, the woman, divining, her priest lays his forefinger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage.

As to their burials two things are remarkable, first, the place; secondly, the manner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers, the reason of this exposing them we have elsewhere given, viz. the preferring the elements pure, for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was antiently esteemed by barbarous by other nations, that one of the apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on men minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expressly, that the Persians, since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practiced among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man: "O Almighty Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend thee, this man hath offended; thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man hath done evil; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which, however, this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour of death forgive him his offences, his misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thyself!" When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of internment, the bearers being forbid to speak, as they go along, out of decency; and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: "This our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire;" they supposit, that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space purified and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies on this occasion. 

2 Lord's religion of the Persians, p. 49. 
3 Lord's religion of the Persians, p. 48.

Upon
Chap. 11.

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Upon so copious a subject as this, it would have been an easy task to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the desire we have of rendering the several parts of this work confisant with each other, and not to introduce tedious dissertations into a general history, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of so important a part of the Persian history, to tire the reader’s attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious peruser, however, may, from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leisure an exact system as well of the practical point as of the theoretical tenets of the Persians, which would certainly prove an entertainments, as well as instructive, piece, though inconsistent with the design, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Persia.

We know but very little of the state of Persia before Cyrus’s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn, that Elam or Persia was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful. Chedrelasmer, the first king of Elam mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of Asia; for Bera king of Sedom, Birrus king of Gunaraba, Shinaab king of Atibar, Sheneber king of Zedan, and the king of Bela or Zara, were his tributaries. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to Chedrelasmer, but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of Elam no sooner heard that they were in arms, but entering into an alliance with Adrambel king of Shinar, Ariach king of Elasaar, and Tidal kingdom of nations, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the Rephaeans, the Zuzaans, the Emins, the Horites, the Hulelekites, and the Arvites of the Hazaeanian, at last he fell upon the revolted, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of Sedom and Gunarab, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards Elam loaded with the spoil of the conquered nations. Let, who, as Josephus informs us, afflicted the Sodomites, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by Abrahalm, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at Dan the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow Chedrelasmer lost the sovereignty of the Pentapolis, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of Cyrus we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at in the history of the Medes, viz. that the Elamites or Persians were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likehood subdued by the Assyrians, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior and his ally Cyrus, king of Media. While they lived in subjection to the Assyrians, Medes, and Babyloniasts, the throne was still filled with natives of Persia, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of Achemenes, which must have been very conspicuous, since Xerxes, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner. Achemenes. Teispes. Hydaspes. Cunobrytus. Ariaramnes. Darius. Cyrus. Arsames. Xerxes.

*Vol. II. p. 15. \(^{a}\) Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. \(^{b}\) Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10. \(^{c}\) Herodot. l. vii. Vol. II. Y
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Of this great family there were two branches; from the first was descended Cyrus the great, whose issue male failed in his two sons Cambyses and Smerdis. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner. 

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They will have Perse, of whom, say they, Persia borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in Persia. We are told, that Achemenes was murdered by an eagle; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of Romulus was perhaps a copy. Daris is mentioned by Herodotus, and suppofed to have coined the famous Darics or Staters Darics, which supposition is disproved by Herodotus', telling us, that the Persians had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of Lydia. Cyrus had two children, Cambyses and Astaph; Astaph married Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia, and Cambyses Mandane, the 10 most celebrated daughter of Alyages king of Media, by whom he had Cyrus the Great (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the history of the Persian kings before Cyrus, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

The name of Cyrus is equally famous in faced and profane history; in the latter his valour and conquests have rendered his memory immortal, as in the former his kind treatment of the captive Hebrews, whom he restored to their ancient state, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name many years before he appeared in the world; an honour beffowed upon none, but him and that excellent prince Josiah king of Judah. Profane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. Herodotus and Xenophon are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear Herodotus, the father of history, as fully calls him; but whether his accounts are genuine, or rather interwoven, and feafoned to the Greek taste, with several fabulous and surpising incidents, is what we shall examine afterwards.

Alyages, the last king of the Medes, being warned by a dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter Mandane, should one day be lord of all Asia, refused to marry her, not to a Mede worthy of her bed, but to a Persian; and accordingly chose one Cambyses, sprung from an ancient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a Mede, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, Alyages was frightened by another dream portending a new, according to the interpretation of the Magi, the empire of Asia to his grandson (B). Hereupon Alyages sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in Media puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child he should be delivered of; for the Magi had affur'd him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. Mandane, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom Alyages, mindful of the interpretation of the Magi, delivered to one Harpagus, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of Mandane, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. Harpagus promised to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly drest, went home under great concern, as seeing himself employed in so cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as soon as he came home with

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(A) Rer. Sac. hist. jud. p. 37.  
(B) Ew. de animal. i. xii. c. 21.  
(C) Hesiodus, I. i.  
(D) Diodorus Siculus, in fragm. i. xxxiv.  
(E) I. i.  
(F) Liv. 28. & 44.

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(1) Ovid. Metam. i. iv.  
(2) His first dream was, that his daughter Mandane had vowed to God a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all Asia. In the other he saw a vine flourishing from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all Asia.
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with what had passed between Abyges and himself, and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of Ecbaten, towards the Caspian sea. The herdman's name was Mitridates, and his wife's, in the language of the Medes, Spce, which signifies a bitch, and answers her Greek name Cyne. Mitridates, without delay, waited upon Harpagus, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from Harpagus, who had never before sent for him; and therefore he no sooner let his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprise, why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste? He told her, he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of Harpagus was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was struck with horror in seeing an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that Harpagus had commanded him to carry away this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that at first he had suspected the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of Harpagus, but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of Mandeone the king's daughter, and son to Cambyses of Persia, and that Abyges had commanded it should be put to death 1.

Having thus spoke, he disclosed the child to his wife, who no sooner saw it, but being ravished with the innocent smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he, remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of Harpagus would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoined him, the suggested to him to take their own child that was full-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of Mandeone as their own; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently confound our own safety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preferred from an untimely death 2.

Mitridates approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted Harpagus, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was Cyrus, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdman's wife as her own 3.

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of Arthemares, a lord of eminent dignity among the Medes, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon Cyrus commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdman's son, and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. Abyges promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdman and his
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Book I.

to be brought before him, asked Cyrus, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? Cyrus replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, vested with that character, had commanded, the son of Art bemares alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, Abyxages took particular notice of his mien and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandfon was exposted, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed fon. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismiffed Art bemares, affuirng him, that his fon should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct Cyrus into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whole boy Cyrus was, and from whose hands he had him? Mitrades affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But Abyxages, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy.

Abyxages was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite Harpagus, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the fon of his daughter Maudone. When Harpagus saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him, by any fort of falsehood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding, that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body.

Abyxages, dissimulating his resentment, acquainted Harpagus with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he found that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered Harpagus to send his fon to wait on the young Cyrus, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandfon.

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only fon to attend Cyrus, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of Abyxages, who gave directions that the mangled body, variably dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. Harpagus and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where Harpagus dined, was served only with the flesh of his fon. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and Harpagus answered, that he had never tasted anything more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, deferring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they directed, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any fort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? Harpagus replied, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replied, with a surprizing temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them.

Abyxages, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate Harpagus, began to consider with himself what he should do with Cyrus; and having again consulted the Mages, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king, Abyxages then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he...
he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigor and severity. Hereupon the Magi replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events. They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in Persia. Abyges, well pleased with this answer, called Cyrus, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desirous to get ready for a journey into Persia, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdman Mitrades and his wife Space.

Thus Abyges, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which it is more easy to conceive than express. As they had long given him over for dead, they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdman, till those, who attended him on his journey into Persia, informed him of all that had passed. He related, how he had been educated by the herdman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of Cyrus, commended her on all occasions. And this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the Persians, that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch.

When Cyrus attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in Media on account of his extraordinary parts, Harpagus, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the Medes, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of Abyges, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by depoping Abyges, and advancing his grandson Cyrus to the throne. They all to a man threw themselves into the defenders' shields; whereinupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to Cyrus, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domesticks, drest in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to despatch Cyrus not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever.

The messenger executed his orders, and Cyrus opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation, against the wicked desigms and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the Persians to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade Media, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and that barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. Cyrus, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the Persians to revolt, and after various schemes, fixed upon the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from Abyges, appointing him commander in chief of all the Persian forces; this he read in a general assembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commission commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a spot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctance, he dismissed them with orders
to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he cauffed all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and drested, provided wine, and bought all the dainties Persea could supply him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, Cyrus ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had feasted themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would chuse to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all answered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleasure to toil and labour, so they did the condition of the present day to that of the preceding. Upon this answer Cyrus acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they should enjoy thefe and far greater pleasures, without any kind of servile labour; but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then disdained to them his true design of delivering his country from the Median bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprise, by telling them, that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The Persians, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctance, in subjection to the Medes, declared him with one accord their leader, and protested, that they would stand by him in to good a cause, even at the expense of their lives.

In the mean time, Abiages, being informed of what was doing in Persea, dispatched a messenger to Cyrus, enjoining him to repair forthwith into Media; but Cyrus by the same messenger returned this resolute answer, That he would come sooner than Abiages desired. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards Harpagus, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the Medes puffing over to Cyrus, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When Abiages heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion, and vowed that Cyrus should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first cauffed the Mages, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the Medes, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the Medes were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. Abiages in this state was reproached and insulted by the revengeful Harpagus, who among other things asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feat, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison. Abiages in return, fixing his eyes on Harpagus, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution. He answered, that it was chiefly owing to him, since he had the first encouraged Cyrus to this undertaking. Then, replied Abiages, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another, when you might have feizd on it yourself since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in inflicting your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depose me and confine the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might with more justice have advanced a Medes to that dignity than a Persian. Whereas the Medes, who were before lords of Persea, and no ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the Persians, who were servants to the Medes, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, Abiages was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the Medes became subject to the Persians, after they had ruled over all those provinces of Asia that lie on the other side of the Halys for the space of 128 years, including the time of the Scythian dominion over that part of Asia. As for Abiages, Cyrus kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him. *

* Herodot. ubi supra.

What
Chapter II.

The History of the Persians.

What the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him, invaded the Medes, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition Cyrus returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was Sargasipes the son of queen Tomyris. His heroism, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to Cyrus, entreating him to release the young prince, which he refusing to do, Sargasipes, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself.

Whereupon his mother Tomyris, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the Persians battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the Medes, having no more fit to fly before the Persians, were cut down in pieces, and Cyrus himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. Tomyris, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, inflicting the memory of the dead prince with these words, "Gut thyself with the blood which thou hast so infamously thirsted after."

What the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river Gyndes (C), while he was on his march to besiege Babylon, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of Cyrus being drowned in that river, the prince, highly relenting such an affront, immediately caused the Gyndes to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole summer, and obliged him to postpone the siege of Babylon to the spring ensuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of so great experience and such an extraordinary moderation, as Cyrus is, even by Herodotus himself, represented to have been, while he was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time, and spend the ardour of his troops, in such an unprofitable piece of work?

We shall now give what we look upon as the true history of Cyrus, being extracted out of Xenophon, whom we choose to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, seeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the standard of truth, than those of Herodotus. We are told, for instance, in scripture, that the Babylonians were reduced by the united forces of the Medes and Persians, and this is what we read in Xenophon: whereas Herodotus raises the Persian empire on the ruins of that of the Medes, which is repugnant to scripture. It is true, that most of the ancients have chosen to follow Herodotus rather than Xenophon; but that we can easily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more strange and surprizing, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to those of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to rife admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt such accounts as he thinks will prove most agreeable to the reader, has been greatly countenanced by Plato, who, in giving a character of Xenophon's Cyropedia, tells us, that he rather described in that work what a worthy and juft prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. From this passage Diogenes Laertius concludes, that Plato looked on the institution of Cyrus as a fiction. Fully palls the same judgment on this performance, saying, that Xenophon's Cyrus was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a juft empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion; and we must own, that as Xenophon was both a great commander and philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character; and that

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7 Herodot. I. c. 214.
8 Plato de legib. I. iii.
9 Diog. Laer. in vit. philosoph.
10 I. p. i. ad quintum fratrem.

(L) The river Gyndes rises on the hills of Matien, and passing through Dardania falls into the Tigris.
that it is really such, its conformity with holy writ sufficiently shews. Wherefore bating his military and political descants and digressions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true history. He was esteemed by the ancients, a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than Herodotus could have; and as he confined himself to this subject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactness than the other, who wrote of so many different subjects and nations. And these are the motives that have induced us to follow Xenophon, in what relates to Cyrus, rather than Herodotus or those who have copied after him (D).

Cyrus was the son of Cambyses king of Persia and of Mandane the daughter of Abizes king of the Medes (E). He was born a year after his uncle Gysares the brother of Mandane. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents in Persia, where he was educated after the Persian manner, and inured to hardships and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigue of war (F). When he was twelve years old his mother Mandane took him with her into Media to his grandfather Abises, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affection of the Medes, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, Ezil-merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to shew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the Medes, which drew out Abises with his forces to oppose the invader. On this occasion Cyrus attending his grandfather first entered the school of war, and behaved so well, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in Persia, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the affiance of his uncle Gysares (G).

Abises king of the Medes was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son Gysares brother to Mandane Cyrus's mother. This prince was more warm on his throne, when he was informed, that Nerochfar king of Babylon was preparing a powerful army to invade Media, that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Gashan king of Lydia, and that he had dispatched embassadors into Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, and even to the Indies, to infil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the Medes and Persians, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. Gysares therefore called Cyrus out of Persia to his affiance, and, upon his arrival with a body of 30,000 Persians, appointed him commander in chief both of the Medes and Persians (G).

(2) Cyropæd. I. 1.

(3) Idem, ibidem.

(4) Xenoph. Cyropæd. I. i. p. 36. *Idem

*See Dig. Læst. in vit Xenophon.

Jibid. p. 44. 35. &c.

See Xenoph. Cyropæd. I. i. p. 36.
 Chap. ii. The History of the Persians.

a He had not been long in Media before Cysares had occasion to employ him. The king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, Cyrus thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of Armenia, he entered that country, before the inhabitants b had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family, and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in Media 2.

Both parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations of war. In the beginning of the 4th year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in fight of each other, the Babylonians under Nergiliasar their king encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the Babylonians leaving their intrenchments, and c drawing themselves up in battle array, Cyrus advanced to attack them. On the side of the Medes, the bow-men and bow-men made their discharge before the enemy was within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, immediately closed in with the enemy, and broke through their battalions. The Babylonians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Cersus and their own king, were not able to stand to rude a shock, but immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes fell upon the enemies horse, which was likewise put to the rout. Cyrus pursued them close to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, founded the retreat. In this battle Nergilisar king of the Babylonians was killed; whereupon Cersus king of Lydia, Nergiliasar as being in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made the Babylonians defeated. d as good a retreat as he could. But the next day Cyrus returned to the charge, drove the Babylonians from their camp, and with the assistance of the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many prisoners and the baggage of the whole army. Cyrus referred all the horses that were taken for himself, in order to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cysares; and as for the prisoners, he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more against him and his allies.

The death of Nergilisar was a great loss to the Babylonians; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and widom, the preparations he made for the war showed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the Babylonians more sensible of the loss they had suffered, than the tyrannical government of his son and successor Laberostarchas, who was in every thing quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his e cruelty towards two Babylonian lords, Gobrias and Gadeates, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join Cyrus, and be very instrumental in the subversion of the Babylonian empire. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting-match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he pierced with his dart a wild beast which the king had miffed. The other he caused to be made a eunuch, because one of his concubines had commanded him as an handsome man. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to Cyrus, and hastened the conquest of Babylon. For Cyrus, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken possession of the provinces, castles, and strong-holds, which the two injured princes f had been trusted with, he got a footing in Asia, which greatly contributed to the reduction of Babylon itself. The king took the field against Gadeates, but being met by Cyrus he was put flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to his

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his metropolis. *Cyrus*, having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's country, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong-holds on the frontiers.*

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborsarchob*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, infomuch, that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, confired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign*. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of public affairs upon herself, and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, 12 foot high and 15 wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river, so that in case one of them should be distrest by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to, the other.

While the queen was thus taking all possible precautions against the enemy, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus's* camp, and after several consultations they determined to alter their method; and, instead of confining themselves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortresses, so that they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their provisions*. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under subjection entire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. The progress *Cyrus* made in those conquests roused at last *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treasures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cresus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Tartarians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*. These various nations under the conduct of *Cresus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river *Patoles*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbræ*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus*, being informed of these vital preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself into a condition to oppose them; and having increased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless, and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to confine their forage, and disconcert their movements, by the quickness of his march and boldness of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbræ*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus's* army was 160,000 strong, horse and foot, besides these troops he had 300 chariots armed with archers, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missive weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower was lodged 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreast. There was moreover a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel. The army of *Cresus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cresus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men and were the main strength of the army, in the center.*

*When*

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When the two armies were in fight of each other, Croesus, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of Cyrus, made the center halt, and the two wings advance with a design to incline Cyrus' army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the Lydian forces were sufficiently extended, Croesus gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the Persian army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that Cyrus' army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, included like a small square drawn within a great one.

This motion did not at all alarm Cyrus, who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wings, confounding mostly of cavalry. The horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, Artagestes, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with lances were furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, Cyrus commanded Aprodates his chief favourite to fall upon the center with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, confounding mostly of Lydians, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the Egyptians being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the Persians ensued. Aprodates himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the Egyptians advancing boldly obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new flower of arrows and javelins discharged upon them from the towers, and at the same time the Persian rear advancing sword in hand obliged their archers and spearmen to return to the charge. In the mean time Cyrus, having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the Egyptians, pulled on to the center, where he had the mortification to find his Persians again giving ground, and judging that the only way to stop the Egyptians who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so, and at the same time the Persian cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides, for the Egyptians facing about defended themselves with incredible bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; for his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies, but being saved by the Persians, who, alarmed at this danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with Cyrus that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity.

The engagement lasted till night, when Croesus retired with his troops to Sardis, and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. Cyrus did not think fit to pursue them, but the next morning advanced towards Sardis. Croesus hearing of his approach marched out with his Lydians, for the auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal strength consisted


(XV) Xanthon observes here that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa and Callene on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendents in his time; and adds, that those places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation, and many others he makes in his Cyropaedia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, he wrote that piece as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(H) Ibid., I. vii. p. 179.
filled in cavalry, which Cyrus being enfeebled of, made his camels advance against them, who smelt the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the Lydians, who at that time were one of the most warlike nations of Asia, dismounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where they were immediately closely besieged by Cyrus.' (i).

The night after he invested the city he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the Lydians having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. Cyrus's first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all Asia, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives should be spared, and neither their houses nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and Cyrus himself, who was taken and brought to Cyrus, let them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. Cyrus, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his perfon. (K).

Cyrus after the conquest of Lydia continued in Lesser Asia, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the Aegean sea to the Euphrates, from whence he marched into Syria and Arabia, and having brought those nations likewise

1 Herodot. i. i. 79-84.

(i) While Cyrus lay encamped before Sardis he performed the exequies of Abdradas and Pentehe his wife. Abdradas was prince of Skythian under the Babylonians, and had revolted to Cyrus about two years before, being induced thereto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom Cyrus had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the Babylonians, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to Cyrus, and he was being killed in the engagement with the Egyptians, as we have mentioned above. Pentehe out of grief slew herself upon his dead body, and Cyrus caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river Pindus, where it was to be seen many ages after.

(K) The taking of Cœrus is differently related by Herodotus and those who have copied after him (b). According to thefe, Cœrus being but up in Sardis, dispatched ambassadors to all his allies, intreating their affiance. But in the mean time Cyrus prefed the farge fo vigorously, that he took the city, before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young Lydians. The defign of Cœrus in fo doing was, according to Herodotus, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to fec, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would fave him from the fire. When Cœrus had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of Salus, who had told him, no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great figh three times, Salus, Salus, Salus. Which when Cyrus heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, what affiance he implored. Upon this Cœrus acquainted him, that Salus, an Athenian philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had defied all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, he called upon the name of Salus. This raised in Cyrus such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compition for Cœrus, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be quenched. In this distress Cœrus was informed that Cyrus designed to form his life, but seeing his perfomance attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking Apollo, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had formerly ended his prayer when clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing quite extinguished the flame. Cyrus understanding by this miraculous event that Cœrus was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made use of him after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son Cambyses, as the perfom whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that, upon the taking of the city of Sardis, a certain Perses, not knowing Cœrus, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, Salus, spare the life of Cœrus. These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily after his death.
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a likewise under subjection, he again entered Assyria, and marched towards Babylon, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus calls him, Labynius, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to Babylon, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by Cyrus. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city flored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, he cau'd a line of circumanvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning, that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there was within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his Troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its mona for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, infam'd Cyrus from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour. Cyrus having spent two entire years before Babylon, without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in possession of the place. He was informed, that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in Babylon, and that the Babylonians on that occasion were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprize them in, and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elsewhere described, with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he posted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by Gobrias, and the other by Gadates, and finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surpriz'd the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cause of this confussion, the Persians rushed in, took the palace and killed the king, who sword in hand came up to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted, and Cyrus, without any farther resistance became master of the place, and concluded his conquests after a war of 21 years. The taking of Babylon Babylon takes. put an end to the Babylonian empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets of Ijirah, Jeremiab, and Daniel had uttered against that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account.

The king of Babylon being killed, Darius the Mede is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom. By Darius the Mede is meant Cyaxares, king of the Medes and uncle to Cyrus, as we have fully proved in the history of Media. For Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. Cyrus, having settled his affairs at Babylon, returned into Persia to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were full alive, and after a short stay there went back to Babylon together with Cyaxares. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war. The civil government being thus settled, Cyrus ordered all his forces to join him at Babylon. On a general review he found, they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garisons

gations such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the Red-Sea and the confines of Ethiopia. In this interval of time Daniel was by order of Darius, who remained at Babylon, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of Media. After two years after the reduction of Babylon, Cyrus dying, and also Cambyses king of Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon and took upon him the whole government of the empire, which he held for the space of seven years (K).

In the first of those seven years expired the 70 years of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of Isaiah, naming him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repopulated by their ancient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the Jews to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, the captive Hebrews assembled out of the several provinces of the Babylonian empire, to the number of 42,366 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for Judea. And thus was the time of Judah and Jerusalem again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). Cyrus restored at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and lodged in the temple of his God Bavel.

After the return of the Jews, the Samaritans, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus’s decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the ministers to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly.

And it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of Cyrus thus disappointed, that in the third year of that prince Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three years together (4).

But to return to Cyrus. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural subjects and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caucasus and Euxine seas, on the west by the Aegean, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He kept his residence in the heart of his empire, spending the seven cold months at Babylon by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer (4).

Having

\[(X)\] The reign of Cyrus is reckoned, from his first coming out of Persia to the affixation of his uncle Cambyses at the head of the Persian army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of Babylon nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of Cambyses in Media and Cambyses in Persia, seven years. Tully (5) reckons by the first account, Procopius (6) by the second, and Xenophon (7) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of Cyrus mentioned by Ezra (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of Judah, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

\[(L)\] It may not be improper in this place to infer the famous edict of Cyrus in favour of the Judeans; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

\[(9)\] Cic. de divinat. l. 2. \[(2)\] Psalm. in Carcer. \[(10)\] Cyropæd. i. viii. \[(11)\] Ezra. i. 1. \[(12)\]
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Chap. XI. 

Having spent seven years in this state of tranquillity, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rap and impious proceedings of his successors, he died in the 70th year of his age, equally regretted by all the nations of his valiant-spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the Persian and Median armies, thirty years; from the reduction of Babylon about 540 B.C., nine; and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of his uncle Cambyses, or Daricus the Mede, seven years. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. Xenophon's account, who makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amid his friends and in his own country, seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at Persepolis in Persia, where Xenophon says he died, and his monument was to be seen there in the time of Alexander the Great. Had he been slain in Scythia, as Herodotus and Justin relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at Persepolis? Besides, it is by no means probable, that such a wise man, as Cyrus is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking, as the Scythian expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after so great an overthrow the Persia empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyses was. For Herodotus tells us, that he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

On his death-bed he appointed his son Cambyses to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire: To his son Smerdis he left several considerable governments. Cambyses, known in scripture by the name of Abaiah-Cambyses, was likewise well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians. The occasion of this war, as related by Herodotus, seems fabulous. In most likely, that Amasis, who was then king of Egypt and had submitted to Cyrus, upon the death of that great conqueror, refused to pay his successor the fame homage and tribute. But be that as it will, Cambyses in order to carry on the war with successes made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Egyptians furnished him with ships, and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of Greeks, Lycians, and Boeotians, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from Ptolemy of Halicarnassus, who, being commander of some Greek auxiliaries in the service of Amasis, took some disgust, and going over to Cambyses made such discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in Egypt, as greatly contributed to the successes of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that Cambyses contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories lay between the confines of Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during his march through deserts that parted those two countries. The Arabian fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which Cambyses could never have marched his army that way. 1


(M) Diodorus Siculus (12) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris, queen of the Medes and Persians, and by her orders crucified. Orfus (13) says, that in a battle against the Medes, a people bordering upon Persia, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain Indian, of which wound he died three days after. John Melito of Aisissich, out of a forged book attributed to Ptolemy, ascribes us, that he was slain in a sea-fight by the Samians.

Some writers tell us (14), that after the reduction of Babylon, Cyrus, having a victorious army at his devotion, and Cambyses being returned from Babylon into Media revolted from Cambyses, in conjunction with the Persians under him, who were incited theretounto by Harpagus a Mede, and Artaxerxes, who had assisted Cyrus in subduing Aisa minor, and had been injured by Darius. Harpagus was sent by Cambyses with an army against Cyrus, but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to Cyrus. Cambyses raised a new army, and was again defeated near Persepolis in Persia, and taken prisoner. By this victory, they, the monarchy was translated from the Medes to the Persians. But we cannot account for the good-will of the Medes, as that we read in Xenophon.

The History of the Persians. Book I.

Being thus prepared, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that Amasis was just dead, and that his son Psammemnities, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before Cambyses could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, Cambyses had recourse to the following stratagem, probably suggested to him by Phanes. Being informed, that the whole garison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garrison not daring to throw a dart, or shot an arrow that way, through fear of killing some of those animals, Cambyses poise in himself of the place without opposition.

Cambyses had scarce taken possession of this important place, when Psammemnities at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his further progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the Greeks and Carions who served under Psammemnities, to shew their resentment against Phanes, for introducing the Persians into Egypt, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their fathers and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The Persians, enraged at so cruel a flight, fell upon the Egyptian army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to Memphis (N). Cambyses pursued them close, and arriving at Memphis, sent a herald into the city, on a vessel of Mytilene, by the river Nile on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to a surrender. But the people transported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But Cambyses after a short siege having stormed the place, fully revenged their death, causing ten Egyptians of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those they had slain, and the eldest son of Psammemnities was one of the number. As for the king himself who was taken prisoner, Cambyses was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind usage, did all that lay in his power to raise new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull’s blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of six months, and with him died the ancient splendour and liberty of Egypt, for all that country immediately submitted to the conqueror.

On the news of this success the Lybians, Cyrenians, and Barceans sent embassadors with presents to Cambyses, declaring themselves ready to submit to him, and receive his forces in their strong-holds. From Memphis he marched to the city of Naucratis, the burying-place of the Egyptian kings. Here he caused the body of Amasis to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after exposing it to a thousand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of Amasis, shews the irreconcilable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade Egypt.

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(N) On occasion of this battle Herodotus (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, whereby he himself was an eye-witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were in his time found to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the Egyptians, thoug he, were so hard, that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the Persians were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the leafy blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the Egyptian custom of shaving the hair of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preferred from baldness, there being fewer people bald in Egypt, as Herodotus observeth, than in any other country. As the heads of the Egyptians were strengthened by this method, so those of the Persians were softened by the contrary custom. For they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at Peræum in those who, together with Abennes the son of Darius, were defeated by Inaras king of Libya.

(16) Herodot. l. iii. c. 12.
Chap. xi. The History of the Persians.

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions, the first against the Carthaginians, the second against the Hellenians, and the third against the Ethiopians. But he was forced to drop the first project, by reason of the Phenicians, without whose help he could not carry on that war, relented to afflict him against the Carthaginians, who were defended from them. Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent embassadors into Ethiopia, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the Ethiopians, being well apprized of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the Ethiopian king, in return for the presents they brought him from Cambyses, lent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the Persians embassadors, he addressed them with this speech. "'Tis not from any consideration of my friendship that the king of Persia sent you with these presents; neither have you spoken truth, but are come into my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man, he would define no more than his own, and not attempt to enslave a people who had never done him any injury. However, give him this bow from me, and let him know, that the king of Ethiopia advises the king of Persia to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians shall be able thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they have never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country." Cambyses, being informed by his embassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition. He left the Greek auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his absence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at Thebes in the upper Egypt, he detached 50,000 men against the Hellenians, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, while he with the rest of his army should march against the Ethiopians. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating their baets of burden. Cambyses, notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt, and the fencers fed upon herbs and roots, so long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the sandy deserts, they were brought to such extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions, a food, says Seneca, more to be dreaded than famine itself 4. The king thill perished in his mad design, till at last being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprise, and retreated to Thebes, after having loft great part of his army in this wild attempt.

As for that part of the army which was sent against the Hellenians, they marched from Thebes, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of Oxyrhynchus inhabited by Samnians, and seven days march distant from Thebes. No body doubts, as our author informs us 5, but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to Egypt or their own country. The Hellenians informed Herodotus, that they marched from Oxyrhynchus, and that after they had entered the sandy desert which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

Cambyses, on his return to Thebes caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples from the remains found from the flames, which amounted to the sum of 300 talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations 6.

From Thebes Cambyses marched back to Memphis, where he discharged the Greek mercenaries and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding

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1. Idem. ibid. c. xx—xxiv.
2. Seneca de fra. l. iii. c. 20.
4. Idem, ibid. c.
finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god Apis had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that publick mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance, with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him.

The chief god of the Egyptians was Osiris, at Memphis called Apis. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the Egyptians believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks were sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to Cambyses, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the Apis in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the Egyptians at Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The Apis after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from Cambyses.

The Egyptians say, that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impious tyranny that ever was committed amongst them, Cambyses was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions showed that he was to long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

He had a brother by the same father and mother, called by Xenophon Tanaisare, Smerdis by Herodotus, and by Justin Mergis. He attended Cambyses on his Egyptian expedition, but being the only person in the army that could bend the bow, which the king of Ethiopia had sent, within two fingers breadth, Cambyses from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into Persea. After his departure Cambyses dreamed, that a melfinger arriving from Persea told him, that Smerdis was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched Prenapasses, one of his confidants, into Persea, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.

This murder was followed by another still more criminal. Cambyses had with him in the camp his youngest sibby by name Merse. As this prince was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the Persian nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his sister. The judges, being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but they had a law which gave the king of Persea liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer he solemnly married her, and thereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his sibfors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sibber he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the Nile between Egypt and Ethiopia, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the Ethiopians. The occasion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner.

As Cambyses was one day diveting himself in feeding a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched, another of the same litter breaking loose came to his assistance, by which means the lion was masted. Whilst the king was mightly pleased with this adventure, Merse, who sat by him, began to

2 Idem, ibid. c. 30.  
3 Idem, c. 30.
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... to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother Smerdis, whom no body had been good-natured enough to afflict. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child, gave her such a blow with his foot on the belly, that the miscarried, and soon after died. (N)

He caused all the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily tortured some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked Pseudoes, who was his chief favourite, what the Persians said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. Pseudoes answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of Pseudoes, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head; and turning to Pseudoes, if I show, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the Persians you must own have slandered me, but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoken the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an inquiring manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the Persians had injur'd his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unhappy father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dexterously. (O)

While he was proceeding in this furious manner, Cretes king of Lydia thought fit to be before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government, which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, supplemented the execution of the sentence and concealed Cretes, thinking, that, if Cambyses should inquire for him and relent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that Cambyses neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for Cretes, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of Lydia was still alive. Cambyses was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had favored him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders. (E)

Cambyses in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left Egypt in order to return to Persia. On his coming into Syria he met an herald sent from Sipha to the army, to acquaint them, that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was proclaimed king, and commanded them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. Cambyses, at his departure from Sipha on the Egyptian expedition, left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patizibus one of the chief of the Mages. This Patizibus had a brother who very much resembled Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and was, perhaps on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully affered of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that Cambyses indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out, that he was the true Smerdis.

*Idem. c. 31. 32.  *Idem. l. iii. c. 34. 35.  *Idem. ibid. c. 36.

(N) The Egyptians, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as Cambyses and his father were at table, the latter took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves off, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more agreeable than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was possible, but upon Moro replied, that he had represented the broken lettuce by difmembreing the house of Cyrus. Upon these words Cambyses brake her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) Seneca (18), who copied this story from Herodotus, after dwelling on his detestable and cruell action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words: Sed vobis relatum illud luctuosum est quam mifum.

Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire to give notice of Smerdis’s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to Egypt, finding Cambyses with his army at Ecbatana in Syria, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the Orders of Patizibilis. Cambyses caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of Persaeus who had received Orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and that he who had usurped the throne, was Smerdis the Mage. The mention of that name greatly affected Cambyses, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him, that Smerdis was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out in a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword flung out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded he enquired the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called Ecbatana, he laid in the presence of all, fate had decreed that Cambyses the son of Cyrus shall die in this place. For while he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at Ecbatana; which he understanding of Ecbatana in Media resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in Media he found in Syria. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called Ecbatana, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief Persian lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the Persians to the Medes, of which nation Smerdis the Mage was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the Persians, suspecting all this was laid by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and Cambyses dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis. To this delusion Persaeus greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed Smerdis the son of Cyrus with his own hand.

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the Samarias begg'd him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at Jerusalem. And their application was not in vain, for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the Jews under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work.

This prince is called in scripture Artaxerxes, by Herodotus Smerdis, by Asbylyus Murdes, by Ctesias Spalandatus, and by Justin Oropophas. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of Asia, the Persians only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few years after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married Ahefa the daughter of Cyrus, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to his brother, Cambyses, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the Mage pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only encourag'd the suspicion that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Phodya the daughter of Otanes, a Persian nobleman of the first rank. Otanes to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a truly meffenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis the son of Cyrus, or some other man. Phodya returned answer, that, as she had never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not satisfy his curiosity. Otanes by a second meffenger desired her to enquire of Ahefa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with Ahefa, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from...
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from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of Otares, who thereupon sent a third messenger to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or not, for Cyrus had formerly caused the ears of Smerdis the Mage to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, the might be sure that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus, but if otherwise, he could be no other than Smerdis the Mage, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or the perfum. Phedyta answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he knew had no ears and should surprise her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, next morning acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. Otares upon this information imparted the whole affair to Gobryas and covered. Otares upon this information imparted the whole affair to Gobryas and covered. Otares upon this information imparted the whole affair to Gobryas and covered. Gobryas

Pursuant to this resolution Otares named Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyzas, and Apathines Hydarnes. In the mean time, Darius, the son of Hyphasis, arriving at Susa from Persia where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their revolutions, which they did accordingly. Darius at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in Persia but himself had known that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was really dead, and the crown usurped by a Mage, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best-concerted designs easily disappointed. Otares on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprise till they had increased their number. But Darius remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the Mage, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt.

While they were concerted their measures, the two Mages in order to remove all suspicion engaged Periages in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the Persians. Periages, as we have related above, knew, that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was not living, having by the command of Cambyses put him to death with his own hand. The Mages having engaged Periages to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the Persians under the walls of the palace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis the son of Cyrus. Periages having taken upon him this office, the Mages summoned the Persians together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. Periages began his discourse with the genealogy of Cyrus, and then put the Persians in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. Having exhorted Cyrus and his family, to the great atonishment of all, he finally declared all that had passed, and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run by publishing the imposture had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, not being able to attach any longer such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by Cambyses to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the person who possessed the throne was Smerdis the Mage. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had

* Iden, I. iii. c. 74, 75.

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had committed by compulsion and against his will, and fulminating many imprecations against the Persians, if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty and punish the usurper, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot. *Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

In the mean time the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what Prynus had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, Otainus earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprise. But Darin being still infatuated upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (H), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive missages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven Persians, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two Mages were consulting about the late affair of Prynus. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow, soon found that weapon of no use in to close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded Atyatines in the thigh, and struck out the eye of Intaphernes. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to flout himself in, but was so closely pursued by Darin and Gobryas that they broke into the room with him. Gobryas having seized him held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, Darin stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which Gobryas perceiving desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this Darin resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two Mages, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The Persians, being informed of what paffed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole body, and killed every Mage they met; and it might coming on had not put an end to the slaughterer, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the Persians with the greatest solemnity, called by the name of Magophania, or the slaughter of the Mages. On that festival the Mages durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to flout themselves up in their houses.

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerufalem. For as soon as he was seated on the throne, the Samaritans acquainted him, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side of the Euphrates. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the Jews, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to enquire into touching this matter. And accordingly Smerdis, upon these remonstrances having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the Jews had been reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, filled an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the Samaritans to see it  

(H) Herodotus (19) tells us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven Persians observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with Darin, and marched straight to the palace.
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a is put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of Darius Hystaspis, that is for the space of near two years "(Q). b For to return to the conspirators; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. Otanes was for a republic. Megabyzus spoke for an oligarchy, and Darius declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate, embraced by all except Otanes, who, finding his sentiments overruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred, and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their convenience, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manners of the country.

Upon his departure the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed, that whatsoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present Otanes and his posterity with a Median veil, a mark of great distinction among the Persians, because c he had been the chief author of the enterprise. In the next place they determined, that the crown should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the Gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rifting of the sun on horseback, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whole horse first neighed, should be king; for the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. Oebares, who had the charge of d Darius's horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six Persians repairing to the place purportant to their agreement, Darius's horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king.

The Persian empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and even afterwards the Persian kings of this race had seven chief councillors priviledged in the same manner, and by whole advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were transacted.

Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture.

Darius was the son of Physistratus, a noble Persian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had attended Cyrus in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of Persia. Darius is called in the writings of the modern Persians Gub-tesp, and his father Lobnaos, and are famous among the Persians to this day. Dar- ius, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of Cyrus, Megובה and Artyphiua. The former had been wife to her brother Cambyses, and also to the Mage, but Artyphiua had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added Parmys the daughter of the true Smerdis, and Phedoma the daughter of Otanes, who detected the Mage. Having f thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapties or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. Persia alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the Ethiopians and

" Ezra iv. 7-24. 1 Herodot. i. iii. 83. 2 Herodot. c. 84-37. 3 Ezra viii. 14.  

(Q) That Cambyses was the Abuthares and Smerdis the Artaxerxes of scripture is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between Cyrus and Darius by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between Cyrus and Darius except Cambyses and Smerdis, we must conclude, that none but Cambyses and Smerdis could be the Abuthares and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.
and inhabitants of Cutha were enjoined to make only some presents, and the Ararrians to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment Darius received the yearly tribute of 14,500 Euboeic talents, besides several other sums of small consequence.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign put to death Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion. Intaphernes went to the palace to confer with Darius; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above-mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was seized by the door-keeper and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. Intaphernes not believing them drew his tcynefar, and having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and flewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. Darius apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked whether they approved the action. But finding that Intaphernes alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, left his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of Intaphernes made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that Darius touched with compassion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the peril. She after some deliberation chose her brother. Which Darius hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that the could get another husband, and have by him other children if the should be deprived of those she had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but favored also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with Intaphernes, without any regard to his late defects.

In the beginning of the second year of Darius, the Jews returned the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet Haggai. Which the Samaritans understanding applied themselves to Tattai, whom Darius had appointed governor of Syria and Phœnicia, acquainting him, that the Jews were not authorized to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the Persian yoke. Upon these remonstrances Tattai accompanied by Sebarbozna, who seems to have been governor of Samaria, went up to Jerusalem, and after viewing the work enjoined of the elders by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of Cyrus; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly flattering the cafe, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of Cyrus, which the Jews produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of Babylon and Ecbatana to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in the letter of the latter, for Cyrus was at Ecbatana in Media when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular, and having sent it to Tattai and Sebarbozna enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at Jerusalem, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the Jews in Judea and Jerusalem was entirely restored (R).

About the beginning of the fifth Year of Darius, the Babylonians, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the Persians, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from Babylon, formerly the metropolis of the empire, attempted to retrieve their ancient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the Persians, as they had done in former times against the Assyrians. With this

\[\text{Year of the Year of Darius 2482.} \]
\[\text{Before Christ 517. Babylon restored.}\]

(R) From the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish account (which was the 17th according to the Babylonian computation) when Jerusalem was destroyed, to the 4th Year of Darius Hystaspis, when the Jews were thoroughly restored, just seventy years puffed according to the canon. So that exact and profane chronology exactly agree in this particular.
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a this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper Smerdis, they had of Cambyses, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper Smerdis, they had

b women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether

c Darius, having lain before Babylon a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and

d Darius, puritan of the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The Babylonians mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time Zopyrus, opening the gates of Belus and

e and Darius, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to

f Scythians, inhabiting those countries which lie between the Danube and the Dniestr, expedition.
his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, and entered Scythia. The Scythians, after having conferred together about the measures they should take to oppose to powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers in proportion as the Persians advanced, laying waste the country and filling up the wells and springs. Pursuant to this resolution they met Darius on the frontiers, and finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired, drawing him back from country to country, till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of persifling with all his forces, and having resolved to give over that rash enterprise and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the Danube, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before Darius. The Scythians had sent express to before-hand to persuade the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing to them, that as the time prescribed by Darius was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for Darius had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the Ionians began to consult among themselves, whether or no they should comply with the request of the Scythians. Miltiades, prince of the Chersonese of Thrace, having the publick interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing to favourable an opportunity of shaking off the Persian yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off Darius's retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except Hyllius prince of Miletus, who represented to the Ionian chiefs, that their power was linked with that of Darius, since it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose them and recover their liberty, if the Persian power should sink or decline. This speech made a deep impression upon the Ionian generals, and private interest prevailing over the publick good, they determined to wait for Darius, but, in order to deceive the Scythians and prevent them from using any violence, they declared, that their design was to retire pursuant to their request; and the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the Scythians to return back, meet Darius, and defeat him. They readily complied with the Ionians request, but missed Darius who arrived safe at the bridge, repafsed the Danube, and returned into Thrace. Here he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops he repafsed the Bosphorus, and took up his quarters at Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition.

Megabyzus, having brought all Thrace under subje&ion, dispatched seven Persian noblemen, that served under him, to Amyntas king of Macedon, enjoying him to acknowledge Darius for his Matter by the delivery of earth and water. Amyntas not only complied with their request, but received them into his house, and having prepared a sumptuous feast entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the Persians, being hated with wine, desired Amyntas to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the Persians not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name Alexander, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the same time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with pomanders under their garments. Thence he brought into the room instead of the others, and when the Persians began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poniards, fell upon the Persians, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by Megabyzus for these noblemen, but Alexander having
having with large presents bribed Bubares, who was sent to enquire after them, their
death was concealed, and the whole matter hushed.

The Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for invading their country, having passed
the Dardanelles, laid waste that part of Thrace which had submitted to the Persians, as
the Danube, called the river of Thrace or Tisus, entered the Red Sea by the straits of
the same place, from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly went out, the Phœnicians,
who were in his service, to fail round the coast of Africa. From hence
Sylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius a full account of his observations.
Darius hereupon returned India at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that
country, made it the 20th province of the Persian empire. Our author gives
large country, made it the 20th province of the Persian empire. Our author gives
northern Asia the greater part of the days of the Persian year at that time. (S).

Darius, after his return to Susa from the Scythian expedition, had appointed his
brother Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and given Otaenus the government of Thrace
and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus. In the
mean time a sedition happened in Naxus, the chief island of the Cyclades in the Ægean
sea, now called the Archipelago, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the
population, were banished the island. In their distresses they had recourse to Artaphernes,
who by the remonstrances made sensible of the mischief he had committed, dispatched to Thespius,
which joined him, repairing to Darius, that new city, and attended him in his
journey about the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several
nations both Greek and Barbarous, which could

(S) This payment was made according to the stan-
dard of the Ancient talent, the same with the Attic,
and therefore, according to the lowest computation,
amounted to one million and nine hundred thousand
sterling.

T) Darius, on his return to Sardis, after his un-
happy expedition against the Scythians, being in-
fomed that he owed his own safety and that of his
whole army to Hystenus, who had prevailed upon the
Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube,
fest for that prince, and desired him freely to ask
what favour he pleased for the eminent service he
had done him, Hystenus desired the king to grant
him the Edessian Myrcus, a territory upon the ri-
ver Strymon in Thessaly, with the liberty of building
a city there. His request being granted he returned
to Media, and having there equipped a fleet he
failed for Thrace, took possession of the territory
granted him, and began the intended city. Megas-
byzus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius,
being apprized how prejudicial that project
might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to
Sardis, represented to Darius, that this new city

(21) Herodot. l. v. c. 1.
ful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to Artaphernes the king’s brother, governor of Sardis, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing Naxus; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of Euboea lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into Greece. Artaphernes was so well pleased with these proposals, that instead of the hundred ships, which Aristeugas demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprise. And accordingly having obtained the king’s consent he sent the next spring to Miletus the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of Megabates a noble Persian of the Achemenian family. But his commission being to obey the orders of Aristeugas, and the haughty Persian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, a disaffection arose between the two generals, which was carried so far, that Megabates, to be revenged on Aristeugas, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristeugas, and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, Artaphernes condemned him to deprive all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he forebore that this miff should not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from Hystenus who confirmed him in it. (U). Hystenus, after several years continuance at the Persian court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire. For he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. Aristeugas, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of Hystenus, imparted his design to the leading men of Ionia, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking.

The next year Aristeugas to engage the Ionians more resolutely to stand by him, re-infused them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all Ionia, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other cities to revolt, or, as the Greeks then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, and of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the Persians, in the beginning of the following year he went to Lacedaemon to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon Cleomenes (W), who was at that time king of Lacedaemon, to fend

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1 Idem, I. v. c. 35. 36.

(U) Hystenus being desirous to import his design to Aristeugas, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into Ionia were guarded, shewed the hair of one of his servants in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at Sige till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to Miletus without any other instructions, than that upon his arrival he should declare Aristeugas to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(W) Cleomenes having appointed him a time and place for an interview, Aristeugas represented to him, that the Lacedaemonians and Ionians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their ancient liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike People, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedaemonians; and that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king’s residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which

(22) Herod. ii. 2. c. 35.
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a send him any succours, he proceeded to Athens, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the Athenians were disposed to clothe with any measures against the Persians, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. Hippias, the son of Phrynisus tyrant of Athens, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to Aristobulus at Sardis; and having infused himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The Athenians having intelligence of this, sent embassadors to Sardis, defining Aristobulus not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should infuse into their disadvantage. The answer of Aristobulus to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. This haughty missal incensed the Athenians to a great degree against the Persians, and Aristocles arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The Athenians ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the Ionians.

The Ionians having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty Athenian ships and five more from Eretria, a city in the island of Eubea, they set sail for Ephesus, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an Ionian soldiery having accidentally set one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither Aristobulus had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the Persians and Lydians drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the Ionians, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reembark at Ephesus. But before they reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians, who escaped, immediately hoisted sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the Persian empire. For Darius, being informed of the burning of Sardis, and hearing that the Athenians had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon Greece, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, Remember the Athenians. In the burning of Sardis the temple of Cybele, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians for burning all the temples of Greece. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

b Idem, ibid. c. 99—105.

which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. Clemens defied three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked Aristocrates in how many days one might travel from the coast of Ionia to the city where the king resided. Aristocrates, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to Clemens, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; so as he directed to draw the Spartans into Asia, he ought to have reckoned the distance from the coast of Ionia to Susa; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which Clemens to sooner hear and there, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart before he was fet, for advising the Spartans to take a march into Asia, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. Clemens then withdrew; but Aristocrates, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he defied him to bid his daughter Gorgo, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but Clemens telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, Aristocrates began with the promise of ten talents in cæle Clemens would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, Flx, father, ftr, elle this stranger will corrupt you. Clemens was so well pleas'd with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered Aristocrates to depart his dominions.

(25) Idem, l. v. c. 51.

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The Ionians, though defeated by the Athenians, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but purposed their point with great resolution. Their fleet failed to the Hellespont and the Propontis, where they reduced the city of Byzantium, and most of the other Greek cities on those coasts. As they were failing back they made a defect in Caria, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of Cyprus likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the Persians. The Persian generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in Cilicia and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the Phoenicians to affright them with their whole naval power. The Ionians, as they were failing to Cyprus, fell in with the Phoenician fleet, attacked, and dispersed them. But at the same time the Persian troops, that were landed in Cyprus, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement Oinithus, the son of Cheris, author of their revolt, the Ionians reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of Cyprus was again brought under its former domination.

After the reduction of Cyprus, Dauniae, Ilymea, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all fons-in-law to Darius, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters. Dauniae held his course to the Hellespont, and from thence, afterpossessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the Carians, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuscade he was slain with several other Persians of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. Ilymea, after having taken the city of Cius in Mysia, reduced all the Illyrian coast, but falling sick at Troy soon after died. Otanes and Otanes with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the center of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered Ionia and Aetolia, where their main strength lay, and took the city of Cleonae in Ionia, and Gyna in Aetolia, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that Arisbogoras, not finding himself in a condition after that loss to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon Miletus, and consult his own safety by retiring to some more distant place. Accordingly he embarked with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river Strymon in Thrace, where he seized on the territory of Myrmicus, which had been formerly given by Darius to Hystiaeus. But as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from Miletus, he left the government in the hands of Pythagoras an eminent citizen, who being informed, that Arisbogoras and Otanes designed to bend all their force against Miletus, summoned a general assembly of the Ionians. In this meeting it was agreed, that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the Persians at sea, thinking themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous was Lada, a small island over-against Miletus, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet the Persians, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their eminences they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to defeat the common cause. When they came to an engagement, the Samians, Lesbians, and several others, heeling sail returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not confit of above 100 ships, they were quickly overtaken and overpowered by the Persians, and almost entirely destroyed. The city of Miletus was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the sixth year after the revolt of Arisbogoras. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Thrice that fleet out were treated as they had been threatened before-hand, the handiwork of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into Persia; their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the Ionians drew upon themselves, by ascending the ambitious views of two corrupting men, Arisbogoras and Hystiaeus.1

1. Idem, l. vi. c. 1—5.  2. Idem, l. vi. 31—55.
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The latter had his share in the general calamity; for, being taken by the Persians and carried to Sardis, he was immediately crucified by order of Artaphernes, who had sentenced him to death without consulting Darius, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that Artaphernes’s conjecture was well grounded; for when Histiaeus’s head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a perfidious, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, resolute, and enterprising genius of his age; with him all means of no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he sacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene, in the history of Ionis and the Greek colonies in Asia.

The Phoenician fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of Asia, Darius’s Expedition recalled all his other generals, and appointed Mardonius the son of Gobrias, a young and energetic general, to take the command in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of Asia, ordering him to invade Greece, and revenge on the Abodii and Etrurians the burning of Sardis. Mardonius, having rendezvoused his forces at the Ileis, pitched his camp near the city with his chief in the midst, and ordered his fleet first to reduce Thasus, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in Macedonia, all the country, terrified at such an army, submitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of Mount Athos in order to gain the coast of Macedonia, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land-army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the Boeotians of Thracius, attacking him in the night, broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself, who, being disabled by these losses, proceeded to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into Asia, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition.

Darius hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, and attributing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, Datis a Mede, and Artaphernes, his own nephew, being the son of Artaphernes, the king’s brother and late governor of Sardis. But before he would make any further attempts upon Greece, he judged it expedient first to found the Greeks, and try how they were affected, or were averse from, the Persian government. With this view he sent embassies to all the cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. On the arrival of these embassies many of the Greek cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demand; as also the inhabitants of Aegina, a small island over against it, and not far from Athens. But at Athens and Sparta they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and had both earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent embassadors to the king of Persia at Susa, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his embassadors. But Darius, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the embassadors back to their respective countries, though some of Sparta voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of.

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of Greece, hastened the departure of his generals Datis and Artaphernes. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of Eretria and Athens, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at Samos, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men, steering their course to Naxus, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all temples both of this and the

† Idem. I. vi. c. 43—45. ‡ Idem. I. vii. c. 133. § Plutarch in Morav. p. 829.
the other islands in those seas, they held directly for Etruria, a town in Eueea, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of Ephorbus and Phileon, the two chief citizens. Having taken Etruria, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at Sardis, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they returned to Aetia. Eupalus the son of Phippos, who, as we have said above, had fled to the Persians, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of Marathon. Hence they sent heralds to Athens, acquainting the citizens with the fate of Etruria, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The Athenians had sent to Lacedaemon to declare succours against the common enemy, which the Lacedaemonians granted, but they could not set out till some days after, by reason of an antient and superstitious custom, which obtained at Sparta, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the Persians armies struck into the cities of Greece. The inhabitants of Platea alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the Athenian mounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was Miltiades, whom we shall have occasion to mention often in the history of Greece. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except Miltiades, who declared, that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. Aristeides, convinced by the speech of Miltiades, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. Callimachus likewise, who had been very fain to go against such a rash enterprise, fell in at last with Miltiades, and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to Miltiades, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As soon as that came, he endeavoured to gain the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and to render the Persian cavalry useless. The Athenian forces were so drawn up that they were equal in front to the Persians; but because they had not a sufficient number of men in the center, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the Greeks, performed, Miltiades, without waiting the motions of the Persians, commanded the signal for the battle to be given, when the Athenians fell upon the enemy, with such courage and resolution as could hardly be expressed. The Persians seeing the Athenian advance imputed their resolution to folly and despair, being not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and without striking prepared themselves to receive them. After a long and obstinate fight, the Persians and Sacæ broke the center of the Athenians, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The center was commanded by Aristeides and Themiocles, who with great intrepidity made head against the whole Persian army, till, being borne down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. But the Athenians and Plateans, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their center, just as they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whether they purposed them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more. In this action several Athenians of great distinction were slain, and amongst others Callimachus and Stagirius, two of the chief commanders, with only 2000 private men, whereas the Persians left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their
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their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board.

their vessels. Hippias was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in

order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus, had put

swords and, reproached by the Athenians, to acquaint his fellow-citizens with

their injuries at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce the

immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, to which he owed his birth.

joy, and, having uttered these words, Rejoice, rejoice, the victors are ours,

he fell down dead at their feet. The Persians were so much moved by this act of

considerations, that they had brought marble along with them to

Marathon in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the Athenians seized, and

cauted a statute to be formed of it by the famous Phidias in honour of the goddes

Nemesis, whose province it was to punish unjust actions.

After this defeat the Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands in order to

return to Aegina, doubled the cape of Sunium with a designto surprise Athens before

the return of the army. But the Athenian troops, being apprized of their design,
decamped from the plains of Marathon, and marched with such expedition, that

they arrived at Athens before the enemy's fleet, and by that means disappointed their

measures.

Datis and Arterckernes arriving in Aegina, that they might seem to have reaped some

advantage from this expedition, sent the Eretrian captives to Sesta. Darius had

expected great indignation against the Eretrians before the reduction of their city,

and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now

his prisoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them

any harm, but gave them a village in the country of Cythia to inhabit, which was but

a day's journey distant from Sesta. Here Apollonius Tyrannus found their defec-

tants a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedemonians began their

march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of Attica,

having marched in so short a time 1200 Stades; such was their celerity to be

preferred at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstitious prevented their having a

share in the glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought a day

before they arrived. However, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the

fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the Athenians on the

happy success of the battle, they returned home.

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army, was so far from

being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at Marathon to the

burning of Sardis, as a new motive spurring him on to undertake the war with more

vigor. He therefore resolved to head the army in person, and inflicted orders to

all his subjects in the several provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedi-

tion.

(X) "Jutius tells us (24), that the Persians lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by ship-

wreck, 200,000 men: but we choose to follow Herodotus, who, having heard of these losses, and

ascribing it, that in the battle were killed 6,300

Persians and 192 Athenians. The whole Persian

army, according to Valerius Maximus (25), consisted

of 300,000 men. Plutarch seems to intimate the

fame (26). Jutius (27) and Orfeus say, that they

were in all 660,000 men. Emilius Probus (28) tells

us, that they were 100,000 feet and 10,000 horses.

Of the Athenians there were 10,000, and 10,000 Plate-

iates; say Jutius and Orfeus; but Probus affirms us,

that the Athenians with their auxiliaries were in all

but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained,

if we believe Plutarch (29), upon the 6th day of

Bedeatvnon the third month in the Attic calen-

der, after the summer solstice, Phenippus being at that
time prefect at Athens, that is in the third year of

the 72nd Olympiad four years before the death of Da-

rius, as we read in Sevirus Sulpicius (30), and ten

years before Xenophones himself came to Greece, as

Theodorus informs us (31). Most authors tell us, that

Hippias was slain in this battle; but Suidas says, that

he escaped and died afterwards in the island of Len-

nos. Themistocles, who became afterwards so fa-

mous, on this occasion first entered the school of

war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious

behaviour of one Gygges an Athenian soldier, who,

having first his right hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of

the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it

at left with his teeth.

(Vol. II. Gg)
new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. This gave him no small uneasiness; however, as he was wholly bent on this expedition against Greece, he resolved not to lay that aside, but at the same time to send part of his forces to reduce Egypt, and with the rest to march in perfidy against his old enemies the Greeks (Y).

But when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons concerning the succession. According to an ancient custom among the Persians the king was obliged, before he let out on any expedition, to name his successor: a custom wisely established to prevent the many inconveniences that attend an unsettled succession. Darius thought himself the more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just right to the crown upon his demise. Darius had three sons by the daughter of Gabryas his first wife; all born before he came to the crown, and two more by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, all born after his succession to the throne. Of the first Artabazanes was the eldest, of the latter Xerxes; and these two were competitors for the succession. Artabazanes, or, as Jufins calls him, Artamenes, urged, that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the Succession to the younger. On the other hand, Xerxes alleged, that he was the son of Atossa daughter of Cyrus, who had founded the Persian monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one, who was a descendent of Cyrus, than upon one that was not. Darius had not yet declared in favour of either, when Damarcrastus, king of Sparta, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at Suda, and hearing of this dispute secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested to the royal dignity, whereas Artabazanes was only the son of Darius a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to Artabazanes the eldest son of Darius. He further supported his argument by the example of the Lacedaemonians, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after his advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to Darius, that he declared Xerxes heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of opinion, that Xerxes was named to the succession, not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother Atossa had over the inclinations of Darius, who in this matter was entirely governed by her authority (Z).

The succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the Egyptian and Greco-Persian expedition, Darius died in the second year of the revolt of Egypt, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wisdom, clemency, and justice are greatly commended by the ancients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ, as a favourer of God's people.

1) Idem, l. vii. c. 2, & 3.
2) Ezr. vii. 11 and Zechar.

(Y) Diodorus Siculus (32) seems to intimate, that Darius marched into Egypt to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded in the enterprise. That historian relates, that upon Darius's desiring to have his throne placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, so many offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, replied, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that Darius had several conferences with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government, and that having learnt of them with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that Darius resolved to make war at the same time upon Egypt and Greece, and to invade Greece in peron, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of Egypt.

(22) Jufins and Plutarch (33) place this dispute after the defeat of Darius, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. Arthabumus, according to them, was absent when the king died, and Xerxes immediately took all the emblems of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity. But upon his brother's returning home he quitted the diadem and insignia, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle Arthabumus the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquiesce, without any further appeal, to his decision. During the whole time this dispute lasted, all the demonstrations of an entire and fraternal affection passed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not infall, to the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence, but immediately proclaiming himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his interest, and at last died in his service in the battle of Salamis.

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The preparation for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the Jews, and particularly, that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother Achemenes governor of that province, and returned to Susa. Puffed up with this success against the Egyptians, he determined to invade Greece. But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought fit to appease his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them the design he had of invading Greece, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). Mardonius, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of Darius, hoping that the command of the army would be bestowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to let forth the indispensable necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done to the Persian name at Sardis and Marathon. The rest of the council, perceiving that the flattering discourse of Mardonius pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict it, but all kept silence for some time. At last Artabanus, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing Xerxes, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached Mardonius with want of circumspection, and shewed how much he was to blame for deferring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded with these words: "If a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in Persia, and our children be devoted into his hands. Then go on with your expedition, attended by the best forces you can chuse, and in what number you think fit. If the issue be favourable, I am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of my children. But on the contrary, if the event be such as I have foretold, then let your children suffer death, and you also, if ever you return." Artabanus expressed his sentiments (A) the Jews (54) have a tradition, that the prophets Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, died in the last year of Darius; and that on their death the spirit of prophecy ceased among the Jews, which was the sealing up of wisdom and prophecy foretold by Daniel (55). And it is said by the same tradition, that the kingdom of Persia ended in the same year; for they confound this Darius with the other who was conquered by Alexander, and will have the Persian empire to have lasted only 22 years, which they reckon thus: Darius the Mede reigned one year, Cyrus three, Cambyses, according to them the husband of Euphrosyne, who married Euphrates, 32 years. This Darius they take to be the same with Artaxerxes, who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem, to restore the Jews to their ancient state. For they tell us, that Artaxerxes was a name common to the Persian king, the son of Phraates was to the Sogdian, and Ezra thus showed what little he was acquainted with the Persian history; and their countryman Xerxes seems as much as much in the dark, with respect to Persia, as they were. (B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the Abanians, who without any provocation had fallen upon Sardis, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples; the easier defence he had to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at Marathon; and lastly, the prospect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conquest of Egypt, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, that he meant only to execute his designs. He concluded his speech with promising ample rewards to such as should distinguish themselves in this expedition, and desiring them to deliver their opinion in this matter with freedom (56).

(A) Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

(B) Herodot. l. vii. c. 5. 6.

54. Xerxes succeeding his father employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the Jews, and particularly, that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple.

55. Xerxes: Year of the birth of Christ 485.

56. Before Christ 485.
ments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless Xerxes was extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if Artabanus were not his uncle he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resembled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him. However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned, that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language, and was not ashamed to repair his fault, by openly confessing, that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him trepida against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanus. At the same time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aside the design of invading Greece, notwithstanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war (C). All the Persians, who composed the council, were overjoyed to hear the king speak in that manner, and prostrating themselves before him, strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay Artabanus himself, the only man who had openly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most fainthearted and zealous promoter of the war.4

Xerxes, being now resolved to attack Greece, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were at this time the most powerful people of the west, whereby it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar their general, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great many mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; so that his army consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces and the necessary provisions. And thus Xerxes, agreeable to the prophecy of Daniel, having by his strength through his riches stirred all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece; that is, all the west under the command of Hamilcar, and all the east under his own banners, set out from Susa to enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vaft preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spread empire. From Susa he marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

Two things Xerxes commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the one was a palaestra to be cut through mount Abos. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The fea in this place is very tempestuous, and the

(C) Herodotus tells us, that Xerxes, reflecting in the night time on the opinion of Artabanus, was very much perplexed, and concluded at last, that a war with Greece could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his resolution he fell asleep, and saw in a dream a man of an uncommon stature and beauty following by him, and uttering these words: Have you then changed your design of leading an army into Greece, after having ordered the Persians to assemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your resolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Refuse therefore without delay the enterprise you determined to undertake. The Phantom, having pronounced these words, disappeared; and the next morning Xerxes, neglecting his dream, summoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the Greek expedition, and wished them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the same Phantom appeared again to Xerxes, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war with Greece, he should become little and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. The king, terrified with this second dream, sent for Artabanus, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on the throne and pass the night in his bed. Artabanus at first begged to be excused as not desiring the honour of sitting in the king's throne; but being pressed by Xerxes, who was prevailed, that if the dream was from the gods Artabanus would foretell the same vision, he at last complied with his desire and dressed himself with the royal robes. As he slept in the king's bed, the same Phantom appeared to him, threatening him with the greatest calamities, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so terrified Artabanus, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing, that there was something divine in these repeated visions, and the war against Greece was resolved on (37).

(37) Idem, i. vii. c. 8, 9, &c.
PERSIAN fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster XERXES caused a passage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two galleys, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he severed from the continent the cities of Dion, Olybysius, Acrebothin, Tbylus, and Cleone. Our author observes, that Xerxes undertook this enterprise only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the Isthmus, as was the practice in those days (D).

He likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the Hellepons, for the passing of his forces from Asia into Europe. The sea, which separates Sebost and Abysus, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the Phoenicians and Egyptians, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising broke it in pieces, and dispersed or dashed against the shore the vessels of which it was composed; which when Xerxes heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those who were trusted with the execution of his orders to pronounce these words: Thou false and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy belligerent and insolent resistance. The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off.

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was completed, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secured against the violence of the wind and the current of the water, Xerxes departed from Sardis, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to Abysus. When he arrived at that city, he directed to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a lofty edifice of white stone, which the Abysynthians had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect of the coasts, seeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of Abysus with his troops quite down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which Artabanus perceiving asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men not willing to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes, (39) that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the Phoenicians, who had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the Phoenicians opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and stopped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of justice and a market, furnished with corn and other necessaries brought from Asia. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For Herodotus tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides the canal was not cut through, as Joanath seems to intimate, but behind mount Atos, where the Isthmus was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two galleys pass in front.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount Atos in the following terms: Atos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and plains, that cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of Journal's opinion expounded in these words: Pavoratus Atos, & qui residui Greciae mendax audax in hiberna. The directors of this enterprise were Baborus the son of Megabythus, and Artabanus the son of Atosa, both Persians. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of Sams, situated at the foot of mount Atos, towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerately fathomed, those who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as floated higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes, (39) that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the Phoenicians, who had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the Phoenicians opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and stopped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of justice and a market, furnished with corn and other necessaries brought from Asia. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For Herodotus tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides the canal was not cut through, as Joanath seems to intimate, but behind mount Atos, where the Isthmus was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two galleys pass in front.
not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of inflicting into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a fene of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the torments and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion and chide them from making war upon Greece. Artabanus sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea and the land; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a storm should arise; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer; that in great enterprises men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniences that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however safe; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that if his predecessor had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the Persian empire would never have attained so high a degree of glory and grandeur.

All things being now in readiness, and a day appointed, for the passing over of the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewn with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun implored the assistance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of Europe. This done he threw the cup into the Hellepont, with a golden bowl and a Persian cymetar, and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the Evine, while the carriages and beasts of burden pashed over the other, which was placed nearer the Agean sea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in pashing over, though they marched day and night without intermission, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of Europe. After the whole army was passed, Xerxes advanced with his land-forces through the Thracian Chersonese to Dorieus, a city at the mouth of the river Hebrus in Thrace; but the fleet veered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the promontory of Sarpodon, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. Xerxes, having encamped in the large plains of Dorieus, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot and four million five hundred horse, which, together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand galleys and transports; on board of all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand fix hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which Xerxes led out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand fix hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the Hellepont to enter Europe, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O Jupiter, why art thou come to destroy Greece, in the shape of a Persian and under the name of Xerxes, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered Europe, the nations on this side of the Hellepont, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four-thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at Thermopylae, was two millions fix hundred and forty one thousand fix hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, fuiters, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal

* Idem, ibid. c. 45. & seq.
equal the number of the forces: so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty (E). Among these millions of men there was not one that could vie with Xerxes either in comeliness or stature, or that seemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly, Jophin, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, but this soft body wanted a head. Besides the subordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their respective countries, the whole army was under the command of six Persian generals, viz. Mardonius the son of Gobryas, Tristateches the son of Artabanus, Smerdones the son of Otanes, (the two latter were cousins to Xerxes), Mabter the son of Darus by Aosi, Gerys the son of Ariazus, and Megabyzas the son of the celebrated Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but Hydarnes. The fleet was commanded by four Persian admirals, and likewise the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, having thus numbered his sea and land-forces at Doricus, marched from thence through Thessaly, the Macedon, and the Thessaly towards Attica, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Where-ever he came he found provisions prepared before-hand, purfiant to the orders he had sent, and each city was obliged to entertain him, which cost immense sums, and gave occasion to the saying of a citizen of Abdera, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for Xerxes moderation in being satisfied with one meal a day.

In the mean time Lacedemon and Athens, the two moxt powerful cities of Greece, against which Xerxes was most exasperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, sent embassadors to Argos, into Sicily, to the islands of Corcyra and Crete to desire succours, and conclude a league against the common enemy. The people of Argos offered a very considerable number of troops, on condition they should have an equal share with the Lacedemonians in the command.

The latter confented, that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the kings of Sparta; but this offer did not satisfy the Argians, who thereupon ordered the embassadors to depart the territories of Argos before sun-set. From Argos they proceeded to Sicily, where Gela, the most powerful prince in all the Greek colonies, offered to affright them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by sea and land. This proposal was rejected by the Athenian embassadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without prefing him any further departed. The inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu, immediately put to sea with a fleet of 60 ships, but advanced no farther than the coasts of Latemis, where they waited.

waited the issue of an engagement, designing to ride afterwards with the conqueror. The people of Crete, having consulted the oracle to know what resolution they should take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league. Thus were the Lacedemonians and Abfenians abandoned by all their countrymen, except the Thebians and Plateans, who sent small bodies to their assistance. The first thing they took care of in so critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all intestine divisions and discords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the Abfenians and the people of Aegina, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the Abfenians choosing Tiberitheus, and the Spartans conferring the supreme command of their forces upon Leonidas one of their kings. The only thing that now remained was, to determine in what place they should meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. After various proposals and disputes it was resolved, that they should send a body of four thousand men to Thermopylae, which is a narrow pass, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that divide Theboly from Greece, and the only way through which the Persians could enter Attica, and advance by land to Athens. The command of this small body was given to Leonidas, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of Xerxes with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 Spartans who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself.

In the mean time Xerxes, advancing near the straits, was strangely surprised to find that the Greeks were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the Lacedemonians were, some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as Damaratus (F), who was then in the Persian camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, Xerxes, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking anything, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt Leonidas, promising to make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. Leonidas, in a fit and with a spirit truly Laconical, answered him in a few words; Come by self and take them. Xerxes at this answer, transported with rage, commanded the Medes and Ciffians to march against them; take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The Medes, not able to flout the fierce of the brave Greeks, soon betook themselves to flight, and fled, as our author observes, that Xerxes had many men but few soldiers. In their room Hydarnes was ordered to advance with that body which was called immortal, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to clothe with the Greeks, they succedeed no better than the Medes and Ciffians, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the Persians, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the Greeks give way; on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the Greek excited itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that Xerxes is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army. 1

Xerxes,

(F) Damaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and dilligence. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprize, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, Damaratus told them, that at Sparta the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the Persian court, but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country. He knew that Xerxes designed to invade Greece, but he secretly acquainted the Greeks with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

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a Xerxes, having loft all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs; when one Ephialtes a Melian, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. The king immediately ordered Hydarnes thither with his selected body of ten thousand Persians, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and possest themselves of that advantageous post. The Thebans, who defended this pass, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But Hydarnes, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those who defended the straits in the rear. Leonidas, being now apprized, that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but stayed his self with the Thebians, Thebans, and three hundred Lacedemonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who, being told by the oracle, that either Sparta should be destroyed or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Thebans indeed remained against their inclination, being detained by Leonidas as hostages, for they were suspected to favour the Persians. The Thebians with their leader Demophilus could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon Leonidas and the Spartans. The augur Megistias, who had foretold the event of this enterprise, being pressef by Leonidas to retire, went home his only son, but remained himself and died by Leonidas. Those who stayed did not feed themselves with any hopes of conquering or escaping, but looked upon Thermopye as their graves. And when Leonidas, exhorting them to take some nourishment, said, that they should all sup together with Plata, with one accord they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet.

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by Ephialtes. Upon their approach, Leonidas advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such an undaunted courage and resolution, that the Persian officers were obliged to stand behind the division they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to stand to violent a shock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the sea were drowned, others were trampled under-feet by their own men, and a great many killed by the Greeks, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action fell the brave Leonidas, which Abrocomes and Hyparantias, and two of the brothers of Xerxes observing, advanced with great resolution to seize his body and carry in triumph to Xerxes. But the Lacedemonians, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of Xerxes with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous Ephialtes, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the Thebians, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the Persians, who poured in upon them on all sides, till at length not vanquished, but oppressed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and a traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of Aristodemus the run-away (G), but not long after he

'G) Some say, as our author informs us (G3), that Eurytarus and Aristodemus, both Spartans, being obliged by a violent assault in their eyes to retire to Alpen, were there some time in suspense whether they should return to Sparta, or to Thermopylae; and there die with the rest of their countrymen. At last Eurytarus, hearing that the Persians had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But Aristodemus wanting courage failed at Alpen, and after the battle returned safe to Sparta. Others say, that both Eurytarus and Aristodemus had been dispatched some whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred Spartans, by name Panteles, survived this action and returned to Sparta. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the Spartans he laid violent hands on himself. As for

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he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of Plataea, where he distin-
guished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves
most among the Lacedaemonians were Alcibius and Maron, both sons of Orisphi-ano,
amongst the Thebians Dithyrambus, but above all Leonidas and Diocles; Diocles
was a Spartan, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen,
the king excepted. When the Trachinian told him before the battle that the army
of the Barbarians was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would
hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to
hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. Xerxes enraged against Leonidas,
to the last degree, for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and
his body to be put upon a crosst, which barbarous treatment redounded more
to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of that great hero. Some time after a
magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylae in honour of those brave defen-
ders of Greece, with two inscriptions, the one general and relating to all those who
died on this occasion, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus to the number only
of four thousand made head against the Persian army consisting of three millions:
the other related to the Spartans in particular, and was composed by the poet Simonides
to this purpose: Go, passenger, and acquaint the Spartans, that we die here in obedience
to their just commands. At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in
honour of the dead heroes, and publick games performed with great solemnity,
wherein none but the Lacedaemonians and Thebians had any share, to shew that they
alone were concerned in the glorious defence of Thermopylae.

Xerxes on this occasion lost 20,000 men, and being sensible that so great a loss
was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he cau sed all those that were
killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried,
and then proceeded in his march through Euboea to Attica, where he arrived four
months after he had passed the Hellespont.

The very same day, on which happened the glorious action at Thermopylae, the
two fleets engaged at Artemision a promontory of Euboea. That of the Greeks
consisted of 271 sail; but the Persian fleet was the more numerous, though they had
lost a few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400
ships. Notwithstanding this loss they sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the
island of Euboea and encompass the Grecian fleet, that none of them might escape.
The Greeks, having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time in order
to attack them by day-break. But having met this squadron, they advanced to
Abydus where the whole Persian fleet lay, and after several encounters, in which the
Athenians gained considerable advantages, they came to a general engagement,
which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal. However, the Greeks
found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to
refit, and accordingly lanced their course to the straits of Salamis, a narrow island very
near, and over-against, Attica. Though the engagement at Artemision did not
bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the
Athenians, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great
number, were not invincible.

As Xerxes entered Attica, the Athenians, not being in a condition to make head
against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by Themistocles to put all the
citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in Salamis, Egina, and
Tranaze, and to abandon the city of Athens, which they were no-ways in a condi-
tion to defend. The Persians, arriving in the neighbourhood of Athens, waited the
whole

1 Idem, ibid. c. 238. seqq.

for the Thessals and their general Leonidas, they
were obliged for some time to fight against the
Persians in conjunction with the other Greeks. But
they no sooner saw the Persians defending the hill
to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the
rest of their allies, and approaching the Persians with
their arms stretched out, told them, that they had
always favoured the Persians, that they had been the
first among the Greeks to present them with eather
and water, and that they were come to Thermopylae
against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss
they had sustained. Thus the Thessals saved their
lives, though the enemies killed many of them as
they advanced to forrender themselves. Many others
were by command of Xerxes branded with the
royal mark as slaves, and among these was Leonidas
their general (54).

(54) Idem, ubi supra.

(55) Idem, ibid. & seq.
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a whole country, putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which was exceeding rich, by reason of the many offerings and donatives sent thither from all the parts of the east. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus relate of this matter, the Persians no sooner advanced near the temple of Minerva, but a violent storm arising, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount Parnassus, and crushed the greatest part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at Athens found it detested by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who, literally interpreting Apollo's oracle, That Athens should be saved by wooden walls, had fortified that place with boards and palfioades. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution, and at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever, were all cut in pieces. Xerxes burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately dispatched a messenger to Salamis, with the agreeable news of his success, to his uncle Ariobarzanes, in whose hands he had left the government during his absence.

In the mean time the Grecian fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of Greece, to the number of 300 sail, Eurymedon, commander in chief of the naval forces, summoned a council, in order to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these Eurymedon, were for retiring to the island of Corinthis, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that passage under the command of Cleombrotus the brother of Leonidas. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles who commanded the Athenian fleet, were for remaining at Salamis, the most advantageous place they could chuse to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the straits of Salamis the Persians could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the Greeks, and consequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes, Eurymedon with all the other commanders came over to the opinion of Themistocles, fearing that the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as Themistocles in his speech had intimated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that in the straits of Salamis they should wait for the Persian fleet, and there engage them.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen Artemisia was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of Halicarnassus, and followed Xerxes in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of Sidonians. This prince disdained herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice as this heroine. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous confederacies of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians, alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war and advancing into the heart of Greece, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of Greece. This advice, though very prudent, was not followed; but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. Xerxes, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence even whilst the tyche beheld whatever happened, having several scribes about him to write down the names of such, as should signalize themselves against the enemies. The approach of the Persian fleet, with the news that a strong detachment from the army was marching against Cleombrotus who defended the Island, struck such a terror into the Peloponnesians, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at Salamis. Being therefore determined to put to sea and sail to the Island, Themistocles
foces privately dispatched a trufty friend to the Perfan commanders, informing
them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to fend part of their fleet round
the island in order to prevent their escape. The fame messenger affured Xerxes, that
Themistocles, who had fent him that advice, defigned to join the Perfians, as soon as
the battle began, with all the Athenian fhips. The king, giving credit to all he
faw, immediately commanded a strong squadron to figh ft the island in the night,
in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morining, as the Peloponnaffians
were preparing to fet fay, they found themfelves encompassed on all fides by the Perfan
fleet, and were againft their will obliged to remain in the ftraits of Salamis, and ex-
pofe themfelves to the fame dangers with their allies. The Grecian fleet confifted of
380 fhips, that of the Perfan of 2000 and upwards. Themistocles avoided the engage-
ment, till a certain wind, which rote regularly every day at the fame time and was
entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himfelf favour-
ed by this wind he gave the fignal for battle. The Perfians, knowing that they
fought under their king’s eye, advanced with great resolution, but the wind blow-
ing directly in their faces, and the largeteef and number of their fhips embaraffing
them in a place fo ftrait and narrow, their courage foon abated; which the Greeks
oberving ufed fuch efforts, that in a short time, breaking into the Perfan fleet, they
entirely duffered them, fome flying towards Phalerus, where their army lay
encamped, others faving themfelves in the harbours of the neighbouring iflands.
The Ionians were the first that betook themfelves to flight. But queen Artemisa
diftinguifhed herself above all the reft, her fhips being the laft that fied, which
Xerxes obferving cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women
with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were fo incenfed againsf
her, that they offered a reward of ten thoufand drachmas to any one that fhould
take her alive; but the in fplight of their efforts got clear of the fhips that purfued
her, and arrived fale on the coaft of Afa. In this engagement, which was one of the
moft memorable actions we find recorded in his ftoy, the Grecians loft 40 fhips,
and the Perfians 300, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men
and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king’s cruely made
the fleft of their way to their repective countries. Xerxes, being under no small ap-
prehension, let the conquerors fhould fail to the Hellespont and there obftuct his
return, left Mardonius in Greece with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the
reft towards Thrace in order to crofs the Hellespont. As no provifions had been
prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time
of his march, which lafted five and forty days. The foldiers were obliged to live
upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable
dilemper, that swept off the greater part of them. The king, finding that his army
was not in a condition to pursue the march fo expeditiously as he defired, advan-
ced with a small reftue, leaving the reft behind; but when he arrived at the Hel-
lespont, he found the bridge broke down by the violence of the storms, and was re-
duced to the neceffity of crossing over in a fhipping-boat. From the Hellespont he con-
tinued his flight to Sardis, where he took up his quarters for the enlufing year.

The firft thing the Athenians took care of after the battle was, to fend the firft-
fruits of their victory to Delfos, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of
those who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward
thofe who had fignalized themfelves above the reft. It was a cuftom in Greece, that
after an engagement the commanding officers fhould declare, who, in their opini-
on, had mofl diftinguifhed themfelves during the conflict, by writing down the
names of the perfon that deferved the firft, and of him who deferved the fcond
prize. On this occafion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his
own name in the firft place, and in the fcond the name of Themistocles, which plainly
proved, that he deferved the preference to all. And accordingly he was diftinguifhed
with honours, which to that time had never been bellowed upon any other, as we
fhall have occafion to relate in the history of Greece. 4

About the fame time that the actions of Thermopyle and Salamine happened, the
formidable army of the Carthaginians, confifting of 300,000 men, was entirely
defeated by Glo king of Syracufe. We fhall give a particular account of this victory
in the history of the Carthaginians.
On Xerxes's departure out of Greece, Mardonius, having passed the winter in Thessaly and Macedonia, marched early in the spring into Boetia. From thence he sent Alexander king of Macedon with very advantageous offers to the people of Athens, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in Attica; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. Alexander, as being their ancient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity of refetting their affairs, representing, that they were not in a condition to stand out against so powerful an enemy. But the Athenians could not by any means be prevailed upon to defeat the interest of Greece. Whereupon Mardonius marched with all his army into Attica, wafting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to Salamis, Aegina, and Trosenae, and the second time abandoned their city. Mardonius to flight, and demolish whatever had escaped the fury of his forces the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of Greece being drawn together on the Isthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back into Boetia. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than Attica, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow passes. On his return into Boetia, he encamped on the banks of the Agus. The Greeks followed him thither under the command of Pausanias, protector of Pharsalus, king of Sparta, and of Artabazus, commander in chief of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to the computation of Herodotus, consisted of 3,500,000, according to Dioeclesus of 500,000 men. That of the Grecians did not amount to the number of 110,000. Mardonius, in order to try the courage of the Greeks, sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The Megarians, who were encamped on a plain satiated the first onset; but in spite of all their resoluteness were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies' arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 Athenians with a small number of bow-men advanced to their relief. Mestius, general of the Persian horse, and one highly esteemed in Persia, seeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew by the issue of this encounter what might be the successe of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last Mestius was killed, the Persians betook themselves to flight. The death of Mestius was greatly lamented by the Persians, who, to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the space of ten days only looking at one another. At last Mardonius, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to bear any further delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. Artabazus, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of Thebes, where they should be in a condition to lay in stores of provisions and forage. He alleged, that by delaying they might call a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by sending rich presents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The Thebans were of the same opinion; but that of Mardonius, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. Alexander king of Macedon, who in his heart favoured the Greeks, came late about midnight into their camp, and informed Artabazus of all that had passed. The Greek generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged, Pausanias, thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the Athenians, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the Medes; and Persians, whom they had formerly conquered at Marathon, while he with his Spartans engaged the Thebans and other Greeks, who served in

1 Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & seq.
in the Persian army, and had been often routed by the Spartans. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, made the like change, which obliged the Greeks to return to their former stations; and the Persians likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haste they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they floated near the little city of Platea. Mardonius, being informed that the Greeks were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if he were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to intitle Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notions he had conceived of the Lacedemonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the Afrus, he came up with the Lacedemonians and Tegeans, who were separated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. Paeanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the very center of the Persian army, and after a most obstinate resistance put them to flight. Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signified himself on this occasion, and, at the head of 1000 chosen men, made a great slaughter of the enemies, but he falling, the whole Persian army was easily routed, which those Greeks who had engaged the Athenians hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the Athenians masters of the field. The Persians fled to their former camp which they had fortified with an inclosure of wood. The Lacedemonians pursued them, but were not able to force the entrenched, not being accoutomed to besiege towns or form fortified places. The Athenians, hearing that the Persians were thus shut up in their camp, gave over pursuing the Greeks, and hastened to the assistance of the Lacedemonians, whom they found busied in forcing the enemies' camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they took upon themselves that labour, and soon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the Lacedemonians, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 scarce 3000 made their escape. Artabazus, who from Mardonius' imprudent conduct had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befell them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived safe at Byzantium, from thence passed over into Asia. During the whole engagement, the Spartans lost but 91 men, the Tegeans 16, and the Athenians 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylae, and had now wiped off the blinmiss of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money, in gold and silver cups, vases, tables, bracelets, rich beads, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Paeanias, who distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was Greece delivered not only from the present, but all future invasions of the Persians, who hence-forward never more appeared on this side of the Hellespont. The same day that this battle was fought at Platea, the Greek fleet gained as memorable a victory at Mycale, a promontory in Asia, over the remainder of the Persian navy. For at the same time that the land-forces of Greece rendezvoused on the Ibemus of Corinthis, their fleet met at Aegina, under the command of Leotychides the other king of Sparta and Xanthippus the Athenian. Thither embassadors came to their commanders from the Ionians, inviting them into Asia, to deliver the Greek colonies from the Persian yoke. On this invitation they immediately let fall for Asia, fleeing their

1 Idem, c. 83.
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a their course by Delos, where they were met by other embassadors from Samos, who brought them intelligence, that the Perisan fleet, which had wintered at Cumis, was then at Samos, where it might easily be destroy’d, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to Samos, but the Perisan fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to Mycale, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the year before. Here they drew their ships afores, and throw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The Greeks, arriving at Mycale, found all their enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing their ships in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and purfued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the Perisans, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the Greeks pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the Lacedemonians, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the Perisans likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbouring hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the Milefians to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the Milefians being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two Perisan generals Mardonius and Tigranes died in the field, with many other commanders of great distinction. The Greeks, having made a great slaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the purfuit, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and set fire for Samos loaded with an immense booty, consisting of 70 chefs of money, besides many other things of an inestimable value. And thus ended all the great designs of Xerxes in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the Hellespont.

The battle of Platea was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternooon of the same day, and yet all the Greek writers pretend, that the victory at Platea was known at Mycale before the engagement began there, though those two places were parted by the whole Aegian, a sea of several days sail. But Diodorus Siculus clears up this matter, telling us, that Leotychides observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at Platea, left they should be overpowered by the numerous army of Mardonius, in order to rafle their spirits and courage, caused a report to be spread in the army, that the Perisans were defeated at Platea, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes upon the news of these two overthrowes left Sardis, with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left Athens after the battle of Salamis, making all the haste he could towards Peria, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out he gave orders, that all the temples of the Greek cities in Asia should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one temple was left standing, except that of Diana at Ephesus (1).

(1) He was prompted to this, not by any particular displeasure against the Asiatic Greeks, but by the institutions of the Magi, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by Zarathusri. For that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came.

And to keep Xerxes steady in their party, not only several of the chief Doctors of the Magi, but Ophanes himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of his expedition (56). At their instigation, Taly informs us (57), that all those temples were destroyed.

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The Grecian fleet after the battle of Mycale steer'd their course first to Samos, and thence to the Ilissus, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which Xerxes had caused to be laid over those straits; but finding them broke by storms, Loeceites with his Peloponnesian forces failed home. Xerxes with the Athenians and their allies, the Ionians remaining there, made himself master of Sestus and the whole Thracic Chersonesus, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. Xerxes finding all the material of the bridges at Cardia, whither they had been conveyed by order of Xerxes, carried them with him to Athens, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the Greeks obtained in this war. From this time the Ionian cities in Asia, shaking off the Persian yoke, recovered their ancient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

The Greeks, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the Persians out of all the Greek cities in Asia and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which, failing to Cyprus, under the command of Pausanias and Aratus, drove the Persians out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty.

While Xerxes resided at Sardis, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Mithridates, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could by no solicitations be prevailed upon to defile her bed. However, the king, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her he might at last conquer her virtue, married her eldest son Darius, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to Arysta, this prince’s daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But Xerxes, finding her virtuous proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother’s firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, Hamephris, wife to Xerxes, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon Arysta, deified him to give her the mantle. Xerxes, foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from inflicting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her disposal, which was one of the greatest presents that the Persian kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king’s affections. Hamephris being now confirmed in the spurious she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better execution of her design she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king’s birthday; on which occasion the king according to the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever the demand was. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother Mithridates might be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen’s design, was struck with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withheld her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctance to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princes, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged Hamephris, empowering her to treat her as the pleased. In consequence of this power, Hamephris castrated her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time Xerxes
a Xerxes had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But Mphies, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dishonified him. Mphies, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated to the highest degree, as the cause deferred, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of Battarina, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the Battarians to revolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But Xerxes, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of Hamathis. She cauffed fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

b Upon the death of Mphies Xerxes appointed Hyphasis his second son to be governor of Battarina, which, obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place.

c Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual sries of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the Aegean sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This diffusive manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged Artabarus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to Artaxerxes the king's third son, and charged Darius his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. Artaxerxes, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever Artabenus told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there being affrighted by Artabenus and his guards, murdered him. The next

d heir was Hyphasis the second son of Xerxes, but as he was then in Battarina, of which province he was governor, Artabenus placed Artaxerxes on the throne; but with a defign to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependents, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design, but while he was hastening to put it in execution, Artaxerxes being informed of the whole plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to Artaxerxes the possession of the kingdom (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the Greeks Macrobehein, that

e Xerxes murdered.

Year of the
found 5555.
Before Christ
404.4

f Whether Artabenus possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by Artaxerxes before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of Artaxerxes are by Eusebius (158) assigned to Artabenus; perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(158) Euseb. in Chron.

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L. 1
that is long-handed, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but in scripture he bears the name of Ahaburus as well as that of Artaxerxes, and is the same who had Ethber for his queen (M).

Having by the death of Artabanus removed one dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstructions in his way, viz. his brother Hystaspes in Bactria, and the party of Artabanus at home, which gave him the first trouble. Artabanus, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many Persians of distinction fell on both sides. But at length Artaxerxes, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Tho' especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The cunichus Aristocrates, who betrayed him, was beheaded, a punishment which was in ufe among the Persians, and we have already described where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. Artaxerxes, having thus crushed the faction of Artabanus at home, was in a condition to fend an army into Bactria, which he had declared in favour of that nation, and by which force he had succeeded in his designs, retreating by the same army, without losing a man, to the indignant despair of the Persians.

But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, Hystaspes fled his ground, and though he did not actually carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, Artaxerxes drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hystaspes, and by a complete victory secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abusethat disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects.

(L) Strabo (530) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but, according to Plutarch (530), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the Latins Longimanus, which answers the Greek Artaxerxes. (M) Some are of opinion, that Darius Hyphasis was the king Ahaburus who married Ethber, and that Ahaburus was the Vathiri, and Artanbas the Ethber of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these personages in the prophetic history. For Herodotus tells us (62), that Ahaburus was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Ethber; and that Ahaburus had four sons by Dinias, all born after he ascended the throne (53); and therefore she could not be that queen Vathiri, whom the king divorced in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, nor be the king Ahaburus. Besides, Ahaburus had such an affronted over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on Xerxes her son; whereas the Ahaburus of scripture divorced Vathiri by an unconditional decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (56). What induced the learned primate of Ireland to be of this opinion was, that Ahaburus in the book of Ethber (69) is said to have died a tribute on the land and on the barren, and the same is said of Darius Hyphasis by Herodotus (67); but this Strabo attributes to Darius Longimanus (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the errone of Longimanus, with his description of the person in that place, plainly shows that Darius was there by mistake of the copyists, put instead of Ahaburus, seeing no Darius ever bore that name, and what is said there of Darius is applicable to none but Artaxerxes. Scaliger is of opinion (59), that Xerxes was the Artaxerxes, and his queen Hamathris the Ethber of scripture, induced thereto by the familiarity he had with Hamathris and Ethber. But the dilillation of their characters is a far stronger proof that Hamathris could not be Ethber, and must appear from what we have already related of queen Hamathris, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of noble birth a character cannot have been that queen of Persia, who by the name of Ethber is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by Herodotus (70), that Xerxes had a son by Hamathris, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and Ethber was not till that time married to Ahaburus (71). There being no such objections as to Artaxerxes Longimanus, he must, in our opinion, have been the Ahaburus who married Ethber. This we find confirmed by the Septuagint, by the apocryphal additions to the book of Ethber, and by Jostephos. The Septuagint throughout the whole book of Ethber translate Ahaburus by Artaxerxes. The apocryphal additions to that book confirm that Ethber’s husband was Artaxerxes, and from several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal books, it is very plain, that this Artaxerxes could not be Artaxerxes Hamathris. Jostephos (72) tells us in express terms, that Ethber’s husband was Artaxerxes Longimanus. Several Sufismists and many others, both ancient and modern writers, fall in with Jostephos. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which Artaxerxes Longimanus showed to the Jews beyond all other kings that reigned in Persia, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as Ethber to intercede for them.
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Subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire, Artaxerxes, being now settled in the peacable possession of the whole Persian empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of Susa, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. Vaheti the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women; and here the history of Hadafab or Efber, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

In the fifth year of Artaxerxes's reign the Egyptians revolted, and, making Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king, called in the Athenians to their affederation, who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of Cyprus, laid hold of that power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, Artaxerxes, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to Achabemonides one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in Egypt at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the Nile. In the mean time the Athenians, having defeated the Persian fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, failed up the Nile, and landing their forces, under the command of Charithmis their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians. They afterwards attacked joint forces Achabemonides, routed his army, and killed 100,000 men with the general himself. The remainder fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the Persians securing themselves in the third called the White-wall, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief.

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in Egypt, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it, sent embassadors to the Lacedemonians, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the Athenians, and by that means oblige them to recall their troops to the defence of their own country. But the Lacedemonians rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending Themistocles, (who had taken shelter in the Persian court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of Greece) at the head of a powerful army to invade Attica. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull; he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died. Upon his death Artaxerxes ordered Artabazus governor of Cilicia and Megabyzus governor of Syria to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the White-wall. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into Egypt, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. Inarus, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these Persian governors to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the White-wall, and made most efforts to carry it; but the Persians within defended themselves with such bravery, that the Egyptians and Athenians made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place.

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of Artaxerxes, the Persian fleet being equipped, Artabazus took the command of it, and set sail towards the Nile, while Megabyzus, at the head of the land-forces, marched to Memphis. On his arrival he


(N) Herodotus (72) and Diodorus Siculus (74) confound Achemenides brother to Acharax, with Acharax, brother to Xerxes and uncle of Artaxerxes, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to Acharax, who in the beginning of

the reign of Xerxes was governor of Egypt. But they were certainly misled by the multitude of names, for Gefos tells us, that Artaxerxes gave the command of the troops to the son of Memphit, who could not be Achemenides.

73 Herodot. l. iii. & vii. 74 Diodorus l. xi.
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not only obliged Inarus and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the White-wall, but a
in a pitched battle entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the Egyptians, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat Inarus, though wounded in the thigh by Megabyzus, retired with the Athenians and such of the Egyptians as
were willing to follow him to the city of Biblos in the island of Profoposis, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the Nile, the Athenians obtained a place where they were not able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessible
blends of the place. Inarus and his auxiliaries in the island of Profoposis defended themselves with such vigour, that the Persians, despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the Nile, where the Athenian fleet lay, and by that means opened a passage for the whole army to enter the island. Inarus, seeing all was now lost, delivered up himself, the Egyptians, and about 50 Athenians to Megabyzus, on condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the Athenians, to the number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in battle-array, resolved to die sword in hand, and fell their lives at the rate, in imitation of the Lacedaemonians that fell at Thermopylae. The Persians, perceiving they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The terms were, that they should leave Egypt, and have a free passage home by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the island with the city of Biblos to the conquerors, and marched to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece, but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of 50 sail, being bent by them to relieve those who were besieged in the island of Profoposis, arrived at one of the mouths of the Nile soon after their countrymen had surrendered,
and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the same time attacked by the Persians, and galled with fuch flowers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some few who broke through the enemy's fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the Athenians had carried on for the space of five years in Egypt, and that kingdom was a new united to the Persian empire, and continued to during the remaining part of the reign of Artaxerxes. Inarus and the other prisoners taken

in this war were sent to Susa and Sartanes appointed governor of Egypt.

The Athenians having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of it to Cimon, enjoining him to drive the Persians from the island of Cyprus. Cimon in pursuance to his orders took Citium, Maltha, and several other cities of that island, and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of Amyratus in the gulf of Egypt. Artabazus being then in those seas with a fleet of 300 ships, Cimon, as soon as his squadron returned from Egypt, fell upon him, took 100 of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursuèd the remainder to the coasts of Phanicia. Being flushed with this success, on his return landing his men in Cilicia, where he found Megabyzus and Artabazus sent embassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following terms: 1. That all the Greek cities of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no Persian ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the

Cyanean and the Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coast of

Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should come by land within three days

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a march of those feasts. 4. That the Athenians should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of Persia. Thrice articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had lasted from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians fifty one years complete, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of Greeks and Persians.

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her Inaros and the Athenians who had been taken with him in Egypt, that the might sacrifice her to the manes of her son Achæmenes, yielded at last to her unwearyed solicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, cauffed Inaros cruelly. Megabyzus, who had engaged his word that their lives should be spared, looked upon this as a dishonour done him, and therefore retiring to Syria, of which province he was governor, raised there an army and openly revolted. The king immediately sent Orsias, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of 200,000 men to suppress this rebellion. But Megabyzus in a general engagement wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. Artaxerxes hearing that his general was taken sent a messenger to demand him, and Megabyzus generously released him, affoan as his wounds were cured.

The next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him under the command of Methomnes, son to Artarius the king’s brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was attended with no better success than the other; for he was in the same manner defeated and put to flight, leaving Megabyzus master of the field and all the baggage. The king, being sensible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother Artarius and his sister Amytis who was wife to Megabyzus, with several other persons of distinction, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, Megabyzus, fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king still retaining ill-will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that Amytis his sister and Hamesbris his mother prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment. Megabyzus was therefore sent to Cythere, a city standing on the Red-Sea, and sentenced to lead the rest of his life there under confinement.

However, five years after he made his escape from thence, and under disguise got safe to his own house at Sisæ, where by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king’s favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened some years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best councillor and greatest general of the whole empire. To him Artaxerxes owed both his life and his crown at his first accession to the government. But it is of dangerous consequence in a subject to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befell Megabyzus.

In the 34th year of the reign of Artaxerxes a war breaking out between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, commonly called the Peloponnesian war, both parties sent embassadors to the king imploring his assistance. But we do not find, that Artaxerxes returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an embassador to the Lacedemonians named Artaphernes with a letter written in the Assyrian tongue, wherein he told them, that several embassadors had come to him from them, but the purports of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a Persian to let them know, that if they had any propozals to make they should send a trutyl person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This embassador arriving at Eson on the river Strymon in Thracia, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the Athenians being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master. The year following, as soon as the seafon allowed the Athenians to put

put to sea, they sent back the embassadors in one of their own ships at the expense of the publick, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of Persia with the character of embassadors. But when they landed at Ephesus, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the Athenians, not thinking it advisable to proceed farther, took their leave of Artaxerxes and returned to Athens.

Artaxerxes favoured the Jews above all the kings of Persia, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by Xerxes the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were Sogdianus, or, as Ctesias calls him, Secundanus, Oebus, and Artices. Xerxes having drunk immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity Sogdianus laid hold of, and being let into the bed-chamber by Pharmaces, one of Xerxes' eunuchs, flew him, after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom.

Scarse was Sogdianus seated on the throne, when he put to death Bageresus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of Artaxerxes and of the queen, Xerxes' mother, who had died the same day as her royal comfort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the Persian kings, he found on his return Sogdianus in possession of the crown, with whom he had formerly had some small difference. This Sogdianus remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrell with him something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused him to be slain. These two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous of some of his brothers, might treat him as he treated Xerxes: he sent for Oebus, whom he chiefly suspected, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived. Oebus had been by his father appointed governor of Hyrcania, and being well apprized of his brother's design, under several pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of Persia, openly declaring, that he designed to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and several governors of provinces, who, being highly dissatisfied with the cruelty and ill-conduct of Sogdianus, put the tiara on Oebus' head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself thus defeated, contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with Oebus, who having him in his power caused him to be thrown into aches (O), where he died a cruel death.

Oebus, being sitten on the throne by the death of Sogdianus, changed his name, taking that of Darius instead of Oebus, and is by historians commonly called Darius Naborus, or Darius the Beardless (P).

Artices, being in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by Oebus, began to entertain thoughts of treating Oebus in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto and assisted by Artibius the son of Magabyrus. Oebus, whom henceforth we shall call Darius, sent Artayrus, one of his generals against Artibius, while

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(O) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in Persia. Oebus had swore, that Sogdianus should not die by the sword, by poison, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the Maccabees, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days.

(P) He is placed in Ptolemy's canon as the immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the title of that canon, which constantly subscribes to the predecessor the whole year in which he dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reign of Xerxes and Sogdianus made up but eight months, and they did not reach to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.
while he marched in person against his brother Artabtes. Artaphernes, with the affluence of his Greek mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been sent against him. But, these being gained over with large bribes, he left the third battle; and being reduced to great straits furloughed himself to Darius, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by Parysatis his wife and fitter. She was daughter to Artaxerxes by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greatest importance. The council he gave him on this occasion was, to treat Artaphernes with great clemency, that, by such usage of a rebellious servant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his mercy, and then dispense of them both as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed. For Artabtes, being informed of the general defection Artaphernes had met with, concluded, that he, as a brother, should be treated at least with the same indulgence and good-nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king and furloughed himself into his hands. Darius, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by Parysatis to put both him and Artaphernes to death by suffocating them in ashes.

He also put to death Pharnaces for being concerned in the murder of Artaxerxes, and Mithridates, another eunuch, who was the chief lieutenant of Segistanus, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquility he expected; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by Piatis hes governor of Lydia, who setting up for himself raised an army of Greek mercenaries, under the command of Lycon an Athenian. Against him Darius sent Tissaphernes, appointing him at the same time governor of Lydia in his room. Tissaphernes, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the Greeks who served under Piatis hes, and inducing both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon Piatis hes, not being in a condition to carry on the war, furloughed upon promise of pardon. But the king the instant he was brought before him sentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king’s order, suffocated in ashes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised; for his son Aratas with the remainder of the army still opposed should Tissaphernes, and for two years continued to infest the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till he was at length taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians at Ialysus a city of Ionia, and delivered by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.

Darius had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and, we may say, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, Artaxerxes, Artaberes, and Abias. These he consulted, and followed their advice, in all the momentous affairs of the government. But Artaxerxes was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne; and accordingly formed a design of cutting off Darius. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the Persians had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death.

But the greatest misfortune that befell Darius, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of Egypt, which broke out the same year that Piatis hes rebelled. For though Darius got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce Egypt. Amyrites, who had reigned in the Brints of Egypt ever since the revolt of Insanus, being apprised of the discontents of the Egyptians, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, fell out of his favor, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the Persians quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all Egypt by the total expulsion of the Persians, he resolved to attack them in Phoenice too, having the Arabians in confederacy with him for this undertaking.

P Idem, c. 49.  q Idem, c. 51.  r Idem, ibid.
taking. News of this being brought to the court of Perseus, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to affest the Lacedemonians, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions. *

While Darius was carrying on the war against the Egyptians and Arabians, the Medes revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder labour than before, as is usually the case. † Darius seems to have been likewise successful against the Egyptians; for Amyrtacus being dead, after a reign of six years, his son Reuteri succeeded him, as Herodotus informs us, in the kingdom with the consent of the Persians, which shows that they were masters of Egypt.

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of Media and Egypt, invaded Cyrus his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power, for, being born after his father’s accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother Parysatis, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father’s death; and this use he accordingly made of it to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter. ‡ On receiving his commission he was ordered to affest the Lacedemonians against the Athenians; contrary to the wife measures observed by Tissaphernes, who, by sometimes uniting one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the Persians, who had so long been the common enemies of both. This order given, Cyrus soon discovered the weaknesses of the king’s politics. For the Lacedemonians having, with the affiance given them by Cyrus, soon overpowered the Athenians, sent first Thebros, and after him Dercylidas, and at last Agis their king to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues or governors of the Greek cities, found means to rekindle the war in Greece, which obliged the Lacedemonians to recall their troops for their own defence.

Darius having put to death two noble Persians, sons to a filter of Darius, for no other reason, but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the Persians in the presence of their kings, Darius recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed and desired to see him. Cyrus, well knowing how great an attendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to Lysander general of the Lacedemonians, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Piraeus on the Hellespont, which put an end to the Athenian power and the Peloponnesian war, after it had lasted twenty-seven years. † Darius was highly incensed against Cyrus, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had precluded to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled her father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father’s accession to the throne, which had given the preference to Xerxes in the reign of Darius Lydiæc. Darius could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but, however, bequeathed him the government of those provinces which he ruled before. Not long after Darius Notbus died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by Artaces his eldest son by Parysatis, who on his ascending the throne took the name of Artaxerxes, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the Greeks Maemon, that is Remembrer. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that by following the same rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without fearing from the one or the other. "

Upon

The History of the Persians.

Chap. II.

Upon the death of Darius his son Artaxerxes went to Pasargadae, to be there inaugurated after the Persian custom by the priests of Belona. He was no sooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother Cyrus had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information Cyrus was seized and sentenced to death. But his mother Parysatis prevailed upon the king, not only to spare his life, but to send him back to the government of Asia Minor, which his father had left him.*

Artaxerxes was no sooner settled on the throne, but Statira his queen, whom he was very fond of an account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of Udaias, who had killed her brother Teriteuchmes. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of Darius, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which railed great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes a Persian lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arseas, falling in love with her, married her, and at the same time Teriteuchmes her brother married Hamesfris, one of the daughters of Darius and sifter to Arseas, by reason of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to succeed him in his government. But falling in love with his own sister Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira, that he might without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife Hamesfris, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom.

* Darius being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged Udaias, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Mithridates, the son of Udaias, who was one of Teriteuchmes's guards and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him, and to avenge his insipid he set on the city of Zarias, and openly revolting declared for the son of Teriteuchmes. Mithridates was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of Zarias, and with him the son of Teriteuchmes; all the rest of the family of Hydarnes were apprehended and delivered to Parysatis to execute her revenge upon them, for all the ill usage done or intended against her daughter. That cruel prince began with Roxana, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be fawed in two, the others were all beheaded except Statira, whom the pardi at the earnest entreaties and thro' the importunate tears of her husband Arseas, contrary to the opinion of Darius, who told her that the would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the eafe ftood at the death of Darius. But Arseas was no sooner settled on the throne, than Statira prevailed upon his to deliver Udaias into her hands; whereupon she caufed his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His son Mithridates the appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had thrown to Teriteuchmes. But Parysatis, bitterly refenting this fact, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself; as we shall hereafter relate.

Cyrus, returning to his government of Asia Minor full of reftentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employ'd Clearchus a Macedonian general to raise a body of Greek troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the Macedonians were to carry into Thrace. Alcibicides the Athenian, being well apprized of the true end for which these levies were made, paffed over into the province of Pharnabazus with a design to proceed from thence to the Persian court, and acquaint Artaxerxes with the whole scheme.

Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partisans of the Macedonians, at Athens, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce Pharnabazus to put him to death, whereby the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state.

The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolted from him to Cyrus. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, fled 2396. Before Christ.

* Plutarch, in Artax. Xenoph. de exp. Cyr. l. 5. Justin. 1. c. 5. 11. * Ctes. in Pers. 403.

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In the year phreus, assembled troops openly, and to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes, being deceived by these appearances, believed, that all Cyrus's preparations were directed only against Tissaphernes, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had affixed the Lacedaemonians against the Abydians, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely dilate to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The Lacedaemonians readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of Tamos his admiral. But they took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother they might justify themselves to him for what they had done.

The army, which Cyrus had raised, consisted of 13,000 Greeks, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. Clearchus the Lacedaemonian commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Acheans, who were led by Socrates of Abydos. The Boeotians were under Proxenus, a Theban, and the Tegeans under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persians, generals, of whom the chief was Arius. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under Pythagoras a Lacedaemonian, and 25 commanded by Tamos an Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. Cyrus opened his design to none of the Greeks except Clearchus, fearing the boldness of the enterprises might disencourage the officers as well as the soldiers. Proxenus, between whole family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship sufficed, presented that young Abydian to Cyrus, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the Greek mercenaries. Cyrus, having at length got all things ready, set out from Sardis directing his march towards the upper parts of Asia, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be employed: For Cyrus had only given out, that he was marching against the Pisidians, who with frequent incursions harassed his province. However, Tissaphernes, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprise, set out with all possible expedition from Miletus to give the king a true account of them. Artaxerxes, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time Cyrus advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of Cilicia, where he found Smerdis, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against Tamos and the Lacedaemonian fleet which appeared upon the coasts.

When they arrived at Tarbus the Greeks refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting, that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. Clearchus at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill success, and therefore desisting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to Cyrus, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen one of the deputies. Cyrus, whom he had acquainted beforehand with what had happened, answered that he was going to attack Abطرح, who was at twelve days' march distance encamped on the banks of the Ephrates. The Greeks plainly saw that this was not his true design, but nevertheless showed themselves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increased. This Cyrus willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he marched against Artaxerxes. Upon this some complaints were heard at first, but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army.

Cyrus

\[\text{Xenoph. ubi supra, Plut. in Artax.}\]
\[\text{Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch, ibid. Justin, I. 7.}\]
\[\text{Xenoph. ubi supra, p. 252.}\]
\[\text{Xenoph. I. ii. p. 294.}\]
\[\text{Idem, 1. i. p. 240-261.}\]
Chap. 11.

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 Cyrus arriving, after a long march, in the plains of Cunaxa in the province of Babylon, found there Artaxerxes with an army of 300,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to stand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the Greek battalions. This advice Cyrus rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the Greeks fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them, was at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon Cyrus was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that Artaxerxes was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed Artagerges, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, I see him, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to allure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. Cyrus killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards observing they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot, and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to chose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that Cyrus, was killed by a Carian soldier. Mithridates a young Persian nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. Artaxerxes, after having cau sed his head and right hand to be cut off, purloined the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The Greeks had defeated the king's left wing commanded by Tissaphernes, and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But Tissaphernes acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the Greeks, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The Greeks under the command of Clearchus, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the Greeks halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither Cyrus himself nor any messenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisi ons taken which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. The next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from Cyrus, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they sent deputies to Artaxerxes, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conqueror the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. Artaxerxes rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to Ionia, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of Clearchus began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to Greece. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemies country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; and mingled with a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. This was the longest march and most memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. Clearchus had the conduct of it first, but he being cut off by the

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Book I.

The treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room, and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into Greece. As the fame Xenophon has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall refer the reader to that inimitable performance, and return to what passed in the court of Artaxerxes after the battle of Cunaxa.

As he believed that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most glorious action of his own life, to dispute that honour with him was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed, that the Carian folk, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he cauned him to be delivered to Parysaitis, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were any ways concerned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. Mitribiates likewise, having boasted that he was he who gave Cyrus his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the Persians. Mafabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, being delivered to Parysaitis, was flayed alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and refinement of Parysaitis stop here; for having conceived an implacable hatred against Statira for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son Cyrus's revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. Par-
yshaitis, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper, and a cer-
tain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the Persians, the divided it between Statira and herself with a knife which was poisoned on one side only: the found part the immediately ate, which encouraged Statira, though upon her guard, to eat the other, whereupon the was that infant feasted with horrible con-
volutions and died in a few hours. Artaxerxes being greatly afflictcd for the los-
of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, cauned all her domestics to be put to the rack, when Gygis one of her confidants discovered the whole. Ar-
taxerxes cauned Gygis, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to Babylon, telling her, that he would never let his foot within the gates of that city while she was there; but at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death.

After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes being sent back to his former govern-
ment, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to Cyrus, he began to harass and oppress the Greek cities, that were within the verge of his authority and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent embas-
fadors to the Lacedemonians imploring their affluence and protection. The Laceda-
emonians, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the Athenians, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the Persians, and sent Thibmrok with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that Xenophon brought back from Persia, they took the field against Tissaphernes. But Thibmrok being soon recalled upon some complaints and sent into banishment, Dercyllidas was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far greater successes than his pre-
deceilor. Upon his first arrival finding that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, govern-
ors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of Artaxerxes' districts and several cities of other provinces. Pharnabazus, fearing he might invade Phrygia the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into Bithynia, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time Pharnabazus took a journey to the Persia court, and there made loud complaints against Tissaphernes, for concluding a peace with Dercyllidas instead of afflicting him against the common enemy. The king likewise earnestly pleaded the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral, telling him, that as Conon was the best fea.

I Plutarch in Artax. ("..." could be a citation or reference to another source here.)
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a sea-commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from Greece, and soon put an end to the power of the Lacedemonians in Asia. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give Cunaxa the command of it.

In the mean time Dercylidas, having reduced Atarne, marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes uturnly resisted. For the Lacedemonians, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent Dercylidas express orders to march thither. This Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus no sooner heard but they united against Dercylidas, whom they came b up within fo disadvantageous a poft, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. Pharnabazus was for attacking him, but Tissaphernes, who at the battle of Cunaxa had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to Dercylidas to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective matters should be known. Thus Dercylidas and his army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing else could have delivered them.

In the mean time the Lacedemonians, receiving accounts from Asia, that the king of Persia was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of Phoenice, Syria, and Cilicia, and supposing him to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send Agis inus, one of their kings, into Asia, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, Agisus fell in with a considerable body of Agisus's forces, and arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design; with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at the Spartoi. Agisus upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horses, and, finding no body in a condition to oppose him, carried all before him. Whereupon Tissaphernes sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. Agisus replied, that he was come to affiit the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and restore them to their ancient liberty. Tissaphernes, being quite unprepared for a war, affiitred Agisus, that his matter would grant him what he demanded, provided, he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express which he had sent to court. Agisus believed him, and a truce was agreed on and sworn to on both sides. But Tissaphernes, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides, and fend to the king for more forces, and as soon as he received them, he sent word to Agisus to depart Asia, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the Lacedemonians and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of Tissaphernes, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the Persian empire. As for Agisus himself, he heard Tissaphernes's heralds with a gay and easy air, and desired them to tell their matter, that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to Persia and friends to Greece. Having with this answer disheartened the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but as soon as he understood, that Tissaphernes had caufed all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon Phrygia. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he over-ran great part of that province without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, and wintered at Ephesus.

Early in the spring Agisus took the field, and gave out, that his design was to invade Lydia. But Tissaphernes, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon Caria, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But Agisus led his army, as he had given out, into Lydia, and approached Sardis. Whereupon Tissaphernes recalled his forces from their former rout, with a design to relieve the place. But Caria being a very mountainous country and unfit for horfe, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horfe behind on the borders of that province. Wherefore, on their marching back to the relief of Sardis, the horfe being some days marches before the foot, Agisus took the advantage of so favourable

able an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The Persians were routed at the very first onset, and Agesilus, becoming by this victory master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered Persians.

The loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and encreased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view besides his master's interest. At the same time Conon, arriving at the Persian court, heighten'd the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board Conon's fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing any kind of service. Queen Parysatis, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not fail on this occasion to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in Asia, he charged Tissaphernes, captain of the guards, with that important commissio, giving him at the same time two letters; the one directed to Tissaphernes and impowering him to pursue the war against the Greeks in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to Arius governor of Larissa, commanding him to affright Tibraeuthes, with his counsel and all his forces, in feizing Tissaphernes. Upon the receipt of this letter, Arius desired Tissaphernes to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the Persian custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of Tibraeuthes, who cau'd his head to be struck off and sent into Perse. The king gave it to Parysatis, an acceptable present to one of her revenges full temper.

Upon the death of Tissaphernes, Tibraeuthes, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great pretexts to Agesilus, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the Greek cities in Asia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the Lacedemonians required when they first began the war. Agesilus replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from Sparta. However, as he was willing to give Tibraeuthes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into Phergias, which was the province of Pharnabazus, Tibraeuthes paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in Asia, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed Pifander, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by his regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though Pifander was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that, as the event sufficiently proved. Agesilus, having settled the maritime affairs, purfied his design of invading Phergias, where he reduced many cities, and anassailed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of Pharnabazus in great influence. From hence he marched into Paphlaonia, being invited thither by Spitiburis, a noble Perian, who had revolted from the king. There he concluded a league with Cyax king of that country, and returning into Phergias took the strong city of Dafylium, and wintered there in the palace of Pharnabazus, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all its forts of provisions. Tibraeuthes, finding that Agesilus was for carrying on the war in Asia, sent Timocrates of Rhodos into Greece, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the Lacedemonians. This tratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the Lacedemonians to recall their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring as Agesilus was ready to take the field, Pharnabazus invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, Pharnabazus, after expatiating

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a expatiating on the services he had done the Lacedemonians in their war with the Athenians, reproached them with ingratitude, since, in return for so many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at Dafylum, which were his hereditary estate. As what he said was true, Agesilus and the Lacedemonians, that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such an ungenerous proceeding. However, to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise not to invade any of the provinces under his government, so long as there were others into which they might carry the war against the Persian king. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with b a design to invade the upper parts of Asia, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the Persian empire. But while Agesilus was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from Sparta, acquainting him, that the Ephors recalled him to defend his own country, against which several states of Greece had formed a strong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haste the harder to do so could, complaining at his departure, that the Persians had driven him out of Asia with 30,000 archers, alluding to the Persian Dariæ, which were pieces of gold stamped on one side with the figure of an archer.

Conon, on his return from the Persian court, having brought money enough to pay the sailors and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provispons, took Pharmabazus on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemies. The Persian fleet consisted of go vessels and upwards; that of the Lacedemonians was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. 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 Abens by losing the sea-fight at Agelopatoss, or the Ganges-river, was determined to use his utmost efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and effect a glorious victory in the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, Pheidester was disposed to justify by his conduct and valour the choice which Agesilus his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But Conon having boarded

c his ship and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet bestook themselves to flight. Conon pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the Lacedemonians in those parts. The consequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of Sparta; some declaring for the Athenians, and others returning their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the Lacedemonians declined daily, till at length the over-throws, which they received at Lestra and Mantinea, completed their downfall.

After this victory Conon and Pharmabazus being masters at sea failed round the islands and coasts of Asia, reducing the cities, which in those parts were subject to the Lacedemonians. Seftus and Abydos were the only two cities that held out against them. Pharmabazus attacked them by land, and Conon by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving Conon to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble, from the cities of the Hellespont, against the ensuing spring.

Conon having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, he took Pharmabazus again on board, and steering his course thro' the islands, landed in Melos the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedemonians, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the maritime places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After

d this Pharmabazus returning to his government of Pergia, Conon obtained leave of him to repair to Abens with 60 ships and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having first convinced him, that nothing could more effectually Conon re-buiitl contribute to the weakening of Sparta, than putting Abens again in a condition to resist its power. He no sooner arrived at Piraeus, the port of Abens, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was assisted by the zeal of all those that were well inclined to the Athenians, was soon completed, and the city not only restored to its former splendor, but rendered more formidable than before.
than ever to its enemies. Thus Abins was rebuilt by the Persians, who had destroyed it, and fortified at the expense and with the spoils of the Lacedemonians, who had dismantled it. Conon, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and theacres upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of Greece, in alliance with the Abinsians, sent at the same time their deputies, and Conon was at the head of those from Abins. The terms, which Antalcidas proposed, were, that the king should possess all the Greek cities in Asia; but the islands and other cities in Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king and dishonourable to the Greeks in general, the other embassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The Lacedemonians, bearing an implacable hatred to Conon for the restoring of Abins, had charged Antalcidas to accuse him to Tiribazus of having purloined the king’s money for the carrying out of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of Delos and Ioni from the Persians, and uniting them anew to the republic of Abins. Upon these accusations Tiribazus seized him, and, having supplied the Lacedemonians underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the Abinsians, set out for the Persian court to give the king an account of his negotiations. Artaxerxes was well pleased with the terms which the Lacedemonians had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time Tiribazus laid before the king the accusations which the Lacedemonians had brought against Conon. Whereupon he was, according to some writers, sent to Susa and there put to death by the king’s command; but the silence of Xenophon, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event.

While Tiribazus was attending the court, Subras was charged to guard the coasts of Asia in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the Lacedemonians had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the Abinsians. This obliged the Lacedemonians to send Thibron into Asia to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the Persians. Diphridas was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon Asia after the battle of Caphar being but faint struggles of a declining power. In the mean time Tiribazus returning from Susa summoned all the deputies of the Greek cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were, that all the Greek cities in Asia should be subject to the king of Persia, and besides the islands of Cyprus and Cleonymene, that the islands of Serses, Lemnos, and Imbro should be restored to the Abinsians; and all the cities of Greece, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty Artaxerxes engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and affix them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Grecian name; however, as Greece was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of Antalcidas, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the Persians, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long contended.

Artaxerxes, being now quite disengaged from the Grecian war, turned his whole power against Evagoras king of Cyprus, whom he had long before designed to drive

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a drive out of that island, but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. Evagoras was defended from the ancient kings of Salamine, the capital city of the island of Cyprus. His ancestors had held that city for many ages in quality of soveraigns; but were at last driven out by the Persians, who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a Persian province. Evagoras, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled Abdyman a Cisian, governor of Salamine for the king of Persia, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. Artaxerxes attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the Greek war, and finding Evagoras determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprise. In the mean time Cimon, by means of Cleitus the Cisian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, made up all differences between Evagoras and Artaxerxes, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. But Evagoras, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of Salamine alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a manner, of the whole island of Cyprus. The Athenians, Salians, and Cisians, alone of those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to Artaxerxes, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support. But being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the Greeks, he bent all his force against Evagoras, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The Athenians, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the Persians, and the many favours received at their king's hands, could not forbear afflicting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them, with all possible expedition, under the command of Philocrates to affright him. But the Lacedaemonian fleet, commanded by Telemacus brother to Aegeus, falling in with them near the isle of Rhodes, surrounded them, so that not one ship could escape. The Athenians, determined to affright Evagoras at all adventures, sent Chabrias with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived late, and in a short time obliged the whole island to submit to Evagoras. But the Athenians being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between Artaxerxes and the cities of Greece, to recall Chabrias, the Persians attacked with all their forces the island of Cyprus, not doubting, but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from Greece. The king's army consisted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ships. The land-forces were commanded by Oroetes fon-in-law to Artaxerxes, and the fleet by Gaul the son of Tamm, whom we have mentioned above. Tiribazus was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. Evagoras, seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes who were at enmity with the Persians, receiving supplies, both of men and money, from the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations. Besides, as he had amased immense treasures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many small vessels, he intercepted all the enemy's ships that brought provisions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers. But the whole Persian fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from Cilicia. At the same time Evagoras likewise received a great supply of corn and fifty ships from Egypt, which, together with those he had fitted out himself, making up a fleet of 2000 sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the Persians. At first he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of the enemy's ships; but Gaul advancing with a few ships attacked him with such vigour, that Evagoras was obliged to retire after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the Persian fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ships into their harbours. Evagoras with a few ships escaped to Salamine, where he was immediately closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory Tiribazus went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in Cyprus, and having obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry...
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Carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his son Pythagoras, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ships and failed for Egypt, in hopes of engaging Achoris, king of that country, to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were; that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamine, which he should hold of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding of Salamine, as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwife than as a king under a king. Tiribazus, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abide any thing of his pretensions; whereupon Evagoras, being determined to die sword in hand rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city.

In the mean time Oronites, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the successest that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him amongst other things of fermenting dissensions against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the Lacedemonians. Upon the receipt of these letters, Artaxerxes immediately dispatched orders to Oronites to seize Tiribazus and send him prisoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon Oronites. But the army was very much disdissatisfied with the change, many left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. Whereupon Oronites was obliged to renew the treaty with Evagoras, and conclude it upon terms which Tiribazus had rejected; for he consented, that he should hold Salamine as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of Perse. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with Evagoras, after a war which had cost the Persians above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money. For the eulogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to Ierocrates.

The peace concluded with Evagoras did not put an end to the war in those parts. For Gaus, retaing the unjust usage of Tiribazus, whose daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare suspicions, sent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and having concluded an alliance both with him against the king of Persia, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewise sollicited the Lacedemonians to come into the league, affurting them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all Greece. They heartened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the Persians, being highly dillatated with the peace of Antiochus. But, before matters were ripe for execution, Gaus was treacherously slain by one of his own officers, and Tachos, who took upon him to carry on the same design, soon died; whereby all the war preparations they had made came to nothing; and the Lacedemonians never afterwards meddling with the affairs of Asia.

Artaxerxes had no sooner finished the Cyprian war, but he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are thin: as to the occasion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the Euxine and Colopian seas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were considered a very warlike race. The king marched in person against them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse: But, the country by reason of its barrenness not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the belasts of burden which accompanied the army; and these became scarce, that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachmas. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this sad plight of affairs, Tiribazus contrived a stratagem which saved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a prisoner.
prisoner, being in disgrace by reason of the crimes laid to his charge by Oroetes, as we have said above. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. Tiribazus, who took care to be informed of all that palled in the enemy's camp, found, that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that the jealousy and mistrust, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king, to whom he applied, that the other had sent embassadors to treat separately with Artaxerxes, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which favored both him and his army from impending destruction (Q.,)

The king loft in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his best troops, and all his horses. Among others who lost their lives on this occasion was Camillus, by nation a Carian, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of Lusoe-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia, and was succeeded in that government by his son Datames, who attended Artaxerxes in this expedition, and distinguished himself in a very particular manner. Datames was the greatest commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as Cornelius Nepos, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldness, and abilities for contriving and executing military stratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occasioned his ruin, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

On the king's return to Susa, the eminent service which Tiribazus had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For the purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank and distinguished probity. These, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king restored to his former honours, and Oroetes his accuser with disgrace banished the court. (A.)

Artaxerxes, being now at leisure from all other engagements, resolved to reduce the Egyptians, who had long before shaken off the Persians, yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. Abaris, who then reigned in Egypt, foreseeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it; but he could. He joined a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian, to his own subjects. Pharnabazus, being charged with the management of this war, sent embassadors to Abaris, complaining of Chabrias for engaging to serve against the king of Persia, with whom the king of Abaris lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the best general of his time, to command the Greek mercenaries in the Persian service. The Athenians, who at that time had a great dependence on the Persian king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled Chabrias, ordering him to repair to Abaris on pain of death by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to take upon him the command of the Greek mercenaries in the Persian army. On his arrival having muffled the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the Greeks under the name of Iphicratules. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the Persians being very few in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. Abaris, king of Egypt, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by Ptolemaebis, who reigned only a year. After him Nearchus reigned four months, and then Neophates, the first of the Seleucidic race, twelve years. (Q.,)

(A) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the Cadusians were descended from the Beothuk of the ten tribes, which the king of Affrica carried out of the land of Canana; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the similitude between the words Cadusian and Beothuk, which signifies Holy People, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) Fuller M. J. l. ii. c. 5.
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Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of Greece for his Egyptian war, sent embassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of Antalcidas, and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of Greece, except the Thebans, who, aspiring to the empire of all Greece, refused to conform to it.

At length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, the Persian army was drawn together at Aetna, thence called Ptolemais, the place of the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 Persians and 20,000 Greeks led by Iphicrates. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of Pelusium; but Neotanebias, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impossible both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a direct, impracticable attack, as it had been at first projected, failed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, for the Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garrison. But the Mendesian mouth of the Nile not being so well fortified as the Pelusium, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without great opposition, carried the forts that guarded it, and put all the Egyptians that were found in it to the sword. After this action Iphicrates was for reimagining the troops without loss of time, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all Egypt.

But the main body of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would undertake nothing before their arrival. Iphicrates, in the utmost despair to fee his favourable opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing inferences for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to Iphicrates, should he succeed in the enterprise, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the Egyptians time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For Neotanebias having lodged a sufficient garrison in Memphis, with the rest took the field, and harried the Persians, that they could not advance farther into the country; and the Nile at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the Persians were obliged to return into Phoenicia, having lost great part of their army in this unsuccessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless an attempt. The only object that it produced was, an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals. For Pharnabazus, to exculpate himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriages upon Iphicrates, and he, with more reason, on Pharnabazus; but being well apprised, that Pharnabazus would find more credit at the Persian court than he, and remembering what had happened to Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship and retired to Athens. Pharnabazus sent embassadors to Athens, accusing him of making the Egyptian expedition fruitless, and requesting the republic to punish him according to his demerit. The Athenians made no offer of an answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he deserved. But, it seems, they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole admiral of their whole fleet.

Twelve years after this expedition, Artaxerxes, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting Egypt, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. Tachos, who had succeeded

* Dio. l. xvi. p. 355; 1 Dio. l. xvi. p. 478;
succeeded Nearchus, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into Greece to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedaemonians, who were at that time exasperated against Artaxerxes, for obliging them to include the Medesians in the late peace, to lend a good number of troops under the command of Aegillus. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of Aegillus, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a Barbarian. However, Aegillus, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for Tachos had promised to make him commander in chief of all his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for Egypt. On his landing he was met by Tachos, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantageous ideas of him, that he ever after flew'd his counsels and defied his perfon. For both he and his Egyptian generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aspect, and drest in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward show. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of Tachos; for he would allow Aegillus no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disquiet so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first caufe of his averion to Tachos. The charge of the fleet he gave to Chabrias, referring to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the Egyptians and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into Phoenice, thinking it more advisable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. Aegillus, being apprized of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, advised him against it, remonstrating, that his affairs were not so well settled in Egypt as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. Tachos defpised this counself, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event showed, that Aegillus's advice was the result of a prudent forethought; for, while Tachos was in Phoenice, the Egyptians revolving set up Nearchus his cousin, or, as Diodorus calls him, his son, in his stead, Aegillus, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment against Tachos, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of Egypt. The dethroned prince fled first to Sidon, and from thence to the Persian court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with the command of the troops against the rebels in.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances arose in the Persian court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, viz. Darius, Ariaphates, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared Darius the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the Tiara, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disquieted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. Tributaries, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the moat to his making this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. Artaxerxes had promis'd him in

Plutarch condemns Aegillus as guilty of treason in thus turning his arms against the prince who had hired him. But Aegillus alleged in his justification, that he had been sent to afflict the Egyptians, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms against Tachos, he could not serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were, to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for Nearchus. Thus Aegillus pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says i. iutarch; but if we remove that delusive veil of the publick good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). Xenophon endeavours to palliate this conduct by laying, that Aegillus joined that king who seemed the best affected to Greece (78).

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in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked Tiribazus to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, Aristogetes, Ochus, and Artavasdes. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For Aristogetes being of an early temper, and very credulous, he fomented the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that, expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But Artavasdes still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign.

He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This Ochus was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniences that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders and issuing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and in one of these decrees he cautions himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of Artaxerxes. Historians, however, most frequently call him Ochus, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

It was no sooner known that Artaxerxes was dead, and Ochus in possession of the throne, but all Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, Mithridates king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mycia, and Autophradates governor of Lydia. Datames likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of Cappadocia. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolutionists, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other, and those who had been the first to mount zealous in shaking off the yoke, those who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of Asia Minor on withdrawing their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen Orontes for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising of those forces and maintaining of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. Broometres, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into Egypt to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 300 ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at Leuceus, a city of Asia Minor,

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For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasinesses which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused Obod, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having cut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows. This uncle seems to have been the father of Sisygambis, mother to Darius Codomannus. For L. Curtius tells us, that Obod cau]ed 80 of her brothers, together with her father, to be massacred in one day. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or dissatisfaction to his person. All the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asian provinces, rebelled, and engaged Chares the Athenian to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. Obod sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by Chares and his Athenians all cut in pieces. Artabazus, in reward of so great a service, gave Chares a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had on board. The king highly re烦ted this conduct of the Athenians, and as they were then engaged in a war with the Carians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recall Chares. The Athenians, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered Chares to return forthwith to Greece. Artabazus, being thus defeated by the Athenians, had recourse to the Thebans, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of Pamnices. With this reinforcement Artabazus again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the Thebans and their commander. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. Artabazus thus defeated all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with Philip of Macedon.

This rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The Sidonians and other Phoenicians, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt. The Persians were then making vast preparations to reduce Egypt, but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through Phoenicia, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of Egypt. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 Greek mercenaries under the command of Mentor the Rhodian to join them, in hopes of making Phoenicia a barrier to Egypt, and keeping the war at a distance.

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(79) Diodor. i. xvi. p. 490.
The Phoenicians, encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of Syria and Cilicia that were sent to reduce them, they drove the Persians quite out of their territories.  

The Cypriots, being likewise ill-used by their Persian governors, and encouraged by this success of the Phoenicians, joined with them and the Egyptians in the same alliance. Hereupon Oebus dispatched his orders to Idrius, king of Caria, enjoining him to invade the island of Cyprus, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. Idrius, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 Greek mercenaries, under the command of Phocian an Athenian and Evagoras, (T) to make a descent in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land.  

Oebus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the Egyptians and Phoenicians, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into Phoenice. Mentor the Rhodian, who was then at Sidon with the Greek mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to Oebus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. Oebus, glad of this offer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the Egyptian war, as being thoroughly acquainted with the country. And accordingly Mentor, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged Tennes, king of Sidon, in the same treacherous design, and by his influence delivered Sidon up to the Persians. The Sidonians, seeing themselves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children. Tennes met with no better fate than his subjects, for Oebus seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country, as we have related elsewhere. The ruin and total destruction of Sidon terrified the other cities of Phoenice to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was Oebus unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon Egypt.  

But before he marched thither, his army received from Greece a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the Thebans sent him 1000 men under the command of Laplaces, and the Argives 3000 commanded by Nicastratus; the rest joined him from the Greek cities of Achaia. The Abissines and Lacedemonians excused themselves, telling the king's embassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours. The Jews also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of Phoenice. For Oebus from Sidon marched into Judea, where he besieged and took Jereboam, carrying along with him into Egypt a great many captive Jews, and sending others into Hyrcania, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the Persian sea.  

Oebus at the same time put an end to the Cyprian war, and compounded with the nine Cyprian kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of Egypt. He willingly reddited all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments.
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Oebus, having thus settled the affairs both of Phoenice and Egypt, set out on his Egyptian expedition. On his march he loft a great many men, drowned in the lake of Serbonis, which lies between Phoenice and Egypt, and extends about 30 miles. When the south wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with fain from the defart, in such manner, that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of Oebus’s army, for want of good guides, were lost in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the same fate*. When he arrived on the frontiers of Egypt, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a Persian and a Greek general. The first was led by Laconoxus the Theban, and Panaeus governor of Lydia and Ionia; the second by Nicocrasus the Theban, and Aristasanes; the third by Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near Pelagium, with a design to watch there the events of the war. In the mean time Nastanebus drew together an army of 100,000 men, confining of 20,000 mercenaries from Greece, as many from Lydia, and the rest Egyptians; but they did not all amount to a third of the Persian army. With some of these he garrisoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paphles, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The first Persian detachment, under the command of Laconoxus, fell down before Pelagium, garnished by 5000 Greeks. While the siege was carrying on, Nicocrasus with his detachment embarked on board a squadron of the Persian fleet, andailing up the Nile landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a strong encampment. Hereupon all the garrisons of the neighbouring castles, taking the alarm, joined Clinias of the island of Cos in order to dislodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the Egyptians were put to flight, having lost Clinias with above 5000 of his men; the rest were utterly broken and dispersèd, which, we may say, determined the fate of this war. For Nastanebus, fearing lest Nicocrasus should fall upon the Nile with his victorious forces, and take Memphis the metropolis of his kingdom, halted thither, and left open the paphles which he ought chiefly to have defended.

The Greek mercenaries, who garnished Pelagium, hearing of the king’s retreat, gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with Laconoxus, delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to Greece. Mentor with the third detachment, finding the paphles deserted, entered the country, and giving out, that Oebus would graciously receive all that submitted, and utterly destroy such as refilled, treating them as he had treated the Sidonians, both the Egyptians and Greeks sloved which should first make their submission. Nastanebus, seeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treasures he could carry, and withdrew into Ethiopia. Oebus, having thus reduced all Egypt, dismembered their strong-holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with immense treasures. Henceforward Egypt was a province of Persia, till Alexander overturned that monarchy, and delivered the Egyptians from the Persian tyranny.

Oebus, having ended with such success the Egyptian war, sent back the Greek mercenaries to their respective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conquests were chiefly owing to Mentor, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of Asia, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, what by cunning and stratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and restored the king’s authority in all the parts of that vast empire.

All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace estabish’d throughout the whole empire, Oebus gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of public affairs entirely to his ministers. The chief of these were Bagoas his favourite eunuch and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper Asia, and the latter those of the lower. Bagoas, being by birth an Egyptian, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conquest of Egypt, to influence the king in favour of the Egyptian ceremonies; but, in spite of all his endea-

* Idem, 534. 535. 5
† Idem, ibid. 5
‡ Idem, p. 527.
vours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion slew the god Apis, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name. This inhuman behaviour Bagoas deeply reigned, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great sum of money and sent them back into Egypt; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwise atoned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death, which he did accordingly with poison in the twenty-first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it; and, because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of the Apis, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it to mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for favors. Having in this barbarous manner dispachted his master and benefactor, and facing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed Arsaces, the youngest of the dead king's sons on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to Arsaces, referring for himself the whole power and authority of the government.

Arsaces.

Darius Codomannus, who, finding that the king, well apprized of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign.

The throne becoming again vacant by the death of Arsaces, Bagoas, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed it on Darius, the third of that name in Persia. Before his accession to the crown he was called Codomannus, and is said not to have been of the blood-royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal family, being descended from Darius Nother, who was codomannus marrying his own sister Sygambis had by her Codomannus. Ochane, the son of Darius Notius and father to Arsaces, was put to death by Ochus on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons.

How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of Ochus he made but a very poor figure, being only an Afinanda, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces, a mean employment for one of the royal family. In the war which Ochus made upon the Cadaften, towards the latter end of his reign, one of these Barbarians has challenged the whole Persian army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, Codomannus accepted the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and flew the Cadaften. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of Armenia, and thence raised to the throne by Bagoas in the manner we have already related. He durst not long enjoy this sovereign power, when Bagoas, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion; but Darius being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made Bagoas himself drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne; without peremptory opposition. Authors represent Darius as a prince of a mild and gentle disposition, of great personal valour, and for his figure and shape far preferable to any of the whole Persian empire. But having such a fortunate rival as Alexander the Great to encounter, he was not able with all his good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

For Alexander, having settled his affairs in Macedon, and used all imaginable precautions to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for Seleucia, and thence passed over the Hellespont into Asia, in the second year of Darius's reign. A war against the Persians had been resolved on some time before, in a general assembly of the Amphitheatres, to revenge the many injuries, which Greece had received from the Barbarians during the space of 300 years, and Philip king of Macedon had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. But Philip being in the mean time murdered, his son Alexander

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a summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet at Corinth, and having prevailed with them to chuse him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 feet and 3000 horse. But they were all choosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under Philip during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. Parmenio commanded the infantry; Philetares his son had the command of 1800 horse, all Macedonians; Callas, the son of Heracles, led the same number of Thessalian cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being for over those of his own nation.

b With his army he crossed the Hellespont, as we have hinted above, and, pursuing his march, arrived at the River Granicus, where he found the Persian governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with a design to dispute his passage (U). Menon the Rhidian, whom Darius had appointed governor over all the coasts of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into Europe. But Aristo, governor of Phrygia, opposed the opinion of Menon, protesting, that he would never suffer the Greeks to make such havoc in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic council prevailed, and Menon was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be devisous of spinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself (U).

c The Persian cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the Granicus, and formed a large front in order to oppose Alexander, where-ever he should attempt a passage; and the foot, consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. Parmenio, observing the disposition of the enemy’s army, advised Alexander to incamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to rest, and not to attempt the crossing the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and those of the enemies quite fresh, as having been in camped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least impression on Alexander, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be stopped by a rivulet; for he, out of contempt, he called the Granicus.

d The two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the Macedonians were looking for a convenient place to cross in, which they no sooner found, than Alexander ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself following with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The Persians let fly such showers of arrows, against the detachment of the Macedonian horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank a most bloody engagement ensued, the Macedonians endeavouring to land, and the Persians pushing them again into the river.

e As Menon commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the Macedonians were entirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. Alexander, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite of all opposition, attacked the enemy’s cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance to give way. However, Spithratus, governor of Ionia and son-in-law to Darius, being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the Persians back to the charge. Alexander, seeing in how gallant a manner he signified himself, advanced full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline the combat,


(U) Juba and Orophius tell us, that the Persian army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; we have chosen to follow Diodorus’s account, which to us seems the most rational. In page 325 the author Orophius makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We follow Juba and Orophius.
combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spitrobatas*, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scymetar. But *Rofaches*, brother to *Spitrobatas*, gave *Alexander* at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and lightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Citius* with one stroke of his scymetar cut off *Rofaches*’ head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour, who, not being able to stand to violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitious flight. *Alexander* did not pursue them; but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy’s foot, who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the *Macedonian* phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the king’s own troop fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by *Lysets*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Diana*, a city in *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 60 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens.

This victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and aligned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Tyrants* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they failed off. *Memon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the town, the besieged withstanding all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Miletans* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves.

Having thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Corius*, in order to besiege the city of *Halicarnassus*, which refused to submit. The place was both by nature and art one of the best fortified in all Asia; and besides *Memon* had thrown himself into it with a considerate body of chosen men, resolvent to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*. And accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war,

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was practised on this occasion, both by the besiegers and the besieged. After the Macedonians had, with the utmost difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and the engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raised in its stead, the Macedonians finding themselves no farther advanced after an immense labour, than they were when they first set down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with that any general besides Alexander would have given over the enterprise. But his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking, by those very difficulties, which would have disheartened others; and their patience at last proved successful, Memnon being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open, he placed a strong garison in the citadel, which was stored with all sorts of provision, and going on board the Persean fleet, whereof himself was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of Cos, not far distant from Halicarnassus. Alexander, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed. After the reduction of Halicarnassus, all the Greek cities in Asia declared for Alexander, he giving out where-ever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view but of freeing them from the Persian bondage. In the second year of this war he reduced the provinces of Phrygia, Lycaia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and appointed luch of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

In the mean time Darius was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. Memnon advised him to carry the war into Macedon; and a wider resolution could not have been taken; for the Macedonians and several other Greek states, that were disaffected to the Macedonians and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged Alexander to leave Asia, and return to the defence of his own country. Darius, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged Memnon to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for Memnon was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the Persian interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of Cos, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of Chios and Lesbos, except the city of Mitylene. From thence he designed to pass over into Europe, and make Greece and Macedon the seat of the war; but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befall the Persian empire, having defeated the wise maxims which he had proposed; for Darius not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprise, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at Babylon, and having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors.

The news of Memnon's death confirmed Alexander in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he marched with all possible expedition into Cilicia, and arriving at a place called Cyrus's camp (whether from Cyrus the Great, as Curtius tells, or from the younger, as we read in Arrian, is uncertain), about fifty ships distant from the straits of Cilicia, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving Parmenio there, he marched in person at the first watch to surprise them; but the Persians, having intelligence of his design, be-

1 Dio. 38. Arrian, ibid. 2 Vide Plut. in Alex. Arrian, l. ii. c. 6. Justin, l. xi. c. 9. Curt. l. iii. c. 8.
took themselves to flight, and abandoned the pas, which Alexander entered, and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered with large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of reluotive men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a numerous army. From the stratagems of Cilicia the whole army marched to the city of Tarsus, where they arrived the instant the Persians were letting fire to the place, in order to prevent the Macedonians from degrading themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very feasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction.

In the mean time, Darius had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vall plains of Mesopotamia. Here the commanders of the Greek mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But Darius would not hearken to their advice, halloing blindly to the mountainous parts of Cilicia, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement.

The order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars the sacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the Mages, fingering hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty-five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white hores, and followed by one of an extraordinary fize, whom they called the horse of the fun; all the equeeries were clothed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the van-guard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horse was followed by another of foot, called by the Persians immortal, because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another; they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were clothed in robes of gold tiffic, having large feathers garnished with precious stones. About 30 paces distance came the king’s relations or cousins, to the number of 15,000, appareled like women, and parrasping even the immortal body in the pomp and riches of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king’s cousins, and possibly several of the king’s relations were in this body. After these came Darius himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold; from the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both fixed with the wings of a spred-eagle of the same metal. The king was clothed with a garment of purple striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious stones; and the cibbard of his fynemat, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone.

On either side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver and tipp with gold; after these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and lastly 400 led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed Sygambis, the king’s mother, and his confron, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horse-back, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king’s children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines to the number of 300, all attired like so many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king’s treasure, and were guarded by a body of bow-men; the march was closed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed. One would take this to be the description of a masquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that Darius’s chief care was not to provide for his own safety, but to set out his own glory and riches, as though the Macedonians were to be dazzled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

Alexander

The History of the Persians.

Alexander, upon advice that Darius was advancing towards the Euphrates in order to enter Cilicia, detached Parmenio to possess himself of another narrow pass (W), leading from Assyria, or rather Syria, into Cilicia. As for himself, he marched from Tarus to Anchialos, and thence to Seli, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at Gaphnitha, a small city not far from mount Amanus, news was brought him, that Darius with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of Scehhus in Syria, within two days march of Cilicia. Hereupon Alexander summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for Darius among the mountains of Cilicia; which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two small armies to act in, reduced both in some degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the Persian camp, that Alexander had halted in the midst of the mountains, the Greek commanders, who served in Darius’s army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of Meopotamia, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy; whereas, within those straits, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the Macedonians could bring all their men to engage, and the Persians not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counsel, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholesome an advice; nay, the couriers traduced those who had suggested it, as traitors, telling Darius, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands what ever should be in their power. However, Darius thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The couriers had made him believe that Alexander was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in those straits, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the Persian generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes, the Gods, says our historian, blinding that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the Persian empire. Darius, having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to Damofenus in Syria under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the straits of mount Amanus, through which he entered Cilicia, and advanced as far as the city of Ifias, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been told, that the Macedonians were retired in great disorder into Syria.

The battle of Ifias. The year of the flood 5666. Before Christ 333.

The Macedonians barbarously put to death the sick and wounded Macedonians that had been left there by Parmenio, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. Thence brought Alexander the word of Darius’s approach, which he could scarce believe, though he defined nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of Ifias, bounded on one side by the mountains, and on the sea on the other. Here Darius, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the Macedonians, by reason of the narrowness of the place, could displace his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole Persian army was put in disorder; and the Macedonians purifying the advantage by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the Persians, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground.

(W) For the clearer understanding of Alexander’s march and that of Darius, we must distinguish three straits, the first leading from Clyphadocia into Cilicia, through which Alexander marched his army; the second leading from Cilicia into Syria, which Parmenio took possession of; and the third called the straits of mount Amanus lying to the north of the pass of Syria; through this Darius’s army from Assyria entered Cilicia.
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As the crowd, which was made in the flight of 160
so numerous as might, was very great, those who fell that day were for the most part
trampled to death, by their own men, as they preferred to escape. Darius, who fought
in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot
to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horse-back, and pursued his
flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. Alexander was
prevented from following him by the Greek mercenaries, who, charging the Mac-
donian phalanx with incredible bravery, killed Ptolemy the son of Seleucus with 120
officers of distinction. Besides a great many private men, and, though attacked in
flank by Alexander in person, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty
reduced to eight thousand; they retired then in good order over the mountains
towards Tripolit in Syria, where finding the transports, that had conveyed them
from Lefkos, lying on the shore, they fittmg out such a number as suited their pur-
pose, and sailed to Cyprus, after having burnt the rest to prevent their being pursuaded.
Alexander no sooner saw them put to flight than he hastened after Darius; but growing
wary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp,
which his soldiers had just before plundered. Sythgambos, Darius's mother, and his
wife, who was also his sister, with his son Oebus not full six years old, and his two
daughters both marriageable, and besides some noblemens daughters, who attend-
ed them, were found in the camp and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to
Damefas, with part of Darius's treasure and all the rich furniture, which the Per
monarch used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only
three thousand talents of silver; but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the
hands of Parmenio at his taking the city of Dames,us. In this engagement the Per
monarch lost, according to Arrian, 10,000 horse, and 90,000 foot, and with him
other writers agree, as to the number of the horse; but as to the foot they all vary,
not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead
amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and some to 120, thousand, adding, that
40,000 were taken prisoners, while Alexander, according to the highest computation,
lost in all but 300 men.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be
buried with great pomp in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up
in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the mases of the Persians of rank,
and allowed Darius's mother to bury as many as the pleased, according to the customs
and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princes used that permission with
great modesty and reverence, burying only a few, who were her near relations. Alex-
ander treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were,
says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy
temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were
not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were
appointed to attend them. As Darius's comfort and her two daughters were prin-
cesses of an extraordinary beauty, Alexander after the first visit resolved never to see
them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memo-
rable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to Parmenio, commanding him
to put to death certain Macedonians who had abuited the wives of some captives.
In short, he used them with such respect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing
but their captivity could make them fellaneous of their misfortune.

Alexander, seeing himself now master of the field, detached Parmenio to Damefas,
where Darius's treasures were lodged, with the Thebalian horse. As he was on his
march thither, he met with a meffenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter
to Alexander, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day
Parmenio arrived at Damefas, when the governor, pretending that he was not
able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast
number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furni-
ture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to
deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened
the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general
headed, the Persians, who conveyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and
left

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a left the Macedonians masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of Oebus, who had reigned before Darius, and his widow; the daughter of Oebares, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazes or Artabanus, the greatest lord at court, with his son Iliuenus; the wife of Pharnabazus, whom Darius had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious and renowned commander; in short, that there was scarce one noble family in all Persia which did not share in this calamity. Besides the immense treasures which the Macedonians had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The Bactrian horde had the left share of this booty, having been sent by Alexander on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest in the late engagement. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to Darius.

After this victory Alexander marched into Syria, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even Darius’s governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at Marathus, he received a letter from Darius, in which he filed him feckless without bestowing that title on Alexander. He rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right; that for the future they should live in friendship and amity, and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles and receive Alexander’s oath. This letter, which was wrote with such an unfeigned pride and haughtiness, provoked Alexander to a great degree, who therefore in his answer began thus: Alexander the king to Darius; he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the Greeks and Macedonians had suffered from the Persians, reproaches that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father Philip, and Darius in particular with setting a price upon his own head; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggressor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of Asia, and defeated the mighty host of the Persians in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a supplicant, and humbly beseeched him to give them liberty, affurting him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by defining him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. Theophrus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander marched from thence into Phenice, where the citizens of Byblus opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the Sidonians, whose city Oebus had lain in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the Persian name, that they were over-joy’d at this opportunity of flashing off the yoke; and indeed were the first in Phenice who submitted to Alexander by their deputies, in opposition to Strabo their king who was in the Persian interest. Alexander deplored him, and permitted Hephestion to elect in his room whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station, as we have elsewhere related at length.

While Alexander was in Phenice, some of the Persian generals, who had escaped from the battle at Iasus, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with
with the assistance of the Cappadocians and Paethlogonians to recover Lydia; but Alexander had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the Macedonians being falling from Greece fell in with that of the enemies commanded by Aristomenes, whom Darius had sent to recover the cities on the Hellespont, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped.

All Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued, except the city of Tyre, which he besieged and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of Phœnicia.

While Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre he received a second letter from Darius, who at last condoned and gave him the title of king; he offered him ten thousand talents by way of ransom for the captive princess, and his daughter Statira in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates; he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune, and set out in most pompous terms the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field; he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Arsaces, and the H. hades, which were so many barriers to the Persian empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of flouting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, some time or other, to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ahaimed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter Alexander summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of Darius, declaring, that he would agree to them were he Alexander, and so would I, replied Alexander, were I Parmenio. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money Darius offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed, nor pretend to dispo of what he had already lost; that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it; that he should not be frightened with rivers after having crossed the sea, and would not fail to pursue Darius, and come up with him at last to what place soever he should think proper to retire. Darius, upon the receipt of this letter, left all hopes of accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

Alexander having reduced Tyre marched from thence to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a strong garrison under the command of Betis, or, as some call him, Babenecus, one of Darius's eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against Alexander till he was reduced to the last extremities. As this place was the only inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither till he was become master of it, and therefore was forced to besiege it. But notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The stop which this put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, dragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be thus dragged round the walls of Troy, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of Alexander much more so; for Achilles caused only Hector's dead body to be so abused, whereas Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even Alexander, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded.

Curt. i. iv. c. 4. 1 Vol. i. p. 418. 2 Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Curt. i. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101. 3 Joseph, antiquit. 1. xi. c. 80.
had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to Olympia, to Cleopatra and his friends, and having left a garrison there, he marched directly for Egypt, and in seven days arrived before Pelusium, where he was met by great numbers of Egyptians, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the Persians was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insoleence and indignity with which the Persians treated them and their religion. Oebas had slain their god Apsis, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when Amyntas (X) came thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the Perse, and Alexander therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the Egyptians flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from Amyntas, and on this consideration they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon Mææus, who commanded in Memphis, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture. Thus Alexander, without any opposition, became master of all Egypt.

At Memphis Alexander formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Hammon, and in his way thither built Alexandria, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of Egypt, and marched thence in the beginning of the spring to find out Darius. On his return into Phœnix he flaid some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he set out to make new conquests; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his whole army arrived at Carystus, where he crossed the Euphrates, and continued his march towards the Tigri in quest of the enemy. Darius in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding, that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at Babylon an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at Issus, (for it consisted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards Niniveh. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached Satrapes commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and Mææus governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent Alexander from crossing the Tigri, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, Alexander having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the Macedonians, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon


(X) This Amyntas, having fled from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the Greek mercenaries at the battle of Issus, from whom having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe to Tripoli in Syria, where he embarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to Cœtes, and then to Pelusium in Egypt, which city he seized, making the garrison believe that he had been appointed governor of Egypt in the room of Subaces, who had been killed in the battle of Issus. Albin as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing Egypt for himself, and driving the Persians from thence. Whereupon the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Persians, readily joined him, and he having formed a considerable army, marched directly for Memphis, where he defeated the Persians in a pitched battle, and put them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his soldiers to fruggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the Persians fell out upon them thus disordered, and cut them all to pieces with Amyntas their leader (82).

Hereupon Alexander, having summoned the officers of the army into his tent, commanded the Egyptian footsayers to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses, but, without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in Greece, and the moon in Persia, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer, being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and Alexander, taking advantage of this event, began his march after midnight, having on his right the Tigris, and the Geryones mountains on his left. At day-break the scouts, he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that Darius was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which, as the Macedonians advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by Ariobarzanes, commander of the Persian horse, who having defeated that body and killed Satrapates their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at Alexander’s feet, telling him, that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold; Alexander replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine. Not long after Alexander received intelligence, that Darius was not above 150 furlongs off, whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by Darius to the Greeks, soliciting them with great promises either to kill or betray Alexander. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the Greeks as on that of the Macedonians; but Parmenio dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raving of such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward. He was scarce set out, when an enuch brought him word, that Statira, Darius’ wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where Sygambis and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princes to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence, which Darius hearing, and at the same time being informed with what relish Alexander had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the Persian empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of Cyrus, but fo just, fo merciful, fo generous a conqueror as Alexander. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which Alexander had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as emissaries, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals offered him all the provinces of Asia as far as the Halys; but now he added the countries lying between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, whatever Alexander was already master of, and offered 20000 talents by way of ransom for his family. Parmenio again advised Alexander to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the Euphrates and the Hellespont would be a great addition to the kingdom of Macedon, and that the Persian prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But Alexander, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the emissaries; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of Darius proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their matter; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if Darius had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to persist up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him, with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and afflatus; that as
to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if Darius could force him to retire beyond the Euphrates, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he promised to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which Darius still enjoyed; whereas whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine; he concluded by telling the embassadors, that he was come into Aisfito give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if Darius would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals. The embassadors returned back, and told Darius, that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called Gaugamela, in a large plain at a considerable distance from the city of Arbela, having before-hand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. Alexander, hearing that Darius was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest his army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and pallisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day, and arriving at a rising ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. Parmenio advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alleging, that they might easily be defeated, if taken by surprise and in the dark, but the king answered, that it did not become Alexander to reap a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad daylight. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repose the remaining part of the night, but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards the morning, so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprised to find that he was not yet awake. Parmenio, after waiting some time, thought fit to call him, and finding him asleep, he should sleep so long, when he was upon the point of Hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of Asia; Alexander told him, that Darius, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horse-back, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very small distance. Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the center and the cavalry on the wings; Darius's front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with scythes, and 25 elephants. Before his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the Thracian infantry near his perfon, believing this body alone capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space of ground than Alexander's, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank, which Alexander suspecting, ordered those who led the wings to extend them as wide as possible without weakening the center. His baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the Macedonians halted, waiting till the enemies should advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, Darius himself charging in the first line. Arrian and Curtius describe this battle at length; they tell us, that the Persians were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; that Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that Alexander's rear was put in disorder and the baggage taken; that both kings routed, &c. But after all Curtius tells us, that the Macedonians, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and Arrian allows not a third of that number slain; whereas of the Persians there fell 40,000 fays Curtius, 30,000 according to Arrian, and 90,000 if we believe Dio. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the Persians at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the Macedonians pursued.

pursued them: for had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which Darius brought into the field, thrown each one dart or stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the empire of the caft at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and in concert with Alexander to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a pure omen of victory; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the soldiers believing him, and some even fancying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever.

We are told, that Darius, seeing his numerous army put to so shameful a flight, drew his scimitar, and was sometime in suspense whether he should lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner, but at last resolved to have himself by flight, and arrived at Arbela the same night (Y).

After he had pacified the Lycur, some, who attended him in his flight, advised him to break down the bridge in order to stop the enemy's pursuite; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a pursuing enemy, than shut it to a flying friend. (Z). He arrived about midnight at Arbela, whether he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them that he designed to leave all for the preferre to Alexander and fly into Media, from whence and from the rest of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela, but, before his arrival there, Darius was by the quickness of his flight got over the mountains of Armenia, attended by some of his relations, and a small body of guards called Melophori, because each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their spear. In Armenia he was joined by 2000 Greek mercinaries, who, under the command of Pharon an Ionian and Glaucus an Aiolian, had escaped from the battle. Alexander took the city of Arbela, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all Darius's rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army some days of rest, he set out on his march to Babylon. Mazaeus was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the scattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of Alexander's victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppose him; marching therefore out to meet him delivered the city and himself with his children into the conquerer's hands. Bogapheus governor of the castle, where all Darius's treasures were lodged, did the same; and Alexander entered the city at the head of the whole army, as though he had been marching against an enemy. After a stay of 30 days in that city, he continued Mazaeus in the government of that province, but giving the command of the castle and garrison to a Macedonian, he took Bogapheus along with him, and marched towards Sufa, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from Babylon. As he drew near the city, Abilites governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treasures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and, using him as a guide, advanced to the river Choophas, where Abilites, himself met with presents worthy of so great a prince; among other things he prefentted him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which

(Y) This battle was fought at Gaugamela near the river Beumelus, as Ptolem. Logi and Aristobulus, who were present, aver; they are followed both by Strabo (83) and Plutarch (84), and nevertheless because Gaugamela was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying the camels house, the battle is said to have been fought at Arbela, which was a great and famous city in those parts (85). Gaugamela and Arbela were at a considerable distance from each other; for between the river Beumelus, on which stood Gaugamela, and the Lyceus, on the banks of which Arbela was situated, Curius reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to Strabo's description of those places Arbela in Ptolem's fifth map of Asia ought to be placed where we find Gaugamela (87).

(Z) In [20] we read Cydonius instead of Lycur, which last river runs through the city of Tarfin in Glicia; and hence it is, that Orofius, who ever follows Typhus, was led into so gross a mistake as to think, that this great battle was fought at Tarfin (88).
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a which Darius had sent for out of India. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 in bullion, and 40,000 talents in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought out of Greece, namely the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which he sent to Athens, where they were still standing in Arrian's time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to Syzigambis together with some others curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of Macedon, adding in his message to her, that if she liked the Macedonian robes, he would send her those who had wrought them, that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amusement. At these words she could not help betraying some concern and uneasiness, it being looked upon by the Persians women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of that nature; which when Alexander underfooted, he thought himself obliged to make apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that she would not consider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the Persian manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands.

Alexander having thus comforted Syzigambis, took his leave of her, and, leaving a strong garrison in the city of Suse, advanced towards the province of Persia. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the Pactolus, which river he crossed with 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entered the country of the Uxians. This province extends from Syzana to the frontiers of Persia, and was governed by one Madates, who had married the niece of Syzigambis. Madates, who was not, like the other Persian governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and with this design retired into a strong hold, in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent 30 deputies to Alexander to treat of a surrender. The king, who was greatly provoked against Madates, would not at first hearken to any proposals; but in the mean time receiving letters from Syzigambis, wherein she intreated him to pardon her relations, he not only complied with her request, but set all the prisoners at liberty, restored Madates to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges.

Having reduced the Uxians, he ordered Parmenio with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himself, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the straits of Persia. These Ariobarzanes held with 4000 foot and 700 horse, which he had posted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. Assoon as Alexander advanced to attack him, the Persians from the tops of the mountains rolled down stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this sight, commanded a retreat to be founded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the pass, where he lay encamped some time, not knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return; but in the mean time a Greek defterer coming to his camp offered himself readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might easily annoy the Persians, as to oblige them to abandon the straits and leave an open passage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for Alexander, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemies were posted; which they observing betook themselves to flight; and at the same time Craterus, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, poffessed himself of the straits. Ariobarzanes with part of the cavalry, breaking through the Macedonians with great slaughter both of them and of his own men, made his escape over the mountains, with a design to throw himself into Persepolis; but, finding all the paths leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that purified him, and was killed with all those that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the Macedonians 4.

BEING

Being now possessed of the straits, Alexander pursued his march into Persia or Persis, properly so called. When he was at some distance from Persepolis the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder Darius's treasures with which he had been intrusted, and defying him to march with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. Alexander, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having passed the Araxes on a bridge, which by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of Persepolis. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to Greece than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of Europe, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practice all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving Craterus and Parmenio in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strongholds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to Persepolis, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treasury to defray the expenses of the war.

During his stay at Persepolis, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigue they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, Thais, a famous Athenian courtesan, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt, proposed the burning of Darius's palace, telling Alexander, with a gay air, that it would be matter of inexplicable joy to her, were she permitted to burn the fatly palace of Xerxes, who had burnt Athens, and set it on fire with her own hands, that it might be paid in d all the parts of the world, that the women, who had followed Alexander in his expedition to Asia, had revenged more severely the many calamities Greece had suffered from the Barbarians, than all the generals that had been employed against them. As the whole company was drunk, the proposal was received with general applause and the king himself, rising from table, and taking a torch in his hand, followed Thais. The rest of the Macedonians, crowding at this noise to the palace, armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down to the ground. Thus the most fately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken sot, reduced to ashes.

From Persepolis Alexander marched early in the spring to Pasargada, resolved to pursue Darius who was fled to Ecbatana in Media. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks, who continued faithful to the laft. Befides these he had 4000 slingers and 3000 horses, most of them Bactrians, and commanded by Belesus, governor of Bactria. When he heard, that Alexander was in full march towards Ecbatan, he left that city with a design to retire into Bactria, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the engagement, Belesus, governor of Bactria, and Naburzanes, a Persian lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and, if Alexander pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their matter into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to them, that Darius was dragging them to destruction, that they were no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably perish if they followed Darius, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was ready
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a ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they came to Darius's ear, but he could not believe them. *Parnon*, who commanded the Greeks, earnestly entreated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his perion to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them, and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after Darius had occasion to repent his not following *Parnon's* advice; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*, feizing his perion, bound him, out of respect to the royal dignity in chains of gold, and, slushing him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief in Darius's room by the *Bactrian* horde; but *Artabazus* and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Parnon* retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthiane*; In the mean time *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatana*, was informed, that Darius had left that city five days before. Here the *Bactrians* shewing a great reluctance to accompany him any further, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them over and above their full pay; to such as were willing to continue in his service he gave three talents apiece. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the castle of *Ecbatana* the remaining part of the treasures, which, according to *Strabo*, amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatana*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians* that were left in *Ecbatana*. *Alexander* with the rest of his army pursued Darius, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch, that, on his arrival at *Rages*,

d he could muster but 60 horsemen. Finding, that he could not come up with Darius, who had already poffed the *Caiprian* franks, he laid five days at *Rages* in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of * MEDIA*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the *Caiprian* franks, which he paffed the next without any opposition. He had scarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagabones* a *Perian* nobleman, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against Darius, and designed to seize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a small troop of horse lightly armed, and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few days, came the third day to a village where *Bessus* with his *Bactrians* had encamped the day before. Here he understood, that Darius had been feized by the traitors, that *Bessus* had caufed him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had fent before that he might be the furer of his perion, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Bessus* and acknowledged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for *Alexander* to hasten his march; taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse, for the others could not possibly proceed any further, he let out again the fame night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Oriculs* and *Mitraracens* two *Perian* officers, who in detestation of the treachery of *Bessus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he set out again the fame night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the son of *Mazeus* formerly governor of *Syria*, who informed him, that *Bessus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in disorder, and might easily be surprized and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at last came in fight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival (which the *Barbarians*, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and because Darius refused to follow

4 CURT.l.v.c. 18. 22. 23. ARRIAN. i. iii. p. 67. 5 CURT. l.v.c. 23. ARRIAN. i. iv. p. 68. 6 CURT. l.li. c. 5. ARRIAN. i. iii. PLUT. in Alex. 7 STRABO, l.xv. p. 741. 8 ARRIAN. i. iii. PLUT. in Alex.

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follow them, Bessus and those that were about him discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the Macedonians. This done they separated and took different routes, Bessus flying towards Hyrcania, and Nabarzanes into Bactria, that by this means they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horse, the rest, now deft of leaders, dispersing themselves up and down the country, as fear or hope directed their steps. Alexander, seeing what confusion the enemy were in, sent Nicanor with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 Macedonians. Nicanor put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with Bessus or Nabarzanes, which Alexander observing sent him orders to give quarters to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horsef that drew the cart in which was Darius halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by Bessus, near a certain village about four furlongs from the highway, whither Polystratus a Macedonian, being préfèr with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself, at a fountain not far from the place where they flopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw Darius lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However, he had strength enough to call for some water, which Polystratus, being by a Persian captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. Darius after drinking turned to the Macedonian, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words should not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to Alexander for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children, and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe; he added, that it did not so much concern him as Alexander to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; and then taking Polystratus by the hand, “Give Alexander, said he, your hand, as I give you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give in this condition of my gratitude and affection.” Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of Polystratus. Alexander coming up a few minutes after, and beholding Darius’s body, burst out in tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military clote and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and lent in a rich and magnificent coffin to Syazyamis, that it might be interred with the other Persian monarchs. Thus died Darius in the fifteenth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacifick prince, his reign having been unfilled with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the Persian empire ended, after it had lasted from the birth of Cyrus 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Naxus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, Darius Codomannus. Upon the death of Darius all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he distinguished Artavardas, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and Oesares, Darius’s brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon Nabarzanes, who together with Bessus had murdered Darius. But Bessus having fled into Bactria, and there assumed the title of king, Alexander in the beginning of the next spring marched against him; but his march out of Phrae into these northern countries is by authors described with great confusion, for after they had told us, that he was resolved to find out Bessus in Bactria, they make him take the way of Hyrcania, from thence wander northwards into the country of the Mardi, bordering on the Caspakian sea, and after subduing the Mardi cross mount Corus into Asia and Drangiana. Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long
and tedious march in Bactriana, and having rested his army some time at Drapaca, he advanced again and reduced Armon and Bātra, the two strongest cities of that province. Alexander had no sooner reached the confines of Bactria, but 8000 Bactrians, who till that time had followed Bessus, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon Bessus, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river Oxus, retired into the province of Sagadaria, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent Alexander from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were unsurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or fleets, caused the hides, which covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days; which Bessus might have easily prevented had he but dared to look the Macedonians in the face. When the Bactrians, who were encamped at a place called Nautaca, heard that Alexander had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, Spitamenes, whom Bessus most confided in, together with Catanae and Dataphernes, formed a conspiracy to seize Bessus, and purchased their own safety by delivering him up to Alexander; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign Darius, and carrying him loaded with chains to the Macedonian camp. Spitamenes himself presented the traitor to Alexander, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the Persians than the Macedonians. Alexander, having amply rewarded Spitamenes and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of Oxathres, Darius' brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder; Plutarch has left us an account of this execution; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural position, flew back with such violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus Bessus suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery, and at his death Alexander saw himself in quiet possession of the whole Persian empire. This is what we have gathered from the Greek and Latin Historians of the best account, concerning the affairs of the ancient Persians: In the following section we shall hear the oration on the same subject.

1 Curt. i. 7. c. 12. Arrian. i. 3. Dion. i. 17. Arrian. i. iv. c. 7. Curt. i. 7. c. 10.
2 Plut. in Alex. & Dion. i. 17. p. 554.
3 Josephus acknowledges only the following kings of Persia, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius; this Darius, who was Darius Nebus, he confounds with Darius Codomannus, who was conquered by Alexander, and refers to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus whatever happened in the reigns of Artaxerxes Menecon, and Artaxerxes Ochus.
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Book I.

Section V.

The history of Persia according to the Oriental writers.

We have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from eastern authors cenured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere fagments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the Persian writers is strictly fact, that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of Persia, as written by Oriental authors, than we find in the history of Greece, though written by Greeks, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they filled all the rest of the world Barbarians? It is sufficient for our purpose, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the Persian history from eastern writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as ancient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. In the first place, we are told by Moses, that there were kings in Persia in the age immediately following that in which the Persian writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that these writers are not wrong, in making their kingdom so ancient as they do. But secondly, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon as, or within a small time after, the setting of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems, were also introduced. This was the custom in all places, at least as far as we are able to trace things back. First, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society; suseeive kings cherished and encreased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. Moses hath preferred two fragments of an Amoritish poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung to early the praises of Sibon, why might not the Persians have perils among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? Thirdly, it is universally allowed, that the present Persians have not only quick wits but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conservation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and the ancient Persians are not one and the same people; but here it may be replied, that the Perses, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present Persians. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentick histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm, I say we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof, but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this afferation, that the ancient Persians kept authentick records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, viz. facred and profane. The authors of the books of Ezra and Nebuchad. speak frequently not only of the immutability of the Persian laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of publick acts and registers. In the book of Esther, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of Persia, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to proflane writers, Herodotus and Xenophon are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wildom and virtue of the ancient Persians, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

a Genesis iv. 1. 9.  b Numbers xxxii. 27.  c Chardin, tom. iii. p. 150.  d vi. 7.  e ii. 1.  f ii. 25.  g Clio, p. 25.  h Cypriopia.
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Supposing it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the Persians had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached their distant times. Of this, however, we are not positive ourselves; all that we can say is this, that the Persians having lived under their own laws down to the time of Tegseghobrod, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their histories were frequent among them; for though the Macedonians might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they should destroy all the books in the empire; besides, we know that the modern Persians have the Zend or original Code of Zerduscht among them, with many other ancient books; now it being generally agreed, that Zerduscht flourished in the days of Darius Hyphasis, it will be hard to assign a reason, why some of their ancient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But farther still, Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschab commonly called Mirkhond, or Mirkhound, with other modern Persian authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities, and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

It is from the author beforementioned that we take, for the most part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the Oriental history of Persia. He is allowed to have been a person of great learning and judgment by such as are well versed in oriental history, and his works are esteemed as oracles throughout the East. We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without further introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A Table of the kings of Persia, to the time of Alexander the Great, according to Mirkhond.

The first Race,

Or the Dynasty of the Pishdadians.

1 Kejomaras, or Cajoumaras
2 Siamek
3 H'lbangh, or Haufchenk
4 Taborubof
5 Gjemshid, or Gianshid
6 Dabær, Zabak, Zaub
7 Abyriban, Pherdûn, or Peridoun
8 Manjugbr, or Manoqebber, fornamed Phireouz
9 Nedar
10 Abyrâfhab, or Aserafhab
11 Zab, Zaul, or Zoub

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called Mirkhond, sometimes Mirkhond, and sometimes Chaudemir; he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the Hegira 900, under the title of Rauvadot al Safa; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the Persian antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. Hyde (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on Persian affairs. His name became known in Europe by an abridgment of his work, published in Spanish by Teixeira, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the history of the age in which he lived, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

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Book I.

The second Race,
Or the Dynasty of the Kaianites.

1 Kaïkebad
2 Kaïkayn
3 Kaïkofru
4 Lobraf or Loboraf
5 Guïstaf, or Guïstap, or Kisbetaf
6 Arsedir, surnamed Babamam
7 Queen Homai
8 Darab 1
9 Darab 2

A Table of the fame kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

1 Kejomaras, or Cauumaras
Stiamk sian after a short reign
Kejomaras refames the kingdom, and reigned
Ab: i:erregnum
2 Halgan, or Hawsebenk, surnamed Pisbdad
3 Tabamraf
4 Gjeskeil, or Gianshbad
5 Dabok, Zabak, Zeak
6 Aekridun, Phridun, or Feridun
7 Manugjab, or Manougézer, surnamed Phirouz
8 Nodar
9 Akerrafab, or Aferafab
10 Zeb, Zaub, or Zoub
11 Guïstap son of Zoub

The second Race,

1 Kaïkebad
2 Kaïkayn
3 Kaïkofru
4 Lobraf, or Loboraf
5 Guïstaf, or Guïstap, or Kisbetaf
6 Arsedir, surnamed Babamam
7 Queen Homai
8 Darab 1
9 Darab 2.

It is evident enough from the years set down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of table and uncertainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns, but there may notwithstanding this be a great deal of truth in these relations, and, by comparing them with what the Greek and other writers of the Persian affairs have given us of the same times, it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the ancient Persian empire, than could have been had without considering the oriental writers at all. Reason will be everlastingly the supreme judge of facts, and if a history be attended with continual improbabilities or absurdities, men of sense will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the calf, or in the west. On the other hand, where a history is composed of a series of mixt facts, some probable and some romantic, the candid reader will receive those, though he throw away these, and will not destroy the wheat, because there are tares amongst it. As to the title of the following history, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the Persian authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourselves with the utmost plainness and perspicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our power lay, to rescue truth out of those metaphoric clouds.
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clouds, which often obscure the writings of the eastern historians. Farther remarks of the same nature we leave to the discernment of our readers.

Keyomaras, or Cajumaras, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, named the Pishbadations, from Pishbad, which signifies a juj judge, and was the surname given to Hulpagoh the second king of this race, afterwards, however, attributed to them all. The manner wherein Keyomaras ascended the throne was this. In the province of Aderbajajian the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, they unanimously resolved to elect one who should be obeyed by all, and whose judgment they would submit as to an irrefragable law. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to Keyomaras, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called Tagi on his head, kisling his feet in token of submissation, which customs last mentioned were preferred in use by his successors. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making of woollen cloth, of spinning, and weaving silk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wisdom, justice, and good laws, that dignity, which, out of modesty and a foresight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refused. The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under so excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the famine means that it began, viz. thro' an opinion of his worth, and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shown to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of the new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of Ohraban he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of Badsch where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which signifies to embrace. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of Persia, particularly Kabulshan, Sigian, Gom, &c. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was Nazek, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself entirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, frequently went to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of Tabrizen. These Keyomaras pursued his own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made flies of the rest, and employed them in his buildings. The other son of Keyomaras, or rather his grandson, was Siamek, with whom the wife of Nazek was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born Keyomaras adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that Keyomaras was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, distinguished with the weight of regal authority, defied to lay it down. Siamek proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conferring her with his last words, if the brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. Keyomaras by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased grandson with great magnificence, the next to take vengeance on those who had slain Siamek, after which he reigned for many years with great applause.

1 MIREHOND, Proem. Hist. k Tarik Montcheheb, i.e. The feeder chronicle. 1MIREHOND. Hist. Sei. i. m DHerbelot, Biblio. Oriental. Lt. CAJUMARATH.
There is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him Adam, and because he was the first king would needs have him to be the first man also; but men of better judgments and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a mistake, and that the ancient Persians called him Adam by way of honorary Surname, signifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as Adam of mankind. The most judicious among the Persians writers believe him to have been the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, and that he chose to erect the seat of his empire not far from mount Ararat and the countries first planted after the flood. His religion is another disputable point, some holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his son Siamek gave birth to the fire-worship ascribed to the Magi. But if we may credit graver authorities, Keyomars, like most ancient kings, was at once both prince and prophet, taught the people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the existence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indelightful enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thousand years of life, and say, that of these he reigned five hundred and sixty. How long he reigned before he resigned his throne to Siamek is uncertain, but from his resuming the sceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years. Huyfang, or Houshchen, surnamed Piştabah, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the east, for the extent of his knowledge and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, whence he was called Piştabah. He also divided his country, and established governments throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture, as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for the moistening of their grounds; to this like wise they ascribe the taming of leopards and other beasts of chase, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage, and after a short time fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountain Damavend, by an army of Barbarians who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of Chuyshan the seat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of Shafa or Shufan. There is hardly an ancient prince in the world whose name is more famous in romance than that of Huyfang, there is a Persian book which bears the title of Huyfang Nameh, i. e. Huyfang's history, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been translated into the Turkish tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero befriended a monstrous animal, called Rakhibe, which he found in the dry island, or new world, being the issue of a male Crocodile and a female Hippopotamus; this fed upon nothing but the flesh of Serpents and Dragons. After Huyfang had made this animal submit to the saddle, there was no giant so terrible, no monster so frightful, that he attacked and subjugated; amongst the rest of his conquests he reduced the people of Mabifer, so famous in the eastern romances for their having fishes heads, and thence extemned a race of formidable monstres. The truth seems to be, that this prince subdued that people on the Persic gulph, called by the Greeks Ishthyophagi from their living upon fish, whereas the fruitful imagination of eastern poets deduced a people with fishes heads. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of Gwddian Khird, i. e. the wisdom of all times; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very ancient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into Arabic, by the son of the vizier of the Caliph Ahmad, and into Turkish under the title of Arvar Sobaili, it has also been in part rendered into French, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws and teaching wisdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatise beforementioned at the bottom of the page p (B).

Tabnurest


(B) This piece is penned with all the enthusiasm ever, some very fine sentences, amongst others these natural to eastern writers; there are in it, how ever, some very fine sentences, amongst others these which follow :  

* Great
Tahmūrašt; A frarnamed Dibänd, i. e. the humber of the devil, supposed by some to be the son, by others the grandson, of Ḥūbāng, and by a third party his cousin, succeeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predecessor had introduced both poverty and confusion in his dominions, he to remedy the first remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order made new laws, and took care that the magistrates should every-where put them in execution. He is the first Peršan prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime minister; it is very possible, that the disorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make use of such an officer. The king fortified the frontiers of Perša to prevent sudden invasions, and shewed so happy a mixture of wisdom and valour in his disposition, that several of the neighbouring nations, struck with the felicity of his subjects, voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At laft, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a pestilence, which raged throughout his dominions and destroyed with equal rapidity both man and beast, cut the thread of his life at Balch to the great grief of his subjects.

*Gjemfsid, or Giamfesid, or rather Gjem Scebíd, his name being Gjem, to which Scebíd as a surname was added, because of his wonderful beauty, Scebíd in the Perfí language signifying the Sun, his eyes having such a luster that none could look him steadily in the face, tho' some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resided from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson, but all agree, that he was of the family of ʿAṣar, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equaling at least, if not excelling, them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his courts, where he highly preferred them; amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one a free, says our author Mirḵund, whose name was ʿAbd al-Rabbān, and the other a Greek, called Pithagoreus, i. e. Pythagoras; but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of those times, yet it is easy to discern from the circumstances of things, that Gjemfsid flourished at a considerable distance from Pythagoreus; but such errors as these are not infrequent among Oriental writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of Greece, of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of these wise counsellors, Gjemfsid divided his subjects into three classes, the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artisans. In his time mufick, vocal and instrumental, and astronomy were first introduced in Perša. He was also the first who built granaries in Perša, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in case of any deficiency in their harvests famine might not be felt. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories from the following accident: A woman, who was much in Gjemfsid's

Takhmūrasd, fr. Seft. iv. D'Herbelot, Takhmūrasd. Mirḵond fr. Seft. v. Z. z. "Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the attributes of power, wealth, and mercy, in a superior degree, with respect to private persons, as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this, however, encourage them to use their subjects with rigour. Thunder is seldom heard, but the sun shines every day; we see ten thousand instances of God's goodness, for one extraordinary act of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing all the good they can, and always remember, that though death is in their power, yet life is not; they may order a man to be cut into a thousand pieces, but there their dominion ends, they cannot call him into being again; beware therefore of sudden judgments, and of penitence coming too late. Ministers are as the hands or instruments of kings; men look not for an account of their actions from them, but from their masters; a king therefore should look well to his ministers; for it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes upon them, when the people rise in rebellion, as it would be for a murderer to tell the judge, that it was not he but his fellow that killed his neighbour. Bad princes have sometimes had good ministers, but good princes never have bad ones long. The passions of men may by long acquaintance be thoroughly known, but the passions of women are inscrutable; therefore they ought to be feared from men, lest the mutability of their tempers should infect others. Their natures, humours, and dispositions, require restraint; large and coarse stones are employed in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaster in palaces; but diamonds we lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or common, of small value or of great price, we set them to view, or shut them up close."

(4) Hamlīnus Nācbel. ap. Boeckh's edis., Seft. iii. Vol. II.
Gjensid's good grace was afflicted with an invertebrate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of Gjensid were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting herself for some hours; and drank yet a greater quantity which completed her cure; this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the court, every body began to regard wine as a universal medicine, capable of removing the most stubborn difficulties. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the calendar which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastic year, in which there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated; (C). b He likewise instituted the Nawruz, i.e. the solemn observation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its rise thus: king Gjensid going in progress through his provinces arrived in Abarkuh, and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is Nawruz, i.e. the new day, whereas the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein, besides the presents made to the prince, it was usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all sorts of people; to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know they lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence he came, whether he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried; to which the youth answered, I am El Mansur, i.e. August; and my name is El-Moharek, i.e. the Blessed, I come hither from God, bearing the new year. Then he sat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, peas, vetches, pulses, a flue cane, and two pieces of gold fresh from the mint. Out of this baloon first the Wayhe or Vizier, then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony a very great leaf made of several kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eating some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest in these words, This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other. Then rising up in his royal robes he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts. The evening of this day the Persians called Persians, on which they did every thing that might testify joy and strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign Gjensid remained in Segifian, thinking it the properest province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the east were thoroughly settled; then he changed it for the proper Persia, where he erected the noble city of Esfahan, which must take to be the Persopolis of the Greeks, though some believe it the city of Sabara. If what the ancient Persian writers deliver of the extent of this city of Esfahan be true, viz. that it contained a square of twenty four leagues, then it is possible that both opinions may be true, but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was filled in the occult sciences, 

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the calendar, as it was settled by Gjensid; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, viz. when we come to speak of the era of Yezdighird, we thought it needless to interrupt the feries of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. Hyde's book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (j).

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sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have allotted it. It is universally allowed, that Gjem-

fisid gave himself up entirely to the study of the arts of reigning, and some say, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by considering the transactions among the bees, and that he drew many customs from the hive into the court of Persia. Among other inventions the signet ring is ascribed to him, and that mode, which still prevails throughout the east, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable; he likewise directed, that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable from their garb; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing and his people happy, in which he so well succeeded as to draw from him the deepest misfortunes; for having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, and pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. This madness soon left him the hearts of the people, so that the province of Sigsham, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king and whose name was Abad, took arms, and, when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of Zook or Dodeb towards Schiras, where Gjemfisid met him with a powerful army which he had raised; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end Gjemfisid was defeated and taken prisoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately fawn upon, which was performed in Zook's sight. This is the account given by Mirechond and the best Arabian histories; others say, that he escaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son whose name was Pherman or Shprian of three years old, whom his mother Phermanak found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of Persia.

Dodeb, Dodeb, Zabak, Zook; some authors affirm, that the name of this prince Deloc. is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the Persians, viz. Deb-ak, signifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was Psuran. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; some report, that he was naturally descended from Siemak the grandson of Keworkas; others say, that he was an Arabian, the son of Ulfan, defended in a direct line from Abad, the chief of the Adites. The truth seems to be, that he was an Arab by the father's side, but defended of the house of Keworkas by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false; the one supposes but two generations between him and Adam, the other that he was defended from Ham the son of Noah, and is to be looked on as the Nimrod of the scriptures. It is very likely, that all these stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened through some mistakes in reading or transcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was, however, a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences, in one word, he is represented to us as a compleatly wicked man, one whose abilities anwered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose pernicious deeds with horror, for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural fomens of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable ulcera, conflating in two painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain following the bite of a serpent, whence the story inferred in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at last as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiss his shoulders, which being granted, an ugly serpent immediately took poss in each, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. Either some forcerer, or the devil in a dream, suggested to Zook; an inhuman remedy for this evil, viz. that of washing these ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others say, applying to them the brains of men newly slain. At first the tyrant put to death criminals of all sorts; but when

* D'HERBELOT. tit. Gjemfisid.
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when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The priests and other personages in authority had recourse to all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brain of sheep, but to no purpose; these, however, who were intrusted with the care of these unhappy wretches destined to slaughter for the tyrant’s feast, often out of mere pity let them flit through their fingers, so that flying to the mountains in order to preserve themselves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themselves into a particular nation, called since the Candae. All his reign long Zasak caused Phridun, the son of his predecessor, to be searched for, but to no purpose, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of Zasak’s enemies. However, the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young Phridun. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; the he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two loosed his girdle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of Danavan. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed, that it portended the loss of his kingdom and of his life, because amongst the Persians the girdle is a mark of dignity, now this Zasak conceived could never be done but by Phridun and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by Zasak, were the sons of a certain frie, whose name was Gae, or, as others write it, Kebo. This man, driven to madness at the sight of his children’s blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the army he got together became very formidable, so that he made himself master of various strong forts and great cities, particularly of the city Heri, or Herat, the capital of Chorasan, where he stood for some time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid Zasak battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, affurin among other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as soon as he had restored to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused, telling them, that as the fene he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, he would never consent to injure others; that Phridun the son of Gianfied was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours were easily turned; the army on this speech grew as loyal to Phridun as they had been grateful to the frie. Phridun obtaining the spirit of his people, and being informed that Zasak’s army was by no means hearty in his interest, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a brisk action Zasak’s troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner, whereupon Phridun ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of Danavan, and gave directions for his being imprisoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the Persians inflinited a feast in memory thereof, which they called Miliogion, or rather Miliogion 1. Phridun,

2 Mirkhond, hist. sect. vi.
3 Hyde, rel. vet. Perf. c. viii. p. 158.
4 Derbelot, biblioth.

1 Phridun

(D) The history of Zasak makes a prodigious figure in the Persas romances; what is related of him being to us absurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpose to swell out a note with such stories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the most invincible characters of him they could devise, and heightened all the mirthful things he did with the utmost force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourselves poets writing with this view, and at the same time adver to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loss for all the strange things that we now read of Zasak, and yet allow the first authors of them to have been men of good sense too. Metaphors well understood, allusions readily apprehended, and allusions easily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at least as circumstances, of fact in ages which succeeded; and hence it comes to pass, that a stroke of poetical fancy, or the rhetorical flourish of an author is misapprehended for a fictitious allusion, and so delivered by historians, who come after, and transcribe all they find, without weighing or considering how or in what manner it was wrote. The first historians in all countries were poets, the second rate prose-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that ancient histories are full of grave fabrit, which through length of time are hard to be und
Pholidan, Apheridon, or Feridoun, this prince proved one of the greatest, wisest, and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the east; his first act, after being quietly seated on the throne, was to make Kaob the smith general of his armies; after which he sent him towards the western parts of his dominions in order to reduce such provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had shook off the Persian yoke. Kaob spent twenty years in this enterprise, in which space he added many fine countries to the Persian empire; at length the king called him and made him governor of Aberbayagan, which he ruled ten years with equal satisfaction to the people and to his prince, and then died much regretted by Pholidan, who to do honour to his memory gave all his estates among his relations, and then

b taking his sons into his own court, bred them up there in a most honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which Kaob had hung upon a stick at the beginning of the insurrection, the royal standard of Persia, calling it Dirijesb Kaztens, i.e. the standard of Kaob, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such inestimable value, that being taken by the Arabians in the battle of Cadysa, it enriched the whole army. As Pholidan was defirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent perfous, not only of great parts but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also with a view of interest only the daughter of his predecessor Zorak, by whom he had two sons Salm and Tur, but these proving like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a Persian lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named Irge, equally wise and courteous, so that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on, till Pholidan, feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and, having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know which of his sons they wished he should make his successor; those lords unanimously answered, that, if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have Irge for their prince, to which Pholidan assented; but, to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to Tur all the eastern provinces of his empire, to Salm the provinces on the other side, and restrained Irge within the compass of Persia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia. From this division came the names of Turon and Iran, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of Persia, and the other Persia itself and the provinces dependent thereon. As for Tur, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name Turon, and the country Turquistan; this city was seated in the province of Mustan alhabar in the neighbourhood of the Caphian sea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of Turks. However large those shores might be which Salm and Tur had received from their father, they still hated him and their brother Irge, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for the execution of their projects, Salm and Tur marched each with great forces into Aberbayagan, and having joined their armies, they sent a fort of mountaine to their father, wherein they met forth, that with just reason they were displeased with the kindnecf which he had shewn Irge, whom theylicted a baffard, and declared at the same time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was deposed

c from


flood: this has been the fate of Greece, of Rome, of Britain, of Ireland, and why not of Persia? But fiction, though it may obscure, yet it does not absolutely destroy truth. Roak was in all probability an Arabian invader, who, after making himself master of Persia, used his new subjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be borne, and then they did what a people may always do, threw them off their shoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of Damaouand, or rather of Damaouand, we think it may be understood to mean no more than that he was kept there in some strong

castle. These mountains are in the province of Aberbayagan, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the modern Media; they are rocky, full of caverns, and consequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the fame licence here allowed them elsewhere, have feigned, that Tamaouand after overcoming the Devil or evil Genius, imprisoned them in these grottos, and by degrees these expessions grew so frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily sent to the mountains of Damaouand as among our common people ghosts are chained, or, to preserve the true phrase, luted in the bottom of the Red-Sea.

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from the sovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. Phridan, justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to Irge to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march against his brethren. Irge, however, defied the king to have recourse to milder measures, in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. Phridan was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. Irge, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him some of his wisest counsellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if possible amicably to adjust the differences between them. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head, which having stuck on a pole, they industriously sent to their father. Phridan was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune; he resolved, however, to carry on the war against Salm and Tur; in order to which he gave the dominions of Irge to his son Mangegeber, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They desiring his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and lost their lives by the hand of Mangegeber, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather Phridan, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of Mangegeber, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor cried out. It is your grandson Mangegeber, the avenger of the blood of Irge, who both slain Salm and Tur with his own hand. Phridan then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the Tagi or Tiara from his head and put it on that of Mangegeber or Mangejar, declaring him thereby sovereign of Persia, appointing at the same time one Soam or Shoban, a person of great wisdom and valor, to be his vizier. Within a short space after this Phridan died, full of years and glory.

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the Solomon of Persia, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a manner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to preserve Zabijin, that some Mahomedan authors have not scrupled to affir that he was a Muffalman. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor.

Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some Persian writers think, that Phridan was co-temporary with Abrahom. On the other hand, the learned Dr. Hyde has entertained a notion that this Phridan is the Porastes of Herodotus; it would


* D'Herbelot. Art. Feridoun.  * Hyde,
would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here, and besides we shall have occasion to refuse this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history at once; in the mean time let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of Poritis’s grandson (F). Manugiar. *Manugetar* or Manugieber, according to some authors, was not the son of Ptaeg, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us whether these opinions are true or certain; that he was a prince and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, viz. the viceroy Sebam beforementioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeber*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of Persia; he aternted, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of Persia to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeber* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers Tigris and Euphrates to reirich the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncourched into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apheron fab* the descendant of Tart or Tour, invaded his dominions with a great army of Turks, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeber*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of Tabrosian; some authors say, that there happened a battle between him and Apheron fab, and that Manugeber was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of Persia withdrew into a fortres, and prepared to defend himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apheron fab* besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the Turk, being afraid that his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this conjunctions were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on the terms; that *Apheron fab* should possess all the country east of the river Giben, and that he should leave Manugeber without molestation in possession of Persia and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of Persia. Soon as Apheron fab was retired into his own country, Manugeber began to provide against such invasions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quotas of troops; but these measures alarming Apheron fab, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into Persia; but the Turk had not the fame success in this as in the former war. The precautions of Manugeber perfectly answered his end, so that the enemy were not only repulsed where-ever they made their conquests, but also lost a great number of their soldiers who were taken prisoners.

(F) The reader will easily perceive from the characters he has already been drawn in this history, that among the oriental nations wisdom as well as valour is thought necessary in a hero. Poritis is as famous amongst them, as any of the heroes of Greece or Rome amongst us; and for the same reason; because he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers prefer the valour of the wise flyings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused our selves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this part in relation to Poritis; but the reader will in all probability be pleased with the following specimen of his famousness, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man should weigh well the nature of himself, The varying frailties of this fleeting world, And the true excellence of heaven’s high lord; Then would he this despise, and trust in him. The world deceives us all.—In God is truth. Let not thy riches or thy power prevail To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride: Look back, remember tho’ thou hast been high, And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink; Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all! And when inevitable death commands, That we should follow to his dreary calm, Matters it much, if from a royal couch, Or from a matrrefs thrown upon the ground, We rise to take our journey (5)?

Aberaftab therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left Manugeber to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wise and good prince made the city of Sigijilán for a time his royal seat, and when by his presence he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither his vizier Sobam to preserve all things in quiet, and went himself to reside in the centre of his empire, where he applied himself, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. Sobam managed all things in the province of Sigijilán so as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midst of his happiness an accident fell out which surprized him not a little: his wife was brought to-bed of a son with long yellow hair, Sobam therefore gave him the name of Zal-zer, i.e. golden hair; this young man, when he grew up to years of discretion, gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, inomithch, that Manugeber sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude Manugeber had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, Sobam and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the fame splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it so happened, that Zal-zer went to hunt in the province of Kabylujân, dependent on the kingdom of Tourn, but bordering northwards on the Persfan dominions. Meberab, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might show his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with Zal-zer charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had such an effect on the mind of Roudabab his daughter, that she fell violently in love with Zal-zer on his report; and, as women's passions are ever sudden and uncontrollable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where Zal-zer was incamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of Roudabab, the daughter of Meberab, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and sweet dispositions of her lady. Zal-zer immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into to warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep, till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the best use of their time, that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amours, Zal-zer made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received, and after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of Sigijilán. Almost as soon as came home he acquainted Sobam with all that had happened, and that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of Meberab. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a Persfan to espouse a Turk. However, the many services of Sobam and the great merit of Zal-zer prevailed so far over Manugeber, that he at last yielded to all they desired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence: the inhabitants of Sigijilán and Kabyluján vying with each other in their expressions of joy on this occasion; nor were the consequences of this match less happy than its conclusion was splendid, for at the end of nine months the lovely Roudabab was brought to bed of a son who was named Rubson, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illustrious pair came to find a place in the Persfan history. Let us now return to Manugeber, who spent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the best order imagi

however, that we do him justice in one particular of greater importance than all the
rest; he was a most zealous worshipper of the true God, of which we have the most
shining instances in the history of his life and reign, written by Tahiri, an ancient
Persian author. By him we are informed, that as soon as this prince heard of the
Turks passing the river Gjeben in order to drive him out of his dominions, he assembled
a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himself in these words, "The
most holy and high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him
praise and glory by my actions as a prince, preferring my people in plenty and
calm, and impartially distributing justice, that thereby the glorious gift of God
might in my hand be strengthened and encreased. It contrary to this my duty
b" I had acted ungratefully towards my creator, then I should justly have deferred
to lose my kingdom here, and to suffer everlasting punishment for my wicked-
nesses hereafter. The most holy and high God having caused me to be born of
royal blood, and in right thereof betwowe a kingdom upon me, let us not my
friends safely throw it away, or tamely suffer it to be taken from us; consider
"well of the state we are in, and tomorrow I will more largely inform you as to
my sentiments of the matter." The next day accordingly the nobles of Periia
assembled again, and the king being seated in his throne of state with his royal crown
upon his head, and the Mahad Mahadan, or high-priest, seated near him in his golden
chair, rose up and spoke as he had done the day before, ascribing all dominion
to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of Periia was his gift; he then
observed, that all things depended alike on the will of the supreme being, and that
nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permission. He said
farther, that God had long indulged the Persian nation the full enjoyment of many
blessings, in consequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his
laws, that is, making a proper use of the good things betowewn on them. He
added, that as to the point at present before them, viz. the invasion of the Turks,
it came not but by the permission of God, wherefore to him they ought first to
apply themselves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their
lives, to be constant in prayer, to exert their courage and their understandings in
the defence of their country, and to rest heedfully in the hope that the Almighty would
not forsake them, but restore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving
them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to
peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign;
as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree
in fixing it at 120 years. They say likewise, that the death of Manuejahr was like
his life majestic and serene, that he called to him his son and successor, gave him
in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended
his subjects most affectionately to his care. Nudor.
Nudor or Nudaur succeeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy.
He was scarce seated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties and
to create seditions in his empire, which weakened it so much, that the Turks immedi-
ately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long set their hearts on.
With this view Peshang at that time king of Tourn, the direct descendant of Tor
the son of Phriudan, called his sons together; and having exasperated, first on the
right which their family had to the kingdom of Periia; and secondly of the low
state the Periia affairs were then in; he told them, that the intent of his drawing
them together was to know which of them had courage enough to affright the preten-
dions derived to him from his ancestors, and to undertake the reduction of the pro-
vinces on the other side of the Gjebon. Aperafetab his eldest son, strong with ambition
and defirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himself to raise an army
in order to conquer Iran. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horse and foot, and
with this prodigious army entered Sigijfin. Nudar, as soon as he was informed of
this, cauised his chief troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them
to Sekama the father of Zal-xer; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march
slowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him so much, that he died before
he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleasing to Aperafetab,
who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. Nudar, not
doubting that Sekama and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed
them,

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them, marched with his army towards Mazanderan, where, on a sudden and before a
he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite
to each other, a Turkish champion, whose name was Baghson, challenged any of the
Persian warriors to a single combat, which challenge was readily accepted by Kobad
the grandson of Koba, of whom we have said so much in the life of Perizan. The
combat terminated in favour of the Persian, who having slain his antagonist spoiled
him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The
Turks were prodigiously incensed at this accident, and resolved with themselves to
revenge it speedily on Nudar and his army. Accordingly, having postfixed them-
selves of all the posts about it, they attack the Persians in their camp, where a most
obstinate battle was fought, till at length there happened such a prodigious shower of
rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that Nudar laid hold of this
opportunity to retire, and to order his sons Thus and Gafman, who were at the head of
separate bodies, to march speedily to his relief, which they did accompanied by Karen
the brother of Koba, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasuries out of
Sissjan, and to send them to a place of safety. Aphrasta the observing the measure
taken by Nudar, and conceiving that his intent was to spurn out the war, he,
to prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been destructive to his
troops, sent an officer of his whose name was Karaban with positive orders to attack
Karen, and the body of Persians under his command, which accordingly he did,
killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after Aph-
resta attacked Nudar in his camp, and, after obtaining a signal victory, took
that monarch prisoner in his flight with many Persian nobles. As soon as they
came into his presence Aphresta ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his bro-
ther a prince of great humanity and wisdom hindered him, and prevailed on him
to content himself with putting them in prison, to which with much ado he
yielded. The next step after this victory was to poffe his himself of the court and
treasuries of Nudar, in which Aphrasta infamly detached a body of 30,000
men, they entering the province of Sissjan made themselves masters of the capital
and of the royal palace, the Persians being ever where to intimadate that they
slur not fir, but submitted tamely to the yoke, which conquest had imposed upon d
them. Meherab it seems, after the marriage of his daughter to Zal-zor, had retired
into Persia, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this sudden over-
throw of the empire threatened him as well as the rest of its inhabitants. Meherab,
being a man of great policy, betook himself of a means to divert immediate
danger by sending a messenger to Aphrasta, with very rich presents and a letter to
this purpose, 4 5 That though he lived in Persia, he was by nation a Turk, and not
only fo, but in some measure allied to him in blood, being lineally descended
from Zook, wherefore he hoped his family and this early testimony of obedience
would be sufficient to recommend him to his special protection. Having thus
amused the victor, he gave notice to his son-in-law Zal-zor, who assemblmg, as pri-
vately as he could, several small bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendez-
vous, where he himself joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt
somewhat against the common enemy, he began to act offensively, and in a short
time drove the Turks out of the province of Sissjan. Of which when Aphrasta
received intelligence, it provoked him so much, that he ordered the unfortunate Nudar
to have his head struck off in prison, which was accordingly put in execution without
the least regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided,
some making it seven, others enlarging it to nine. Mirkhon, whom we generally
follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince
temporary with Jofsa, others place him much higher; we shall not determine
here who are in the right 6.

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a faved Nadar's life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him first attendance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage Zalzer to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of Sigisfan in the spring, affuriong them, that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that Aberofahab gained intelligence of them, and immediately set all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he cauifed his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising of troops, b resolving to reduce all his opponents. Zalzer, being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young Turkifs prince, openly excited the Persians to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears. His discourse by degrees had such an effect, that the inhabitants of Persia, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, Zalzer found himself at the head of a very formidable army — Ahrapahab, who had his spies everywhere, receiving an exact account of Zalzer's situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the Persian captain a great deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing Ahrapahab to a battle; it was very bloody, and so obstinate that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither side had any reason to boast of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any decisive action, whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and at last the total destruction of the country. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that Ahrapahab should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation and retire into Torvan, while Iran and all its dependencies should remain under the protection of Zalzer; this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised himself to the throne of Persia; but he scorned to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, fought out Zab or Zowd the lawful heir of the House of Keymaras, and put the crown upon his head.

Zab, Zowd, or Bzewab, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity was far Zab.

advanced in years, but had notwithstanding a tolerable share of health and spirits; he applied himself to the restoring, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of Persia; the more effectually to do this he associated with him in the empire Gberishap his nephew, whom some have called Kechtab, and have made him not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor, of Zab or Zowd; but this seems to be a mistake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this Gberishap being called Kechtab. But to return to Zab; he sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses after the wretched depredations committed by Ahrapahab and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treasury, and as often as any sums were paid in there, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, viz. that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various sorts of sauces and broths, unknown before in these regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor.

Mirkhond makes him expressly the laft of the first race of kings, who from the surname of Husbanahl were called in general Pishbadians, though to us it seems more probable, that they received this appellation, because during the feveral reigns of these princes the laws and constitution of Persia were thoroughly settled. According to other authors Gberishap or Kechtab succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of Zab or Zowd; his mother is said to have been a Jewess of the tribe of Benjamin, he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to restore the Persian diadem to its ancient lustre. Ahrapahab, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the disorder the kingdom
dom was in, to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to poison himself of various a
provinces. The new king fought under great disadvantages, but in spite of these
he frequently defeated the Turki, and recovered various places out of their hands;
at last, however, he fell into the error of many of his predecessors, that is, he put
all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost, and with its life, being killed
fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign some say of six, others
of thirty years; but whether the former may not include the reigns of Zab and of
this prince too, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch
reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the
empire of the Pislehdadians ended, and that Afrafiab the descendant of Tour became
a third time absolute lord of Persia; how he afterwards lost the possession of this b
empire will be shewn in its proper place. In the mean time it may not be amiss to
infect here some remarks on the foregoing period, in order to justify the observation we
have so often made, that oriental history, though mixed with fables, is not altogeth-
erwise useless.

In the course of this work our method has been to speak first of the chronology,
and afterwards of the history of each country; in the present case it was impractica-
ble, unless we had tormented the reader with needless repetitions and nauscent auto-
logies. We have therefore chosen to give the series of the Persian history relating
to the kings of the first race, as it lies in Mirkhond and other authors; and, after
laying down these facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by
degrees to what we esteem the true state of the ancient Persian empire. In the
first place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings Medi-
ans by defect. The province of Aderbayagan, of which they make Kayomaras
to have been at first sovereign, is a part of Media, taking in also a part of Armenia,
so that in all probability it was one of the first peopled provinces of the dominion
of Scan, if we suppose that territories were ascertained and set out immediately
after the flood. Within this province stands the little town, that is, considering it
in its present condition, Naftshvan, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the
first town built after the flood; and indeed in the Armenian language the very
name implies as much, it being equivalent to the first place, or, first habitation c.
Thus did the early erection of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and
consistent with the most ancient accounts sacred and prophane. As the power of
Kayomaras increased, he extended his territories towards the east, and towards
the south; for it is agreed, that he made himself master of Irak-agami; afterwards Pas-
thia, and in process of time joined thereto the province of Phars or proper Per-
fopolis, though others deny it, and say it was built later. The succedence of this
prince conquered Kuhman and Szijfjan, and afterwards many other countries on
the east of the present Persian empire. It was Phirdeni or Peridoum who settled the
dominions of Persia in pretty near the same order as we find them at this day; it is
evident therefore, that the kings of the first race were not petty princes or tribu-
taries, but lords of a very extensive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in
the time of Kayomaras, some think it was at Balseh in Chorasan, others at Isphahr.
Perhaps he might first fix his residence at Balseh, and afterwards remove it into the
heart of his kingdom. Hushang refused again at Balseh, Gomfesbod settled himself at
Isphahr, and is by most of the Persian authors esteemed its founder. In the reigns
of succeeding kings, though their royal residence might sometimes be changed,
Isphahr remained the capital, and received from time to time great improve-
ments from the Persian monarchs. Rifdestaph the last of them had a peculiar liking
to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have
sustained through the course of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which
was afterwards so famous among the Greeks under the name of Peripolis, began, as
we observed in our description of Persia, under the first race of kings. How it
was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are still remaining,
we shall shew in the history of the princes of the second race; in the mean time let it
be remembered, that several princes of the dynasty of Pislehdadians were great lovers
of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in
their time, especially in the days of Manuabs, who is particularly famous in the
oriental

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a oriental history for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we say, there were any artists capable of carving in stone, they might have employed their time in cutting some of those wonderful histories in Bas-relief, which are yet visible in the living rock, behind the ruins of Ciblinar, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of Persia. This, we say, is possible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of Manu-geber is a circumstance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in sight of the sun, represented in the mountain before-mentioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of these ancient kings which we have already shewn to be very near the true religion, that is the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worship of fire, it was indubitably a very ancient doctrine, and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before, the time of Key-

maras. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magic prevailed, and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for Aderbajian is no more than the place of fire, Ader or Azer signifying fire, and Boyajian a place; whence it comes to pass, that we frequently find this word thus written Azerbajian. The high mountain of Alborz was the principal place of worship in these early times, and the people were perfused, that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account when the treasures of Nedar king of Persia were removed out of Sijfijan, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the Ghauris, if we may believe Sir John Chardin; on the contrary they yet speak confidently of celestial or elementary fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain. On the whole therefore, the religion of the Persians under the first race of kings differed very little from that which still subsists among the Ghauirs. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no Pyrea or fire temples at all before the time of Zoroaster or Zer-

duist; others, on the authority of some Arabian writers, affect the contrary, so as it seems probable, that the former is the opinion nearest truth. Our reasons for saying this are these, first the antientest historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the Exuls of the children of Israel. Secondly, because Herodotus says expressly, that the antient Persians had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains sub dio; and thirdly, because of Pyrea being at that time in use is not consistent with the history of Zerdusht, as we shall shortly have occasion to show. From the power and the religion of the first race of Persians kings, we come at length to the intricate question, When they flourished? or rather how their reigns are to be reckoned to sacred and profane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and profane historians say of the antient kings of Media and Persia. The scripture informs us, that Elam was a very antient kingdom, for Oberdorlaomer came with a great army to reduce the region of Pentapolis in Canaan, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of ABRABAM; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were on their decline. In respect to these ancient times the Greek writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, viz. Thucydides, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man, that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history as well as in other sciences, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. Herodotus pretends not to say any thing of the history of the Medes, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of Cyrus, where he places Dijoces, whom he makes the first king of Media, and speaks of his advancement in that dignity, in terms exactly correspondent to those made use of by Mirkbond in his history of the election of Keyomaras. Diodorus Siculus, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history; gives us a list of ten Median kings reigning in all 282 years, but the critics are not pleased with these, because Diodorus took

\* Chardin, Voyag. tom. i. 253. \* Thucydides, Preem. Hist. \* Clito, c. 71. \* Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3.
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took them from Ctesias, and Ctesias had his materials from the Median and Persian records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, Ctesias’s account did not coincide well with those that the Greeks had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the Greek history, as the memoirs of Ctesias, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the Medes and Persians say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspense, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old Medo-Persic monarchy, and its being destroyed by the Assyrian emperors. The question is, whether we will suppose, that these people lived all that time without doing anything, because none of the Greek historians except Diodorus from Ctesias have vouchsafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we shall admit Ctesias’s exploded method, and fill up this chasm with what the Persian say of themselves? If this latter course be to be followed here is room for all the Psephodadians at once. But then as to the synchro-
nism of their reigns we dare to be excused from setting it, because at present we see no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactness. However, when the Persian history, according to oriental writers, shall be deduced as low as the reign of Tisdeqboyd, the last native of that country who swayed its sceptre, we shall reconsider this point, and set the whole chronology of the Persian empire in the best light we may. In the mean time we shall conclude these observations with remarking, that Ctesias and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the Persian history from the Persian records, have found in the most early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching great armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immense treasures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wil- dness and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we say from Mahomedan writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old Persian writers; if therefore all this be false, 'tis at least very ancient and uniformable, or to speak seriously, it has as much the appearance of truth as any history as ancient that we know of. But it is time to leave reasoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our history, and to shew the steps by which Apereoshab was expelled, and the Persian dominions once more referred to a prince of that country.

The history of the Persian kings of the second race, or of the dynasty of the Kainites.

Keykobad. K

Keykobad, or Caicobad, whom some writers make the son of Zab, the son of Tahmaz, the son of Menoeber, king of Persea, and others call simply the nephew of Nadar, was seated on the throne of Persea by the famous Zer-sc, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the Persea diadem, because he would not injure them. At this time he and his son Rugian put themselves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give Apereoshab abundance of trouble, and by degrees to put into the possession of Keykobad the greatest part of the provinces of Persea. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his sub-
jects in general, and extremely grateful to the perfons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with Rugian, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero beforementioned, gained such advantages, that Apereoshab retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace; but his commissioners and those of the king of Persea differing about the terms, Apereoshab hazarded a second battle, wherein, notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, Rugian desired some of the officers about him to slew him Apereoshab, which, when they had done, Rugian spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. Apereoshab, finding himself left alone, struggled with such force that he at last got loose; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as Rugian had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army
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a army of Key kobad, Russtan rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made Apherast prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding with that intent to the place where he had thrown the Turkish monarch, he found with surprize a dead man tied in his place; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of Key kobad, and solemnly promised, that if he met Apherast in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince, finding his affairs desperate in Persia, retired into Turquistan, and sent from thence an ambassadour to treat with Key kobad, who was equally prevailed on not to carry his arms into Turan, when the right of him and his family to Iran was acknowledged by Apherast, and all the scattered remnants of his army withdrawn. The peace once settled, Key kobad applied himself to the restorring of the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at Spabawin, which had been built by the famous king Hvounghab, adorned by Phridan, and afterwards given by him to Kaob the smith and his family. The reason in all probability which determined Key kobad to reside here, was its convenient situation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the Turks; to Russtan he gave the province of Zabluftan, on the borders of Indis, watered with many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects that can be wished. This province afforded a surname to Russtan, and received itself a new name from him. That hero being placed in most of the romances Zabel, because he was governor of Zabluftan; and that province, or at least a great part of it, was thenceforward called Russtendar, because it had been the government of Key kobad. Mabarak, surnamed Kabul, because he had been governor of Kebul, was another of Key kobad's generals, and highly esteemed by him. Kavan, one of the defactants at the famous Kaob the smith, was also a person highly esteemed by the king of Persia; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the surname of Resm Khaub, or the searcher of adventures. A fourth captain of Key kobad's was Keskobad, surnamed Zerin Khul, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward for the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. Key kobad divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up publick marks at the end of every four thousand paces, which space by the Persians is called Pherengieh, and from thence by the Greeks Parajang. As this monarch was renowned for his wildness and procris, so he was no less famous on account of his piety; the Mohammadan writers infill very much upon this, they assert, that he had many prophets who referred to his court, that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to understand that he was not a fire-worshipper, but in this they are certainly mistaken. They make him also contemporary with Samuel the judge of Israel, and assert, that he had some intercourse with him. In the latter years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened, as some historians say, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years.

Keykaus or Caikkaus, the son, or, as some say, the grand son of Key kobad, succeeded him in the throne of Persia, on which he was scarce seated before a war broke out in Mazandaran, a province bordering on the Caipian sea, which required his presence; a rebel prince, taking occasion from the demise of Key kobad, made himself sovereign there, and fortified the capital in such a manner that he made it the strongest place in the east. Keykaus marched immediately against him, and coming with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of Mazandaran, and prepared for a siege. Keykaus having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunitions and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in such cases 'tis usual for experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, Keykaus devised one which answered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provi-

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fions, and should be on that account obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emissaries in the place immediately intimated to the keepers of the stores, that by supplying the Persians with small quantities of victuals immense sums might be got; this trade once on foot, Kaykauz paid so well, that in a short time there was not a loaf left; he then summoned the city peremptorily to surrender, and on a discovery of their circumstances the inhabitants were forced to submit. He had not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against Arberasab; for the Persian army being defeated, King Kaykauz was taken and thrown into a prison, from whence he was released by the timely care of his general Rujhan, who entering Tunies with a numerous army, waited all before him with fire and sword, declaring, that he would destroy the whole country if they did not set him at liberty, which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on Aherasab to dismiss Kaykauz on his promise to recall Rujhan. As soon as the Persian monarch had regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his enemies on every side; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into Mezar, i.e. Egypt; Shamab, i.e. Syria; and Rum, i.e. Asia Minor. After these wars were over and all things in a quiet situation, Kaykauz, to shew the high esteem he had of Rujhan's services, gave him his sifter in marriage; the name of this prince was Gebernaz, i.e. endowed with all virtues, and with her by way of portion he gave him the office of generalissimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his kingdom, with the title of Peberelzn Gbou, i.e. supporter of the Persian empire.

We are not told it was Kaykauz himself married, but whoever he was he had by her two sons, named Siovek and Pheratorz; the eldest of these, viz. Siovek, was sent to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle Rujhan. How long things continued in this tranquil state does not appear; but the next war we hear of was against Zulzogar king of Arabia. What provocation he gave Kaykauz is uncertain; but the king of Persia carried his retentment so far, that he had well reduced the whole kingdom of Yemen, over which Zulzogar reigned, under his dominion; and at length it came to the ears of Kaykauz, that this Arabian prince had a daughter the most lovely woman in the world; upon which the Persian king sent to demand her in marriage; the king of Yemen, defirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent immediately his daughter to the king of Persia's Harm. As soon as Kaykauz beheld Saudabab, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest man in the world by having her in possession. Overcome therefore with the violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sort of excesses, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all sorts of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. Zulzogar, who foresaw all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse, and falling unexpectedly on the Persian army absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this so soon reached Persia, than Rujhan put himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into Yemen. Zulzogar knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of Rujhan, and for this reason he treated the king of Persia, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect, so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to forbear hostilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of Yemen, and promised to invade it no more, while the latter engaged to be the friend and ally of the Persian nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power; in consequence of which Kaykauz was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into Persia with his new spouse Saudabab. Not long after this Siovek came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. Saudabab, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting to be, solicited him to an inestimable amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, Saudabab ruthed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against Siovek, who had made an attempt upon

b Mirkond. Hist. fec. xiii.  
Hist. fec. xiii.
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The king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a trial; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of Sattabad clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of Persia, Apberosafab, who waited all opportunities of diftreffing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river Gbzenon with a great body of troops, in order to besiege Balcb. Keyhans, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into Sigijban with twelve thousand horse, there to join the forces under the command of Rustban, in order to make head against the enemy. Syavsek readily obeyed, and, after joining his uncle Rustban, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of Apberosafab and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. Apberosafab, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which Rustban forewarned, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repulsed, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of Persians into his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners to the camp of Syavsek and Rustban, in order to conclude the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle, and two Persians of great quality, who were of his council, feasted with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to Persia, which being ratified by Apberosafab, the young prince dispatched an express to carry the peace to his father. It seems the intrigues of Sattabad had created this desiring young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of perfluishing the king, that Syavsek had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the Persian empire by the treaty which he had made. Keykobad, influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle Thub to the army with letters full of sharpness with respect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to Thub, and to signify to Rustban, that the king thought him now old enough to take his reful, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of Sigijban. Rustban obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of Turquestan, in order to act offensively against Apberosafab. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river Gbzenon, the prince, taking with him Piran-Vijeb, an officer of distinction in the Turkish army who had remained with him as a hostage, went directly to the court of Apberosafab; to shew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. Apberosafab received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter Frangbuz in marriage. The nobility of Turquestan were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually such strong marks of their esteem, that Garfavejeb, brother to Apberosafab, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. Syavsek, who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention, and foreseeing that in a strange country it was impossible for him to guard against such attempts, he spoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be brought to bed of one, into Persia. A short time after what he feared came to pass, he was killed by some assassins hired by Garfavejeb, who also had dispatched his wife, if Piran-Vijeb had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. Frangbuz was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called Key-cofjan, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The people of Turquestan were so much grieved for the death of Syavsek, that, to shew their concern, they mourned in Persian habits, a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of Persia's death reaching Rustban in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered Turquestan with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. Garfavejeb raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but coming to an engagement, they were soon defeated, and Garfavejeb himself had his head struck off by the sword of Rustban. The deere this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew Syavsek, put him upon enquiring for his son; but

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but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave Kyrkan inexpressible concern; some years after, however, Kyrkan sent Guis the son of Gudarz, a young Persian nobleman of great capacity, into Turquestan, in order to discover his grandson. Some say, that Guis having fought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and, knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. Kyrkan listened greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into Persia, but desired, that he might carry his mother and Piron-Vishb, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted so well, that they quitted Turkestan and got safe into Persia, little to the satisfaction of Apberoshab, who was mighty well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the Persian diadem. He ordered them immediately to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they palled the river Jiebon in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of Kyrkan at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince Syzeek his father were immediately removed, and Kyrkan, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised Guis, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. Thus, who had been no friend to Syzeek, began to be apprehensive of the power of Kyrkan, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing Fareaezer, the son of Kyrkan, by suggesting to him, that this new-comè prince would rob him of the crown of Persia, which, though by no means to be placed on the head of one defended by the mother’s side from Taur, the imitable enemy of their name and nation; these seeds of disaffection found, the Persian court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. Kyrkan in the mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniences that might attend a disputed succession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of displaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greatest desert his heir. One Babaman, who had been intrusted with the city of Ardebil or Ardevi in the province of Atherb helped, had made himself prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of Persia. Kyrkan sent a body of troops, under the command of his son Fareaezer, to invect the town on one side, and an equal number under Kyrkan to fit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they let out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place he would declare successor to the throne. Thus, according to his repeated professions of friendship to Fareaezer, set out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him master of Ardevi, but to no purpose; Babaman, apprised of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence, and was himself to conccuminate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the Persian army under Fareaezer. Kyrkan had better success; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved better than those under his uncle, inomuch, that Babaman, finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered Ardevi into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, Kyrkan declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long exploded. Some small time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandson in the possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years.¹

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a be destroyed. Mirkhond, speaking of the invasion made by Rustan on Apberafab's dominions, in revenge for the death of Syrek, mentions one Keydab, the son of Apberafab, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by Rustan. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of Tacks-Rustan, which we took notice of in our description of Persea. A Perian writer hath taken him to affront, that Keydab ought to be regarded as the Ninrood of the Hebrews, and he will have it, that both these names signify the long river, or the immortal, adding, that Keydab was so called because of his extraordinary long reign, viz. of one hundred and fifty years. Mirkhond, like a good historian, reports this fact, and observes, that some have figurized Keydab with building the tower of Babel, and attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of Persea being a wife and pious prince, who knew well, that to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history (G).

Key-chofian or Kai-chofian succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grand-father, and flewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, illusing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest care to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, where-in having represented the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischief which had been done them by the inhabitants of Turquestan, he defined them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of Turquestan. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon Piran-Fijfeb returned into his own country.


(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the Persians had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and fecond race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of Turan. We have already spoken so copiously of the feuds and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding anything farther on that subject; here it is sufficient, that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed; and that it was always defined by an indefinite term, as well by the Romans as by the orientals; the former fixed all the provinces on the other side of that river which they called Onos, the ancient Persians Gjilmon, and the modern Jumna, Tranjasasa; and the orientals called the same provinces Maspera, i.e. on the other side of the river (G). This country was inhabited by the Turks, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the Tartars, and that these generally called Turks have very little right to that appellation (7). On the eft of Persia by the empire of the Indes, then governed by princes who were natives of that country. To the south of Persea lay the peninsula of Arabia, governed by its own king; and on the west of that peninsula, the territories of Tobam or the schematic, for so the Persians called Syria, and the other dominions of the kings of Nineveh and Babylonia. Nothing can be darker or more confounded than the accounts we have from the Persians, the history of the flate of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us there comes some reason to doubt, whether the word Kethlen, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand Tartary by Mirkhond, was really heard of in those early times; it seems more likely, that the ancient historian bettowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the ancient historians to have reigned then in those parts, in order to familiarize the file of his history to his contemporaries. As the country of Turan bordered as well as Iran on the Caspian sea, and as the last battle fought by Apberafab happened in the plains of Khoureim, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into Turan; and when he found the enemy poifided of the pass near the mouth of the river Gjilmon, he had no other way left than to endeavor to get through the mountains of Aderkayjyjan, and to round the Caspian sea, till he entered Turan on the north, in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the Tartar hero Zissk Khan. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that Iran under the reign of this monarch Key-chofian contained very nearly the fame extent of country and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of Persia, and that whatever difference there might be, must have him on the provinces on the west side of the empire; the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the Persian historians. As to the new kingdom on the Persia elapsed in favour of Fridana, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of Key-chofian's empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present Skab's.


country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with Key-chofrou and his mother. The king of Persia, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to Tus, and to his uncle Fraiborz, and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by invading the dominion of Turquestan. At their setting out he spoke to them thus, "You must know, that before my father married the princess Frangbuz my mother, he had by the daughter of his friend Piran-Vijeb a son called Ferud. This young man I am informed has at present a command of the army of Apherofab; but where-ever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that where-ever you find him do him no injury, but render him all the honours due to so near a relation of mine." It happened unfortunately, that the Persian army no sooner entered the country of Turquestan, than Ferud came to reconnoitrate them at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the Persians were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of Tus, who, as soon as he understood that Ferud was at the head of the Turks, ordered his forces to retire, and prentending himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of Persia. Ferud, full of improvident bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but cauing the Turkish horse to make a fresh attack, the Persians repulsed them with great slaughter, and Ferud, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place. Key-chofrou received this news with great concern, and apprehending that Tus had been in some measure instrumental to his brother's death, he sent orders to his uncle Fraiborz to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back Tus a prisoner, to answer in Persia for his conduct. Fraiborz executed the king's commands exactly with respect to Tus, and then marched farther into Turquestan. Apherofab gave the command of the great army he had raised to Piran-Vijeb, the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the Persian discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave Fraiborz and Gudar so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the Persians were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable losses; Gudar, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to Gudar, to whole valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent Tus, who had fully justified himself as to the death of Ferud, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. Apherofab, perceiving that the Persians were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the Kha-kban or king of great Tartary and Sebangal, king of the Indies, and by the help of his confederates pulsed the Persian troops to clofely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of Chorasjan, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. Key-chofrou, informed of their disaffections, sent orders to Ryfan to march with the utmost diligence to their affittance. That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the Persian army that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of carrying the victory. Ryfan, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the Turkish officers, and, passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the Persian camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been seen in Persia. Ryfan did wonders; he took prisoner the Kha-kban and Kaimus, one of the principal generals in the service of Apherofab. In the end victory declared itself for the Persians, and Apherofab, having loft half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of Turquestan meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose. Key-chofrou on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of Balch, under the command of Gudar. Against him Apherofab sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of Piran-Vijeb.
The History of the Persians.

Chap. 11.

The two armies had not long been in the neighbourhood of each other, before an action ensued, wherein Piran-Vissen was killed and his army beaten. When Gudar saw the body of Piran-Vissen on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and remembering the courtesies that nobleman had formerly done to Dvākeś, and to Key-chofar, when a young man, he bewailed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of Perse was informed, he highly commended his general, and spake with very great regret of the death of his old friend. *Aphroazhab, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son Schidab to command the remains of the army, which he caufed to be reinforced as soon as possible. By this time Key-chofar was come in person to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the Cofistān. Schidab, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the Perfians with great resolution; but his success was not answerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of Perse surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, Khvaream-bud, i.e. *I have seen my desire; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of Khvarezm, which they still retain. Key-chofar pulped on the war now with the greatest vigour, marching directly towards the capital of Turqueshtān, whither Aphroazhab had retired; but this prince not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, first sent away his Hormus, and then retired himself. His wives and children fell a short time afterwards into the hands of Key-chofar, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect; *Aphroazhab wandered from province to province with a small body of troops, till, being shat up in the mountains of Adar-bayajian, he was at last taken prisoner, and by the orders of Key-chofar put to death. *Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhausted both empires. After it was finished Key-chofar fixed his court at Balch, for the convenience of governing Tauran as well as Iran; there it was, that seeing himself in full possession of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of. He computed all the levies which had been made on Perse for the carrying on the war against the Tarks, and out of the mighty treasures which were fallen into his hands, he restored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He sent for his uncle Frathorza, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected several provinces on the shore of the Perșan gulf into a kingdom, and made him sovereign thereof. He absolved the nobility of Tauran, and having shewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of Iran, as they had hitherto done, he advised them to consider of ways and means for re-establishing the peace of their country, and affurèd them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and settled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the state of all the provinces, reformed several abuses in religion; and when he had done all this, he said he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the rest of his days to God. With this view he introduced his successor Lorkofy, into a grand assembly of the nobility, he put the Tagi on his head, and retired himself to a cell in the desert, having attained to the age of ninety years, sixty of which he had passed upon the throne.

What has been above related of the reign of Key-chofar is taken from the best and most credible historians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now see what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not so well be reduced into the order we have followed. With respect to the decisive battle fought against the king of Turqueshtān, some writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve Tarks and as many Perfians fought in the sight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally filled Genk duzade Rokh, i.e. *the combat of the twelve heroes. The terms on which this combat was fought were these; that if the Tarks were victorious, the


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Persians should own Ahrerastiab for their lord, but in case the Persians were successful, then the Turks were to retire into their own country, and so quit all pretentions to Iwan. Ahrerastiab complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, say the same writers, he soon after broke the peace by sending his son with a numerous host of horde to make inroads into Persia. In consequence of which followed the battle of Khuzaw, in which they make Aherastiab and his brother to have been present. They add, that, after the loss of the battle, Aherastiab with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the Cagfian sea, intending to pass if possible behind it, and so thro' the extended territories of the Keyjaks into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of Key-chosrau surrounding the handful of troops Aherastiab had with him in the mountains of Aderbaygan, so that he was at last taken prisoner and put to death. Mirkbend and the writers we have followed do not say much as to the personal bravery of Key-chosrau, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which separate Irak Ajem from Phars, or as we call them, Partibia from proper Persia, a monstrous serpent, which struck the people with such terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country desolate; this formidable dragon they styled Gavfshid. The king, being informed of this, resolved like a good prince to go immediately and destroy this monster. Key-chosrau hunted it for some time before he came up with it, but at last he found it in its den in the mountains of Aderbaygan, and his guards, flying at the sight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the spot where this remarkable deed was done, a Pyraum or fire-temple was erected, called in succeeding times Deir Gavfshid, i.e. the habitation of Gavfshid, renounced to this day amongst the Persians, and held by some to be the first fire-temple erected in Persia, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of Key-chosrau. Though some writers are silent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly on his wisdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, most acknowledge that he conversed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always showed towards religion and religious perils. During his reign flourished Lokman the famous philosopher of the east, called by way of surname Lokman Al Hakim, i.e. Lokman the wise. It would lead us far out of our way should we enter here too deeply into the history of this extraordinary person; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an Ethiopian or Nabian, the oriental word Habeafi including both; his parents mean, and himself sold for a slave, and carried from one place to another, till at last he was brought into the land of Isræl, where he lived under the reigns of David and Solomon. The Arabian writers tell us, that sleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this salutation, Lokman, we are the messengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath sent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. Lokman, after remaining silent for a small space, returned this answer: If by the absolute command of God I am to become what you say, his will must be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to pass, that he will afford me the necessary assistance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to chafe, I will rather to continue in the state I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and impotent load. This, say these authors, appeared so just in the light of God, that he bestowed on Lokman such an excellent understanding, that he composed, say they, ten thousand apologies, moral maxims, and wise sayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phrase implying no more than that they are highly useful as well as wonderfully sublime. They tell us also, that Lokman standing one day in the midst of a great number of people, who all listened greedily to his wise and pleasant discourses, a Hébreus of great quality asked him, if he was not the black slave whom he had seen formerly tending the heep: Lokman readily answered.
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Frazer, I am, and how then, said the nobleman, have you attained so high a degree of virtue? Why, answered Lokman, by these three easy steps: I have always spoke the truth, I have consequently kept my word, and I have never meddled in anything which did not concern me. A Persian poet hath recorded another extraordinary instance of Lokman’s preference of mind; his master sent him with some other slaves to gather fruit in his garden, the rest eat the best, and when his master missed them, they roundly swore that Lokman eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, said Lokman, is easily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this difference, that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and Lokman nothing but the warm water. The comment of the Persian poet on this story is so remarkable, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to see it; "When we shall all drink of this hot water at our trials, in the day of the last judgment, then whatever has been concealed in the heart, and hidden far from the sight of men, shall be thrown up in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who acquired the reputation of a saint by his diffembling, shall then be covered with shame and confusion of face". What we have reported is sufficient to shew, that there is a strong resemblance between the history of Lokman, as reported by the eastern writers, and that of Aesop, as we find it written by the Greeks. Both were mean in their original; both fables through the severity of fortune; both famous for their wisdom; and both delivered their maxims in the same manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors say, Lokman lived, and those wherein the Greeks place Aesop. As to the first, it is generally allowed, that Lokman lived in the reign of Solomon, whereas Aesop is said to have been contemporary with Croesus king of Lydia; and Solomon the Athenian legislator. From the history of their lives, and from the comparison of their fables, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that Lokman and Aesop were the same person; the difficulty seems to lie here, whether the Greeks stole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the Greeks. It seems most natural to believe the former, since in such cases the Greeks are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of ancient history they were able to their own advantage. Besides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the east, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the Greeks; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader’s consideration rather than his belief. The chief reason why Lokman is so much confedered in the east is, because Mohamet has mentioned him in terms of respect in the Koran, and has affirmed, that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in Arabic and Latin at Leyden, so that Europe is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person. But to return to Key-e-bozoruz; he is reported to have been himself a very wise and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was so little exalted by an uninterrupted series of good fortune, that he not only reigned the crown, and retired into the deferts on the outskirts of the province of Ahderboyagan, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace. (H).


(1) It is very fit that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inferring the life of Lokman in the Persian history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two. First, Lokman wrote in the Persian language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in Holland positively affirms (1), zdly. It is from the Persian writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of Lokman’s life and manners, and as they constantly speak of him as contemporary with Key-ebozoruz, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just, that we should affirm his memoir under that reign. Having thus justified our speaking of Lokman here, let us indulge a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this writer has obtained from his writing in that way. It is universally agreed, that the Apologue was one of the most ancient methods of instructing, and of confounding that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kind of sciences took birth. That this mode of teaching was far older than Lokman’s days, admitting that he lived where
We ought not to value ourselves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more secure of our crowns than they of their estates; that which depended from several monarchs to me will descend, when I am gone, to several others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itself, and cannot at best last long?

Lohrah, or Loharab, was the successor of Key-chobran, and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their account so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. For the reader’s sake as well our own, we will first give, as succinctly as we can, the story of this monarch’s reign, according to Mirkhod, and we shall

where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the faced writings. And that this method was long, if it be not full, cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop Patrick has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very solid, opinion in relation to the rise and decay of fable. He says, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and histories unwritten; that as these came into vogue fable declined, because truth being always preferable to falsehood, men chose rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to suppose things which might never come to pass (9).

But, with the bishop’s good leave, the other side of the argument may be taken, and supported with greater force; for points of history are very seldom exactly agreed on in all their circumstances, and consequently can hardly ever be familiar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed representations of facts without names, may be adjusted to the utmost nicety, and consequently are liable to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance which will effectually support what we say. Might not Nathan the prophet, when he reproved David for taking the wife of Uriah, have easily thought of him of some history, which would very nearly have represented the case of that prince; but will any fay, that a lecture from historiography would have penetrated the soul of David with so lively a sorrow as Nathan’s noble application of his parable? This is a problem (13). Fables have us used in early times; we are light, and the mind thus having been accustomed to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not disconcert the teacher. But to return to Lohman, his fame is so great and so universal throughout the east, that to express an high idea of any man’s wildness, they are wont to say, as the learned Espernus expresses it, Non neceps eff docere Locuman. There is no need of teaching Lohman (14). His fables are doubtless almost without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir John Chardin has printed a French translation of them, which agrees exactly with the Arabic and Latin versions above referred to; we call them versions, because, as we observed before, Lohman wrote originally in Persian; and at this day, Sir John Chardin tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An infant or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The Dog in the River.

"A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having learned to swim, had like to have been drowned; seeing a man at a distance he called out to him for help: the man, not seeing he was far from him, had distress, began to expostulate with him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned to swim: the boy instead of answering him, ran out, Save me, save me, and then that as long as you will."

The Smith and his Dog.

"An honest smith had a dog that kept all the while his master was at work; but as soon as he left off, and was gone with his companions to dinner, the dog walked, and solicited him for meat; Worthy's animal, said the smith, how canst thou sleep amiss the noise of hammers which make the very earth, and yet wake at the swaggering of one's jaws, which scarce make any noise at all?"

The Goose and the Swallow.

"The goose and the swallow entered into a league of friendship, and resolved to live together. They came unluckily to a place where the fowlers were watching; the swallow, as soon as the fow, was flew away, but the poor goose not being able to make use of her wings, was taken and killed."

The passage in the Alcoran, referred to in the text, is the whole xxxi. chapter, which therefore bears the title of Lohman. Mohammed speaks in his own person at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaring against iniquitous persons and idolaters, but also as deposits of the Koran, and lived in the errors of their fathers; then he makes God speak thus: 'We inspired knowledge into Lohman and taught him to give God thanks; he that returneth thanks to God for his graces doth good to his soul, for God hateth the ungrateful, and pifieth is in all places due to him. Remember, thou, that Lohman lied to his son; Of my son, believe not that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great sin; we have commanded man to honour his father and his mother, his brother and his sister; forth with forow, and weaneth him at two years old; be not thou forgetful of God's bounties; honour thy father and thy mother, for though the day be judged before God.' The rest of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of Lohman, and consequently fiew how high this philosopher stood in the opinion of Mohammed. To try the truth, he was a very awful person, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of Lohman was too well established to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wisely represented him as one who had long ago taught the same doctrines which he now sought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to pass, that some commentators on the Koran have taught that Lohman was a prophet, the other understanding what Mohammed says of that Sage having only the gift of Teaching (13)."
shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. Lobrafp was the nephew to king Ken-
kanus's brother, and was the next heir-male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition; his temper was known to be severe and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the scepter into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was Zal-zer the father of Rubban; but their cabals were vain, Lobrafp carried it in spite of them all, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne he determined with himself to raise his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both sides thereof; in confluence of this resolution he fixed his court at Balk, and took all possible methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of Iran. His feft in the mean time his general Gudarz with a puissant army into Shamash or Syria, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. Gudarz effectually answered his master's expectation; he conquered all Syria as far as Damascus, and also Palestine, with the famous city of Jerusalem, called by the Persians the Habitation of the saints. The reigning king of the Jews submitted and promised to pay tribute, for which he put as hostages into the hands of the Persian general several persons of quality, whom Gudarz quickly afterwards caufed to be slain; this provoked the Jews to a rebellion, and gave Gudarz the opportunity he wanted of facking Jerusalem, where he treated the inhabitants with inexcalculable cruelty; and having loaded his soldiers with riches he retired, and carried into Persia with him a vast number of captives. King Lobrafp had two sons, the eldest called Gushfas, the younger named Zaris; the former was of a fierce haughty disposition, but was at the same time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were desirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion against his father, in which he had at first success, and gained over to him a very considerable party; but Lobrafp, having drawn together all his friends, and having also done everything in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so briskly against his son, that Gushfas's adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in case of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he observing began immediately to provide for his own safety, by retiring into Turkestan in so distressful a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unsuspected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it seems a custom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to dispoze of a daughter in marriage, publick notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and she, after walking round and observing every body diligently, bestowed her apple and herself on the man she liked best. It happened not long after Gushfas's arrival in Turkestan, that the king determined to marry his eldest daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before described, she, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her person to this unknown. The grandees of Turan were inexpenibly vexed at seeing themselves despised by the princes for a stranger, whom they supposed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princes of Turan should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; these were demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of Turan made no scruple of promising them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all Turan. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task, had recourse to Gushfas, of whose prowess they had seen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be assistant therein. Gushfas, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he also brought to the chase a small body of retinue friends. When they were assembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and toStorm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. Gushfas entered the place Vol. II. first
first himself, and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and presented them to the king. The Turkef monarch was prodigiously pleased with this fate of arms, and very readily made good his promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he caused great feasts to be celebrated, and appointed publick tournaments, whereon Guftasp behoved himself in such a manner that he carried the glory of the day from all who were present. The king, who had hitherto shewed him but little countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest præcie. Guftasp took this opportunity of saying, that if he had excelled in com-bats that were not in earneft, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the disturbers of the publick peace. This struck the king's mind, who easily comprehended the meaning, and, having diligently sought out the truth, made Guftasp hence-forward his favourite. It is to be observed, that after the conquest of Touran by Key-kofran, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of Iran, and to pay them a considerable tribute. Guftasp perfuaded his father-in-law that this was at once dishonourable and needless, and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war against Lobraf, in case he should dispute his independency. This Guftasp did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that, if he was ever discovered, the nobility of Touran in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. Lobraf was exceedingly surprized at the arrival of the Turkef embassador in his court; he treated him however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The embassador at first thought to put him off with trivial answers, but on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this mischief. Lobraf no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was to or not; as soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his son Guftasp, he took at the same time a moft strange and most generous resolution, which was to spare his people at the expense of his crown. He found he was grown old, he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful to him, he determined to resign to him his dominions; and in order to this he sent his younger son Zaris with the Tagi, or ensign of the royal dignity in Perfa, to his brother in Turquistan. Zaris took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival; Guftasp went immediately to pay him a visit, and, being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the Tagi or Tiara, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of Perfa. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving, that there was some treason against him in these proceedings, but when he found things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree; and the nobility of Touran came in crowds to pay their compliments to the new king of Perfa. These ceremonies over, Guftasp took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife Karathan left out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. Lobraf received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy; Guftasp retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice; at last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the widows and goodness of God. A short time after he died, having first sent for his son, and given him in his last moments the most fàlute- tary counsels, in respect to his own glory and the good of his people. This Lobraf was surnamed Balti, i.e. the Balchian, because he resided mostly at Balt or Balb, one of the most ancient cities in his dominions.

I must be owned, that the foregoing account taken from Mirkbond is by no means agreeable to what other Perfan authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people we find it recorded, that Lobraf was the grandson of Keykobad, and that he was opposed by the Perfan nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as Mirkbond suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reigning;

* Mirkbond, Hist. sect. xv.
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ing; it is also said, that he was the first Persian monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed round about, referring to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade Syria and Palestine was Ruhom, and that he was furnished by the Persians Baktalnafar, from whence the Hebrews framed the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Greeks Nebuchadneous. We have also on the same authority the history of Guftasp's flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of Persia; but we are likewise told what little agrees with Mirkbond's history, that Lobrafp, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was beheaded in the city of Balch by Arjasf, nephew of Apberasf, the famous Turkish monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of Persia to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years. (I) Khandemir, the famous Persian historian, differs not only from Mirkbond, but the writers last cited; he says, that Lobrafp was the son of Kaykous's brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue; according to him it was Gudarz who conquered Palestine, and was furnished by the Persians Bakt-Nafjar; which surname has occasioned such confusion among the Hebrew and Greek writers. As to the flight of Guftasp, this writer says, that he retired to the court of a certain Greek prince, where he married the king's eldest daughter, called by him Kenaoum, and who, as he tells the story, presented him publicly with an orange, which is plainly symbolized for the golden apple. Instead of the two rebellious lords he speaks of two terrible monsters, that this Grecian prince, whoever he was, inflicted should be killed by those who pretended to the young princes who were still unmarried.

The first of these was a furious serpent, which had its den in a wood so very thick, that it was thought almost impossible to penetrate it, in order to combat this destructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiously fierce, which traversed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind or cattle. Two of the chief princes of Greece, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whose court Guftasp lived, were quite abashed at these prophecies, despairing of the conquest of the monsters, and consequently of the princefses. However, they informed Guftasp of the answer the king had given them. Guftasp readily offered them his assistance, and accordingly attacked the monsters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of these extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two Greek princes, which procured for them the wives they desired. Some time after this, Guftasp growing a little into the king's favour, that prince asked him one day how he passed his time; Guftasp answered, that sometimes he went a hunting, and that lately, as he was taking that diversion, he killed two extraordinary creatures; the king immediately understood what he meant, and, having cau sed the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found, that Guftasp had slain the monsters, upon which he immediately made his chief minister as well as favourite; and at his persuasion refused to pay the king of Persia the tribute which he was wont to demand.


(1) We have already spoken of Mirkbond from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories, mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. Tarik Montekes is the Turkish name of a translation of a Persian history, filled in that language Tarik Khosideh, i.e. the chayan chronicles, written originally in Persian verse, and afterwards translated into prose by its author Hanaiteh Ben Ablakeh Ben Ahmed Ben Affer Al Jelilou al Cazovin, i.e. natives of the city of Cardin. It contains a general history from the creation to A. H. 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of Lebarik is properly called Lob Al Tavurikh, i.e. the marrow of histories; it was written, in the Persian language, by Jafab Ben Abdallahif Al Cazovin; it is divided into four books; the first containing the life of Mohammed and the twelve Imams; the second the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of Mohammed; the third the history of the reigning family in Persia; the fourth an universal history of the dynasties prior to Mohammed: it comes down to A. H. 948. The author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

fend him yearly, and also to declare war against him. Lobrafp being inform'd of this immediately conceived it was his son who had influenced this king to fuch bold proceedings, and therefore, instead of providing for the war, he lent his younger son with the tiara, or royal diadem of Persia, to Gubtaip as a pledge of his friendship, and a certain sign that he intended him for his successor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet him, killed his feet according the Persian custom in submitting to a sovereign, and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at Baleb, where he was killed. The prophets Jeremiah, Daniel, and Efdras were his contemporaries. If we may believe the eloquent author of the Shob Namek, or Royal Chronicle, Baleb, at the time Lobrafp resigned the kingdom to his son Gubtaip, was esteemed by the Persians as the Holy City, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their esteem, as Mecca is now by the Mohammediams; on this account therefore, Lobrafp made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor Goshibid for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related, in a cloyster of his own building which he called Nau-babar, i. e. the new spring.

Gubtaip or Kishthaip, the son of Lobrafp, succeeded his father with general applause; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He, leaving Baleb to his father, went to reside at the ancient metropolis of the kingdom Ibocr, i. e. cut out of the rock, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the Zoroastres of the Greeks, and the Zerdusht of the Persians. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of Gubtaip, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroafter, or Zerdusht: extracted as well from Greek and Latin, as Oriental historians.

If to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and filtered even to late ages. The Greeks, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science, among the nations whom they called Barbarians, and from whom notwithstanding they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning Zoroastres, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. Arnobius is thought to have reduced them to four, but such is the misfortune of all who have written about Zoroaster, that the fenity of this very passage is disputed, some affirming, that Arnobius speaks but of three Zoroasters, others, that he mentions only two (K). However, four was certainly not too large a number

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from Arnobius, which has been very differently understood. This Arnobius was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous Labantium; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory style against the Gentiles, wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the ancients; for tho', as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage, which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus: "Age num certas quis super eumaeae zonam magis intiree ab eis Zoroastres, Hermippus ut aequissimum auctoris est Bacchus ut et ille conscriptus eoci, fors consulit Hierosolymum express in primum; Arnobius Hierosolimitanus, & familiarius Pamphilii Cyri (16). Patricius, the famous collector

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a number, since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak
as factually as we can; the first is thought to have been a Chaldean, Suidas calls
him an Assyrian, and says also, that he was struck dead by fire from heaven. It
is very probable, that this is the fame Zoroaster spoken of by Dion Chrysostom, and said
to have appeared in fire. The second was a Bactrian and a king, whom Justin
and the authors who follow him make contemporaneous with Ninus the Assyrian;
whom he was vanquished in battle and slain. He is reputed to have been the
inventor of magic, and is said by Arnobius to have contended with Ninus, not only
with fece and strength, but by magical force and the occult sciences of the Chaldeans.
The third was a Persian, as Laertius informs us. Clemens Alexandrinus
states him a Mede, Suidas a Perse-mede; but they both speak darkly and ambiguously.
The fourth was a Pamphylean, commonly called Er, or Erus Arminius;
concerning this Zoroaster Clemens Alexandrinus quotes Plato, affirming that he began
a book thus: "This wrote I Zoroaster Arminius, by defcunt a Pamphylesian, during
"in war, and being in Hades, I learned of the gods." He is reported by the same
author to have reined again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things
which he had seen in that space. The fifth was a native of Pyreneus, mentioned
by Pliny. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with


Collector of the Zoroastrian oracles (17), Gabriel Naude, a man of distinguished learning (18), and Kircher, who well understood these things (19), believe, that Arnobius mentions here one of the
first Chaldeans; the second a Bactrian; the third a Pamphylean; the fourth an Armenian Salmaeus will need have the text read thus (20): Age nunc venit quoque per ignem zonam magnum inter se arbor Zoroastri, Hercipus & afferentemur authoris Batiliarum, & ille convenit, et in quo Cofas rei quae historiae exstant in prima, Arminius Hollywood, nunc pop. & familiarissimus Pamphylia Cyri. It is evident by these alterations, that Salmaeus has got rid of one Zoroaster, though one would think he has introduced another; one of the three Zoroasters which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the text is said to be an Eutychian, or one coming from a
country near the territory of Zoroaster, for so Salmaeus explains per ignem zonam & ab interiore arbor, which Eutychian or Lybian Zoroaster Hermippus makes a
Bactrian; the second Arminius, nephew of Hollywood, who adds Cofas gives us a hint, that we account in the
first book of his history, the third named Pamphylia, friend to Cyrus. Ufinsa, from the same words, is
positive, that Arnobius mentions but two, excluding the Bactrian Zoroaster of Hermippus, and viewing from Cofas that Zoroaster was not so antient as
Eutychus Eutychian, but that he lived in the time of Cyrus (21). We are afraid our readers are already
fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the Zoroaster of the Greeks; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this Persian history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these: first, in order to gain any credit for the history of Zoroaster, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the Greeks; and to do this, the best and shortest method was
to shew what the Greeks had said, and what from their writings the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very far from nothing. Lastly, we thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to Zoroaster, who by the way is called by a
greater variety of Greek names than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we shall see, the orthography of this name is far from being settled; I lay, we thought it convenient to shew, that several Zoroasters have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours be-
lowed on the true Zoroaster may be reduced to two, the Chaldean and the Persian, and the very ingen-
ious Mr. Stanley has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly,
our history of Zoroaster will let this matter in its true light, by shewing, that there is in reality but one
Zoroaster. If it be enquired, how the Chaldean magi
came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this Persia; and how this is to be reconciled to that chronology, which lighthoro has been approved by all the learned, and sets the Chaldean Zoroaster far higher. We shall answer, that in the first place we are not so much disturbed for the mistakes of other
the Greek writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. Stanley judiciously observes, the same name it is, which some call Zahrate, others Nasarates, others Zarait, others Zaraw, others Zoroast; all which are but several cor-
ruptions of the Chaldean or Persian word, which the Greeks most generally render Zoroaster (22). What certainty can we expect from such writers? But then, feebly, least this should seem an evasive answer, we allege, that Zoroaster was not the infti-
tutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we shall shortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occasioned the great confusion about Zoroaster; it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magic; it was easily discoverable, that magic was as antient as the days of Abrad
am, and that it was the religion of Chaldea; it was natural enough therefore, for such as looked up
on Zoroaster to be the inftitutor of the magian doctrines, to fly with assurance, that he lived in these
times, but, then, discovering from the Persian records at what time he truly lived, they changed their opinion, to make two Zoro-
asters; the first a Chaldean or Assyrian, contemporary with Ninus; the second a Persian, flourishing in the reign of Darius Hyphasis.

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Aristan, the Priscoeman, mentioned by Suidas to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased. The sixth lived at Babylon at the time Pythagoeras was carried thither by Cambyses, as we are told by Apuleius. As the Greeks made several Zoroasters, so they placed them in different ages of the world: Justin makes him thirteen hundred years older than Sardanapalus. Euseb., cited by Pliny, placed him six thousand years before the death of Plato. Plutarch makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of Troy. Some authors, mentioned by Suidas, fix him at 500 years before the Trojan war. Apuleius, Jamblicus, Porphyry, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Agathius, place him, where he ought to be placed, about the time of Cyrus; and Pline, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before Xerxes. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. Plato, Aristole, Plutarch, and Porphyry, acknowledge him to have been a perfon of extraordinary learning. Pline tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a preface of his future sagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deferts 20 years, upon chcefe so mixed that it did not grow stale. Salinus draws his character in few words; he was, says he, optiman artium peritissimus, in the best arts skifif. Apuleius files him omnis divini arcani antites, the chief docto in all divine mysteries, and adds, that he was the preceptor of Pythagoeras. Agathius tells us he lived under Hylaspes, and that he was the author of magism among the Persians, changing their old religion and introducing new opinions. Dion Chrysostome says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the Persians themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew. Ctesias, an author universally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about Zoroaster than those who have anfwered him, since we know from Arnobios, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of Darius Hylaspes, and spent the firit book of his, which he wrote on Persian affairs, in delivering his history; the sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said is this, that, except Ctesias and Dion Chrysostome, all the antients, who have written concerning Zoroaster, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wise man, and the principal of the magi, in respect to which Eusebius indeed says, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief doctrines of the Persian religion.

The oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call Zerdaft, Zaradaft, Zarathus, and Zardusht, for they, generally speaking, acknowledge, that he flourished in the reign of Gyuslaph. The author of Leborith indeed says, that some old writers confound him with Debok or Zobak, one of the Psicbadian princes; but all the Persian historians, who are to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they say, he performed by the affiance of Gyuslaph (L). With respect to his family, the common

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(L) Some Arabian writers have endeavoured to inform us, what they called the religion of the fire-worshippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magism began very early, nay, even before the time of Abraham; certain it is, that the oldest book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus speaks Job in his profession of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon, walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity cognizable by the judge, for I should have denied the God who is above (2). Nothing can be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this hereby was as old as the Persian make it, who affirm, that Kojamraus, their first king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves Kojamrausians, or Kojamnithes. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity was the perusing of themselves and others, that their religion was the religion of Abraham. It would be no difficult matter to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also

(2) Job xxxi. 26.
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mon opinion of the Persians and Arabick writers is, that he either was a Jew, or went very early into Judea, where he received his education, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for prophet afterwards himself. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some lay Elías, others Ezra, and some again one of the disciples of Jeremia. Doctor Prideaux thinks Elías was too early, and Ezra too late, he therefore fixes upon Daniel. Dr. Hyde inclines to Ezra. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the Mohammedans are all great enemies to Zerdusht, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted the service of the Hebrew prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then Zerdusht must have been the same with Gèbèzè, the servant, not of Elías, but Elías; and consequently the crediosity of the whole tale will be destroyed. The Perfects in India pretend, that Zerdusht was originally a Chinius, that his father's name was Espintaman, and his mother's Dodo; but in this they are mistaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all a loss, since it is thus set down in the book Said-der. Zerdusht was the son of Portbash, who was the son of Piyerpé, the son of Hitbera, the son of Théchbounces, the son of Espintaman; hence Zerdusht, being frequently called the son of Espintaman, the Perfect in India mistook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of Aher-STCOGII, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shown. Khodanin gives us this account of his turning prophet; he says, that Zerdusht, from his great skill in astrology, discovered, that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to Moïsés, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving these things in his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of midst of the fire, Zerdusht no longer doubted, that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called Zend, and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and errecting fire-temples.

Also touched elsewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we shall defer here some extracts from a celebrated Arian history of the religions of the east, rather than repeat them, with conjectures of our own. The Persian kings in general, says this writer, adhered to the religion of Abrah him, and their subjects were always of the religion of their prince; there was likewise a chief or high-priest, reputed the widow of wise men, from whom mandate there was no appeal, and whose sentence was never reverted, the time reverence being shown to them as we heretofore shewed unto our caliphs. A little after he says, The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the quality of the spiritual nature, which they affirmed to be good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent and destructive; these natures they distinguished, by calling the one light and the other darkness, or rather in their own terms Tezdan and Alzoman. Hence it came to pass, that their whole religion, and all the questions of the magi, turned on these two points, the explication of light being mixed with darkness, and of light freeing itself from darkness. Some page: therefore the same author adds thus: Though the magi affirm these two principles, yet the most antient of them did not think themselves under a necessity of affirming that both exalted from eternity; on the contrary, they held only light itself existent, and that darkness was produced; but in accounting for this they were sometimes at a loss; however, they constantly affirmed, that they received these doctrines from wise men and prophets among their ancestors; first, from Kiymanerus; secondly, from Zoroast the Great; thirdly, from another prophet whose name was Zerdusht. The Kiymanheits, inquit, that Kiymanerus is the same with Adam, wherein they agree with some Indians and Persians. The Kiymanheits chronologers; yet they are contradicted by others Skillful in that art. The Kiymanheits also affirm, that their great master established the opinion of two spiritual beings Tezdan and Alzoman, acknowledging the former to be eternal and self-existent, and owning the latter to be produced and created, and that after this manner: Tezdan, i.e. God, said in himself, Unless I am opposed, how shall it be? i.e. how shall my glory arise? which thought produced darknesses which is opposite to light, and then began the controversy which has since subsisted between them (3). We are informed by the same author, that Zerdusht himself owned Kiymanerus to have instituted that religion he came to reform, so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the Persians is as antient as their monarchy.

the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to Zerdusht, is a stroke of Molhammadan zeal, and not much to be depended on. That Zerdusht really retired into a cave, and there studied, and composed his Zendavesta, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that we dare not affirm, since his doctrine, if we except the permission of incest, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of Satan; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the Persians, and even for Darius Hystaspes the patron of Zerdusht, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, infuriating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, Zerdusht made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

(M) We have already given our reasons for referring our thoughts on the chronology of the Persian history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the Persian nation. But this hindered not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the Persian kingdom, and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of Zerdusht, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to Cyrus, as of a king, and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproached either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet Isaiah, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and affur'd his countrymen, that after all their sufferings, which their sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them, which was Cyrus king of Persia; this, faith the prophet, is the God, that faith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the cities of Judah, Ye shall be built; and I will raise up the decayed places thereof. That faith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers. As Cyrus was invited by prophecy, so was Zerdusht, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, Isaiah had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus: That faith to the deep be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers. As Cyrus was invited by prophecy, so was Zerdusht, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, Isaiah had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus: That faith to the deep be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers.
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a remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed, that he brought twelve volumes to Gishtarps, each of which contained a hundred skins of velum; but this will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that the ancient Persian character took up a great deal of room, and Zoroaster did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also his own history, and the reforms of moral science, otherwise, we shall have occasion to hear him hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the meantime, we need not wonder, that he retired so long from the world, or chose a cave for his abode, since works of this nature require silence and composure. The ancient prophets refuted much in defers, that is, in unvisited places. Epithet and other philosophers had their cells, whether they retired to avoid the noise and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but Zoroaster’s cave is made the strong proof of his being an impostor; nay, it is said, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impostors, particularly his scholar Pythagoras, who, as Iamblychus informs us, had his cave as well as Zoroaster. Nay, Mohammed borrowed this notion too from Zerdusht, and wrote his Koran in imitation of the Zendavesta. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this, every intitutor of a new religion, at least that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his disciples; Moses did this; Zerdusht did this; and Mohammed did this; does it follow, that Mohammed had in view Zerdusht rather than Moses, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of Zerdusht than of the ancient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already shown, that his retirement to a cave was natural and reasonable; at the bottom of the page we have proved, that, as far as we know anything of it, there is no just ground to suspect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the instructing of mankind may be esteemed so. This we do not lay out of any prejudice in favour of Zerdusht, arising from the pains we have taken in compiling his history, but because we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expense of truth. If we err,

God dys of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of Cyrus. "I am Jeboand, and none else; there is no God besides me, I, I grated thee, and said, ‘I am Cyrus, though thou hast not known me, i.e. by my name Jeboand, that they may know from the rifting of the fun and from the well that there is none besides me; I am Jeboand, and none else; I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I, Jeboand, do all these (9)." It is most evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the magian religion in respect to light and darkness, and the powers preying over them. That Zerdusht rectified these errors, and expunged them, is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent being, author of light and of darkness, of good and of evil, is acknowledged by ancient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of Zerdusht, nay by dean Prior, himself, who yet leads him with reproach, and never mentions him by the opprobrious name of Imposer (9). Imposer in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to sustain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, instead of such mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the first, and most glorious creature within their ken, i.e. the sun, and before him, as himself of his Maker, and the express symbol of his omnipotence, testify their gratitude, thankfulness, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, revolving with themselves to make a right use of his blessings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God should instruct them farther, by the million of the Great Prophet who was to come, concerning whom Zerdusht as well as Moses spoke; surely there are no signs of imposture.

If it should be asked, How comes it then to pass that the Persers have not acknowledged Christ? we may answer, by asking another question; Why, have not the Jews acknowledged him? these are secrets which God hath referred to himself, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the conversion of both, and not only of the nations of the earth, nor by the word, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as such put into the hands of Moses, Ioshaun, David, and Cyrus, but by milder methods, expressive of the christian spirit, by restoring calmly and by living piously, it may be justly said, that the greatest impediment to this be all works in the law is the laziness of christian, their neglecting to study the grounds of their own religion, and the sources of those errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their seeing the truth of the gospel. Many learned Jews have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in Germany, not by the antichristian proceedings of an inquisition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Messiah is come, and consequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the same thing be done with respect to these Persers? would they not be sooner invited to christianity, if we should study and explain the writings of Zerdusht, with impartiality at least, if not with respect? we say, Would they not be sooner invited by this method, to consider the arguments in favour of the gospel, than by calling him whom they esteem a prophet an impostor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty. But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuse, except its subject.


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err, it shall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any bias of our inclinations, we therefore make no question, but even such as differ from us in sentiment will be satisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they confer our opinions (N).

As


(N) There cannot be a more difficult task assigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make famous, the Greek authors who have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; sometimes they speak truth and are not believed; at other times they tell the most absurd fables, with such an air of knowledge, that such fables are not unacquainted with these matters readily take for granted all they say; the Latin copy, generally speaking, after the Greeks, and therefore as little to be depended upon as their matters, or rather less; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which would destroy the line or two all the romantick stories that are told us else where. For example, Porphry has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at Delphi, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

"Christ and Taurus are twins in worshipping a self-begotten God, all things king."

Thee Cynics were the Magi, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, viz. Lucian, who speaks thus (10). It is said, that philosophy had its original from the Bactrians; the Bactrians among the Par fians were the Magi; among the Babylonians or As irians the Chaldeans; among the Indians the Ganae ephotheists, and among the Celts the Druids. For this Lucian quotes Aesop; nay, Porphry himself had the highest edicts for the magi, since he describes them thus; Among the Par fians they who perfom nobly were employed about the divinity, and served him, more called magi; Lucian, on the authority of Aris totae, states that the style of magi, speaks of the manner in which they lived; they refrain, says he, from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are mostly chitons; their feet the ground; their food not herbs, bread, and broth; their chief employment is praying to God and escorting men to live uprightly; Dion Chrysostome, the most polite writer among the Greeks, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these magi, in these words. The Prophets called the Par fians, who (11)

were employed in the service of the gods; but the Greeks, being ignorant of the meaning of that word, apply it to such as are skilled in magic, a science unknown to the Par fians (11). These magi were not only the scholars, but the masters, of Zoroaster and Zarathustra; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards so much improved, from them. Dion Chrysostomus has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to Zarathustrer. (12) It is reported, says that admirable orator, that through love of wildness and juificus, he, i. e. Zarathustra, withdrew himself from men, and lived alone in a certain mountain; that afterwards leaving the mountain, a great fire defending from above continually burned about him. Upon this the king, with the prime nobility of Persia, came and prayed with him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire, clearly evidenced himself in terms which differved more than human wildness, exhorting the people to be cheerful, and to offer certain sacrifices, as if God had come with him to that place; thenceforward he converted not only all men, but with such success only as were most addicted to truth, and by reason of their studies more capable of the knowledge of the gods, whom the Persians ridicule (12). Having this of an unbiassed author, what it was that led Zarathustra to mountains and defates, let us next see, what we can discover as to his employment in his Came. But before we proceed to authorities on this head, let us observe, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the magi, they were very indifferently fitted to act in subserviency to an impostor; such as Zoroaster has been represented; for they were spiritual people, who fought not power and wealth, but wild and true, and through the plaster in his heroic clothing and simile diet, that none who are to be fed in the courts of kings, profane, and empty, nourishing the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mortals. In our account of the Persian religion, we have given Zoroaster's rules, for the clergy of Persia, and from thence it appears, he gave presidents over the confidence of men for the great purpose of educating the people, for the propagating the philosophy, which among the Persian was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his priests superior to other men, by the single method whereby one man can excel another, which is the purity of morals and improvement of the understanding (13). Such a scheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanatical to recommend it, and therefore, prima facie, it should seem, that a man of Zoroaster's character must have a great deal of false privacy and silence, and not to raise devil or coin lying fictions; these are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, such as Mohammad, but not for Zoroaster. It is however, however, whenever we have some proof of this great man's employment in his times, Porphry tell us, (12) that Zoroaster, first among the Per fians, did consecrate a natural cave in the mountains in honour of Mithra, the king and father of all, signifying by this cave the world framed by Mithra, by the other things dipped within it is fit distances the elements and quarters of the world (14). The very learned Celsus, as we find him quoted by Origen, gives us also an account of the place of the Per fians, in their Mithriatic rites, represented fyn of a the two fold motion of the stars, viz. of those filled fixed, and of the planets, and the passage of the soul through them. To demonstrate this, they take a large field, divide it into two equal parts, but the master of the ceremony, contrived to seven gates with the eighth at the very top; the first of lead; the second of tin; the third of brass; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed mas; the sixth of silver; and the seventh of gold. They attributed the first to Saturn, the floweft of that planet's motion being inhabited by the lead; the second to Venus, on account of the softness and brightness of tin; the third being of brass, then which nothing is more solid or durable, to Jupiter; the fourth to Mars, because, like iron, he is suited to all sorts of labour, free whence profit may be drawn; the fifth, because of its mixture, variableness, and irregularity, to Zeus, the father of the moon, and the seventh to the sun, because of the liveness in their colour to silver and gold (15). Here is a great deal of philosophy, but no witchcraft enthusiasm into inti mations; and if Zoroaster be condemned, either as a magician, or irresponsible, as on an account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of Oracries? we will conclude this very note with observing, that the most judicious Dion Chrysostome, whom we have so often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and aathodoxy of the Greeks.
Chap. II.

The History of the Persians.

As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to infer here what is delivered by the Persian historians, relating to the appearance of Zerdru st, when he first took upon him the character of a prophet, and demanded from Gubisaf and his subjects the obedience to a Messenger from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a Perser, from the authentic memoirs of ancient times, preserved by the judicious Dr. Hyde, the substance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtless it stands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous history of the Persians is at least as well worth knowing as the conjectures of western authors on this subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author: "In this reign flourished Zerdru st the prophet. He coming into the presence of Gubisaf, informed him of his commission in these terms. I am a prophet, sent to thee by the most wise God, and this book, viz. the Zend-arvesta, I brought from Paradise; also I gave me this cafflock and this girdle, saying, Put on this cafflock, and gird thyself with this girdle, that thy soul may be delivered from Gehenna, and that thou mayest find salvation; go also and propagate the true religion throughout the world. When Gubisaf had heard this message from the prophet, he said, But how shall I know that thou art really a prophet, and came to me from the most high God? For without a sign the truth of what you say cannot be known, neither ought a religion to be received, till it be supported by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, shew us some sign, that I may know and be assured thou art a messenger of God. When Zerdru st heard what the king demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought the following miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace a cypress tree, which grew in a few days so wonderfully, that it was near ten fathoms in girt and tall ten in height; and in the top of this tree he erected a summer-houfe, when the king had beheld this miracle, he was convinced, and determined in his mind to embrace the religion of Zerdru st. He was, however, advised to call for certain wise men who might dispute with Zerdru st. This was accordingly done, but they could not convince him; on the contrary Zerdru st prevailed. Their, however, hating him, devised this method for his destruction. Zerdru st had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out he left his keys with the porter. This porter they corrupted, and engaged him to be silent and not discover any thing they did. They then made use of him to gain entrance into the lodgings of Zerdru st when he was abroad, and when they had so done, they threw into his wardrobe, put into his book Zend, and into his cloak-bag, all sorts of unclean and impure things, such as the bones of cats and dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; these they scattered amongst his things, which when they had done, they went out, shut the doors carefully, and returned the keys to the porter. Zerdru st in the mean time walked in the simplicity of his heart, praising God, but his enemies considered not this. They immediately addressed themselves to the king to this purpose: This wicked man, viz. Zerdru st, is employed every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king, thy heart will be inevitably infected, unless thou wilt instantly fend some of thy guards to search his apartments, that thou mayest be certified whether these things be so or not. The king, sent hereupon his guards to the apartments of Zerdru st to search them, and to bring all things they found in them before him. This accordingly was done, and all sorts of unclean things, such as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead bodies were found in his chest of cloaths, his book of Zend-arvesta, and in his cloak-bag. The king seeing all this, turned to Zerdru st, and said in a high passion, How is this, thou profligate, and what is it thou hast been doing? Zerdru st heard his accusers and the king patiently.

Greeks, in what they reported of the religion of the Persians, and of their consecrating horses to the sun (16). They were far, says he, from fancying the chariot of the sun, the most sublime spectacle in nature they were acquainted with, the supreme charioteer who put the universe into motion, and still guides it. Of this subject, not Homer, not Hesiod, but Zerdru st, and the magi, his disciples taught by him, have sung in strains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their discourses are to be interpreted in a very different manner, not directly opposite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of the universe is incomprehensible; they compare the motions of the sun and moon to horses under direction, but as to horses consecrated to them, the Greeks have reported numberless fables.

ently and without emotion. At last he thus answered for himself; O king, all that thou felest I know nothing of, neither belongeth to me. Then the king called for the porter, and having examined him, the king threw from him the book Zend, and commanded Zerdusht to be shut up in prison. Thus, notwithstanding his innocence, Zerdusht was thrust into confinement, which he endured cheerfully, standing all day in one posture, praying to and praising God, without receiving any tunicence whatever. It happened shortly after, that a black horse, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its four-feet thinking up to its belly in such a way, that the creature fell down to the ground, and could no way be raised up. The matter of the horse, called in the Persian language Ab-ward, when he came, as he was wont, into the stables, and perceived what had befallen the king's favourite steed, went immediately and acquainted Gushasp. The king no sooner heard it than he went in person to the stable, and, having viewed the horse, called for the wise men who had engaged him to imprison Zerdusht, and desired them to contrive immediately some remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horse, which they were unable to do, and confessed as much to the king. When Gushasp found this, he grew very uneasy, because he valued his horse extremely. On the fourth day the porter went to see Zerdusht in prison. Of him Zerdusht enquired news, and why he came not before to visit him. The porter told him the court was much disturbed, on account of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black courier. Zerdusht bid the porter tell the king, that, when he should be released out of prison, he would quickly restore his horse. The porter ran with this news to the king, who, as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for Zerdusht out of prison, and carried him with him to the stable. Zerdusht, seeing the condition the horse was in, turned to the king, and said, Sir, this is no easy matter, but, on the contrary, a cure very difficult to be performed. One thing, however, I have to declare, that what you wish may be performed; it is this; That you believe with your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is true and came from God, which if you do sincerely, I shall be able to restore your steed, otherwise it must remain in the state it is in. Then the king, struck with the awful predict of Zerdusht, believed according as he desired. Upon which the prophet advancing to the black horse, stroked his right fore-foot with his hand, whereupon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly of the horse, and hung in its natural position. Then Zerdusht, turning to the king, said, It is necessary, Sir, that both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the propagation of this religion. Then came instantly Bahuton and Ispendiyar, the sons of Gushasp, and embraced the religion of Zerdusht, as he had desired. Upon this the prophet went again to the horse, and with his left-hand stroked the horse's left fore-foot, which immediately the creature extended in its natural state. Then turned Zerdusht to the king, and said, Sir, it is still necessary, that Ketasa the mother of Ispendiyar should embrace this religion. Then Gushasp sent one of his attendants with Zerdusht to the palace, and the prophet, being come into the queen's presence, addressed her thus: O thou matron of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all women, and raised high above your sex, by giving thee Gushasp for thine husband, and Ispendiyar for thy son, like whom there is none upon the earth, Behold now the king of kings and thy son Ispendiyar have embraced, and with their whole hearts believe the truth of, the religion I have taught: it is necessary, O queen, that you also receive and believe it. Then answered Ketasa, Whatever my husband and my son believe, that also will I embrace and believe. Then Zerdusht, returning to the black horse, put up his prayers, and stroking with his right hand the right hind-foot, it was restored to its natural strength: then Zerdusht, turning to the king, said, You see your horse has recovered three legs; it is necessary for the recovery of the fourth, that you interrogate your porter, and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not be blamed, seeing if he the porter told the truth, then the horse will fully recover, or otherwise remain in the state it did; the king thereupon ordered the porter to be brought, and cautioned him to be severely threatened, that he might discover the truth, as to the scattering unclean and abominable things in the lodgings of Zerdusht; the porter, dreading the king's anger, must humbly besought him togrant
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Chap. xii.

Grant him his life, which the king having promised, he then opened the whole conspiracy in these words: Four of these wise men, who are so much in your favour, that I was afraid of refusing them any thing, gave him a bribe, and, taking the keys from me, did all that your majesty has heard and seen. When the king had heard all that the porter had to say, he was extremely sorry, and made a long apology to Zerdusht for the injury he had done him, in cauing him to be so long imprisoned, without any grounds at all, beseeching him to pass by and forgive it. Then the four wise men were hanged on a gibbet, and Zerdusht, having lift up his hands in prayer, stroked with his left hand the hind leg of the horie, which immediately fell from his belly, and rested on the ground as it used to do, so that quickly after the beast rose and stood upon all his feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treating Zerdusht with greater honour and respect than ever, causing him to be placed on a golden seat, himself, i.e. the king believing the book Zend-Avesta, and living in exact conformity to its precepts. It is reported, that sometime after this king Gyushtasp applied himself to Zerdusht, and said, there is one thing that I desire of thee, and I desire it so earnestly, that I hope you will not refuse it, since if you grant me this request, then shall I be thoroughly satisfied, that thou art a prophet sent unto me by the most high God. Zerdusht defined the king that he would explain himself, that he might apply to God for the gratification of the king’s will. Then Gyushtasp said, My desire is this, that while I am yet alive my soul may be satisfied as to its future state, by beholding the joys of heaven, that it may be certain concerning them, and at ease. Moreover, I desire, that I may know all things that shall pass till the day of judgment, with the same exactness as I know things present. 3dly, I desire, that in all the wars I wage on account of religion, my body may remain as it is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I desire, that my soul may continue to exit to the day of resurrection, and that I die not at all. The prophet of God hearing this, answered, I will certainly put up my prayers to the creator of all things, neither doubt I at all, that the most high God will grant what you have desired. But your four requests must be yielded to four different persons, since it belongs to God alone to enjoy them all at once. Do you therefore consider who these persons shall be, and I will put up prayers that one of your requests may be granted to each. Then king Gyushtasp defined for himself, that he might be permitted to behold his place in paradise, and take a distinct view of all that was therein. He likewise mentioned three other persons on whom the remaining blessings should be bestowed. Then Zerdusht being satisfied, retired to his own lodgings, and spent the whole night in prayers and praises to God, beseeching him, that if it were possible all these things might come to pass. The next day when light appeared, and the sun displayed his beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind of Zerdusht to consecrate the four following things, viz. wine, a rofe, a cup, and the kernel of a pomgranate. And after he had consecrated these by prayer, having the sacred twigs in his hand, he presented the wine to Gyushtasp, and as soon as the king had drank thereof, he fell down as if in a deep sleep, and continued for three days and three nights in the same position, his soul within that space ascending into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the blessed. At the end of three days he awakened, and going to Zerdusht beseeched him to pardon his incredulity. Then the prophet gave to Gamaasp the rofe which he had consecrated, which he no sooner saw, than he knew all things that passed, all that had happened from the beginning, and which were to happen, and which should happen to the day of resurrection. Then Zerdusht gave milk in the cup to Bahfuten, the son of Gyushtasp, who by drinking thereof was made immortal. As to the fourth thing, Ipshendiyar, having eaten the kernel of the pomgranate, had his body rendered as invulnerable as brahs. After this the religion of Zerdusht spread, and was propagated everywhere, all men readily yielding belief thereunto, excepting Argapsh, king of Turaan, who embraced it not.1

The great desire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them, hath doubtless encouraged the Perses to propagate a multitude of strange things in relation to Zerdusht; the foregoing long quotation

1 E libr. rarisim: cult tital. Shah name-nfar.
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Book I.

quotation is sufficient to shew the nature of their notions, and to excuse us from making any farther transcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the story of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as succinctly as we may.

The two reigning heresies before the birth of Zerdusht were Zabihis and Magis; the latter was far less gross than the former, and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion. For history informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass, that the Zabihis gained ground in Persia, and multitudes, especially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshipping him, living also in continual fear of that evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species and the continual disturber of the world. Zerdusht took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been, by impressing them with reasonable opinions; he taught them, that the supreme being was independent and self-existent from all eternity, that light and darkness, good and evil, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general resurrection and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, should go with the angel of light into a region of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those who had done evil should suffer with the angel of darkness everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy should ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness should be incapable of mixture to all eternity.

He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the divinity, especially of his wisdom and his justice, in consequence of which he ascribed them, that they had none to fear but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vice. Of all virtues he esteemed what the Greeks called philanthropy, and the apostles brotherly love, the greatest; for which rea son he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times driving them as it were by threatenings. The creed of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though, according to the mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations; for example, when he taught, that on the fourth day after death the soul came to the bridge Tebinesar, and was there met by the angels Ahir-Izad and Rejha-Izad, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass; and in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into Gehenna, that is into the region of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a literal account, of what is to happen after death, we suppose, appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be supposed, that Zerdusht, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this, taken in a literal sense, viz. that a spirit divested of matter should travel over a bridge, lying across hell and leading to heaven; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over face, or the bad one pull him down; this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to inculcate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to ever-lasting reft, or project us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book Sad-der, which is a compendium of the doctrines of Zerdusht collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter; and in the second it is thus applied, men who believe the religion of Zerdusht will be afraid not only of great but of small sins; for since all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that scale the soul is to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left-hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right-hand, because his all reft on this trial. This is very found divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind
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a mind is unprejudiced, otherwise it is easy to ridicule the soul-sparing bridge, and the salt-sweeting angels, and consequentely to expel Zerdusht, not only as a wacked, but as a weak, impostor. But to proceed; he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend; he declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the works of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book Sad-der, and which runs in these words: "It is reported of Zerdusht, the author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in Gehenna, his right foot only being free, and stinking without. Zerdusht thereupon cried out, What is this that I see, and wherefore is this man in this condition? He was answered, This man, whom you see in this condition, was formerly the prince of thirty-three cities, over which he reigned many years, without doing any one good action; for besides oppression, injustice, pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind; and though he was full of the councils of multitudes, yet, without regarding their misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from food, that it must have perished; this, king, moved at the sight, alighting from his horse, released the sheep from the thicket, and led it to the pasture; now for this act of tenderness and compassion his foot remains out of Gehenna, though his whole body be plunged therein for the multitude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all the good thou canst without fear or apprehension; for God is benign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou dost." These hints of his doctrine, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of the ancient Persians, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of Zerdusht's scheme of religion; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect Pyrea or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of Perse, that this symbol of the divinity might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven, and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests themselves. The priests, or, as we style them, the magi, were, according to their institution, of three ranks. The first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. Prideaux very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain fixed and solemn times to acquaint the people with the contents of Zerdusht's books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendence of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to affix such devout perfons as referred thereto, with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, i. e. the high priest, or, as the Persians called him, the Muhad Muhadan. Zerdusht himself assumed this office, and reigned in the city of Behb, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life and his extensive knowledge supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour and the same application of study unto his succedors. These injunctions were for many ages pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, fast with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown, insomuch, that Pliny tells us, in his time, this religion was received by many nations, and bore forty in the East over.
over the king of kings. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the Persees, and indubitably written by Zerdubs, whether he was prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immaturity death, they belong to the reign of Gushsap, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

Zerdubs's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is titled Zend or Zend-aavsta, usually pronounced Zund and Zendasaavstae, which is not a Persian but an exotic word, signifying a Tindebox; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he likewise cauised it to be titled the book of Abraham, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary Persean character, but in the old Perse, called from thence, among the ordinary Persees, the Zund character. The very learned Dr. Thomas Hyde proposed to the world the publishing a correct edition of it with a Latin translation; but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity. It was originally written in twelve hundred lines, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of Zend or Zend-aavsta, which is the reason, that we have had in Europe so many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the take in the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge of all either of the Zund character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern Persean, which is the book Sad-der, so often quoted by us from the Latin version published by Dr. Hyde, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the ancient Perseans. This learned critic is of opinion, that Zerdubs did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, viz. the Zund and Pasund, resembling the Mishna and Gemora in the Jewish Talmud, the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them; but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, Zerdubs continued to write them, and to add them to his Zend-aavsta, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of Zaratusta-nama, i.e. the history of Zerdubs, which is no other than his life written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common Persean by the priests who published the book Sad-der. The celebrated Dr. Prideaux, speaking of this book, acknowledges, that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very premissedly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of inceft; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by Zerdubs, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his father or his daughter, but his mother; and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its comprehensum the book Sad-der, or any other treatise written by an avowed Persees, but the authorities of Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, Philo Judeus, Tertullian, and Clement Alexander. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the Persian kings (if we give intire credit to the Greek historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof, that Zerdubs allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the Persees at this day is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of Zoroaster (O).

* Hiftor. veter. Perfr. p. 35.  
† H. R. v. P. c. xxv, xxvi.  

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of Zerdubs's writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known.
Chap. II.

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We will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing, that he is said by credible authors, to have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nor farther, it is affirmed, that the wife men out of the calf, recorded by the evangelist to have come to Bethlebem, and that worshipping our Saviour on account of his star which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of Zeruïas.

Some of the learned indeed, thinking this relation, have fixed on Belshazzar's prophecy, in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that so learned a man as Horryus was of opinion, that Zoroaster might have been the same person. Far be it from us to countenance any superfluous stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of Zeruïas from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence and supported by various testimonies. If the diuurt which critics affect to fiew of all things reported by oriental writers should be sufficient to overturn the

to the Persers and oriental nations in general; secondly, as they are known to the Greeks.

The Zend-cavas, as we have said in the text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the Persers Naôh, or broadly pronounced Naôk, i.e. a part. Every one of these treatises has its proper title prefixed to the subject of the treatise. Thus the Zend, which is the name of the first treatise signifies, the prop or barriers of the Zend; because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the Zend; the sixteenth treatise is that called Zeruïas-tugnana, or the life of Zeruïas, mentioned in the text. Dr. Hyde, who, like a generous man, desired, that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the public, as to enable him to publish the book itself.

It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of Zeruïas's character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion, are set forth at large. The twentieth treatise in the Zenda-nasâhis called Bimaqoks-nasa, i.e. the Book of Physicians, because it treats of the medicinal properties of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of Zeruïas contain not only the religion, but the learning, of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his succourers in the office of high-priest to set a pattern of all useful learning. As the book Zend Zend-Laph, signifies a zodiacal Perse, but Zend-chagau, which literally rendered is a reader of the Zend, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the Jews call Charcham, and the Mohammedans Imam. As to the notion of Curtius, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern Jews, and perhaps with many other nations. Dr. Prideaux is very fervent on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their masses (19); but in respect to these things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the Greeks knew of Zoroaster's writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; Euphrasius speaks of a collection of physics written by this great man, and quotes from hence the following description of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of Zoroaster:

"God hath the head of a hawk, he is the first incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like himself, the character of every good, one that cannot be bribed, the bell of things good, the wisest of things wise; he is moreover the father of equity and justice, self-taught, self-existent, infinitely perfect, omniscient, and the sole ruler of nature (20)." Suida attributes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21)." Pindar says he wrote two millions of verses, on which Herodotus wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the Greeks his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine; but Porphyry says expressly, that those could not be authentic, because of the secret works of Zoroaster, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves, since these treatises are better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of Mithroajula gave the oracles yet extant some reputation by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession: 'I was, says he, forcibly taken off from other things, and engaged to study the Zerdosian and Chaldæan learning by certain books in both those languages, which came to my hands; not accidentally, but, quellionely, by the disposition of God in favour of my studies; hear the inscriptions and you will believe it. These Chaldæan books, if I ought to call them books and not treasures, are the oracles of Zoroaster, Alas-Eyson, and Melchior, magi, in which those things which are faulty and defective in the Greek are read here perfect and entire. There is also an exposition by Chaldæan wise men on these oracles, concise, and somewhat obscure indeed, but full of rare mysteries, and curious learning. There is besides a book of the Chaldæan theology, with a copious and admirable discourse of the wisdom of the Persians, Grecians, and Chaldæans (24)." Ficino to

(18) Ibid. p. 424.
(22) Hist. Nab. lib. xxvi. c. 1.
(23) In vita Plotini.
(24) Epist. of Ficino.

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to whom he directed this letter found these books of the Persians, but for reward and not for sale, so that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles, which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at Paris by Louis Tite in 1663, with the commentaries of Genistus Plutus, the fame were often to be proved, and with the commentaries of Pelusius published at Paris 1667. But Francois Petrius, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from Proclus, Hermit, Simplicius, Damascius, and Arbatius, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From our ingenuous countryman Mr. Stander took them, and published them with the commentaries of Plutus and Pelusius, at the end of his Classical philosophy in 1661 (25). (F) The wisdom of the ancients was not only a sublime science, but also by the bold profane authors, who knew very well, that, notwithstanding the boasting of the Greeks, science came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but not the improbable, opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of Persia, to enquire for the Messiah. They might come, as some have inferred, from Arabia, therefore the Persians lay in their way: but that the magi came from another country than Persia, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed; but that these magi or wise men went into Judea in the time of Zerubabel, is a prophecy, which is a virgin for whom she has not been seen at Zeno, but even without seeing it we shall be able to judge what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities of Zoroastrians. We have more than once quoted in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that Zoroastrianism is the Zoroastrian, that in latter times there should arise a man called Ophischeren, in a certain land, which differs from the title Christ often gives himself of the son of Man, of whom Zoroastrianism prophesied, that she should teach the world true religion and justice, that for a time his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil; but in the end this righteous prophet shall triumph, and shall establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of Mr. Ternardier: "They give, says he, three children to their prophet, and though they have not hitherto appeared in the world, their names are however festively. As he paled the river, they fly, ab ino cecidit tres * geniaecutis guttae, which are preferred to the end of the world. That God shall send a son for whom he has a favor into the same water, who, in reception prime Gotten, shall be imprecated, and bring forth a son, who shall be called Ophischeren, he shall appear in the world with great authority, and shall oblige to receive the new of his father, and shall discourse with much eloquence, and confirm what he says with miracles. The second, who shall be called Ophischeren, shall be conceived in the same manner, he shall succeed his brother in his designs, and shall affix him in preaching, he shall flout the course of the sun ten days, to force by that sign the belief of the people whom he teaches. The third, shall be conceived by the same mother in the same way; his name shall be Sennoni-basen, he shall come into the world with greater authority than either of his brothers, that he may reduce all nations to the true religion; after which shall be the general resurrection, when the souls in heaven and in hell shall return and take possession of their bodies, the mountains and all the metals shall fill it up, so that the revolutions of the devil shall be ruined. After this great change shall be by plain and pleasant, and men shall live happily therein, praising God and his prophet (27). Dr. Haggard, in order to defend the writers of Zoroastrian, represents the three flutes of the Messiah. His activity, when his coming was published to the world by various means; his ministry while he continued upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his ascension in the end, when he shall judge the world with righteousness, and his saints shall rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is the testimony of the famous Abul-Pharawus, who writes thus: "Zerubabel or Zorobabel, the preceptor of the magi said, began to teach in Abubakir, he is some fay, in Affrica. He taught the Persians, that our Lord Christ would manifest himself, commanding them to carry his gifts, telling them that in the latter times a virgin would conceive without the help of man, and that when she should bring forth, a star should appear shining in the day-time, in the middle of which the figure of a virgin should be seen. You therefore, O my children, have notice of his birth before all other nations, when ye see that star, follow it, which will direct you to the place where he is born, adore him, offer him your gifts, for it is that word which established the heavens (29)." This passage is quoted by Dr. Haggard, but there is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers; "The fame year Cefar the emperor sent Gremius into Judah in order to find this river which the Persians bade go upon this occasion from Namaste to Jerusalem, that he might give in his name, when he came to Bethlehem in the way Mary did bring forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from the east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Being questioned on this head by Hrod in their paraghy, they answered thus: A person of great fame among us, in a book which he left us, hath thus admonished us: There shall hereafter be born in Palestine a male child depending from heaven, whom the greatest part of the world shall obey; now the sign of his appearance shall be this: Ye shall see a strange star which shall direct you till you come where ye shall bring the take ye gold, myrrh, and frankincense, and offer them to him, and adore him, then return ye, lest great evil should overtake ye. Now therefore this far appearing, we come to say that the commandment (30), a noble testimony of the
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authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to Gaubasta to being slain at the sack of Babel; but it is now time for us to return to the history of Gaubasta, and of the remarkable event which happened during his reign (Q).

The old animosities between the inhabitants of Taron and Iran broke out in a fresh war, while Gaubasta sat on the throne of his ancestors; it is not easy to say whether this monarch or Arzijaf, who then reigned at Taron, was the aggressor. MRHOBD inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce Arzijaf and his subjects to the faith of Zerdvast, that prince being, according to Dr. Prideaux, a zealous Zabian; which, if he was, we know not how to account for, since it should seem, that the old religion of Persia flourished there in the days of Phrahaun; and, as we have seen, Zerdvast was not the institutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, MRHOBD informs us, that Gaubasta having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into Taron, and meeting Arzijaf in battle he vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and, before the Tariath monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his followers, after which returning triumphantly into Persia, he, on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son Isbendiary in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called Ghiod Kouch, i.e. the round mount; but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a prince; for Arzijaf, irritated by the usage he had met with, raised all the forces of Taron, and making a sudden inroad into the province of Chorasan, he sacked the city of Babel, where he killed Labraf, the father of Gaubasta, in his cloyt, slaughtered Zerdvast with all his priests attending there on the chief Fire-temple, which he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind fiend with the remembrance of what the Persian king had done in his own country could suggest. Elates with this conquest, he advanced so briskly into the dominions of Iran, that Gaubasta did not think fit to meet him in battle, but chose rather to consider how an army might be drawn together, able to fight that of Arzijaf on his return.

His counsellors advised him to set his son Isbendiary at liberty, and to intrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly sent his brother Geanf to Isbendiary, not only to release him, but also to allure him, that his father would reign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as Isbendiary arrived in the army, the Persians took new courage, and numbers returned to their standard, though they had declined following his counsellors. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages, and coming suddenly on Arzijaf, he defeated entirely all his numerous armies, obliging him to retire out of Persia, and make all the haft he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory Gaubasta received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem; however, he declined putting him in possession of the crown, and in order to amuse him, he observed, that it would be unbecoming to brave a prince

(Q) The death of Zerdvast was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as hanged an imposter as some would make him. A Persian historian tells us, that Arzijaf overthrew the Fire-Temples erected by Zerdvast in Babel, and slew twenty priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood of the mams (31). Whether this must be understood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large. ‘‘Notice, says this writer, being given to the king of Taron by certain merchants, that there were no folders left in Babel, all of them having repaired to the court of Gaubasta, and that his father Labraf was left alone in that city, with such as attended on the Pyr.,’’ etc. and eighty priests; Arzijaf on this information drew together an army of fifteen thousand men, sending his son Kohram before him, and following with all expedition himself. It is said, that when Arzijaf entered Iran, Labraf receiving advice thereof came out of his retreat, and put himself at the head of a small troop, with whom he killed many of the enemy, but in the end Labraf with the eighty priests before mentioned was slain and the holy fire extinguished with their blood; with these priests also fell Zerdvast, ‘‘the prophet, who then reigned at Babel (32).’’ Hence it came to pass, that Shidus affirm of the Persian Zarofar, that he defied to die by fire from heaven, and advised his countrymen to prefer his ashes, warming them, that while they were kept their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the Alexandrian chronicle refers to the Persian Zarofar or our Zerdvast (34). Of these fables we have said enough, perhaps too much, already.

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to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of Babylon, remained still in captivity. Argeesp was piqued at this pretence of his father, which he knew that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, and made that noble youth immediately determine to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army 12,000 foot and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of Turan, accompanied by his brother Bafhuten, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence, that Argeesp was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and easy fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that by it a man might reach the court of Turan in a month; the third, which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow. Bafhuten having directed his brother to advance as expeditiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habituated like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of Argeesp, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in those meadows, he should order his horse to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. Bafhuten and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of Turan. The prince being introduced to Argeesp as a merchant who fled from the severity of Bafhuten, and was desirous of telling his goods in the dominions of Turan; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present with which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to Bafhuten's wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was apprised that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to Bafhuten, who at the head of his horse suddenly charged the Turks, and made themselves masters of the city. Bafhuten, and those who were about him, dispatched without delay the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand Argeesp king of Turan. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother Bafhuten, he advised him to retire with part of his forces into Persia while he with the rest marched against several Indian princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of Zerdushth, in which expedition Bafhuten had prodigious success, and returned afterwards into Persia, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at Shahr, he expected, that his father would without delay perform the promise, he had so solemnly made and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politick Gusteasp intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his own great abilities and the laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that that there was still one enemy left to be subdued, even in the heart of his dominions, viz. Rustaan, who, having fortified himself in the provinces committed to his charge, absolutely refused to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of Zerdushth. Gusteasp intimated, that it was necessary for Bafhuten to reduce this nobleman before he altered the diadem, since otherwise he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous Bafhuten set out for Sisjaran, carrying with him his son Babaman; on their arrival there Rustaan met him and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but when the prince inflamed on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing immediately the faith of Zerdushth, Rustaan grew angry, and from hard words they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful.
ful; at last it inclined to Isphendiyar, but Rustan, collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to Rustan, and to inform his brother Behuten to take care of his body; both his requests were exactly complied with, Behuten carried back his body into Perse, where it received the highest funeral honours, and Rustan carefully sent home his son. Gulfastp was inconsiderate for the death of so deserving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the necessity of the state; for the new king of Teurian no longer heard what had happened in Perse, than raising a great army, he invaded that kingdom, and waited it without mercy with fire and sword. Gulfastp, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all possible diligence to oppose him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The publick peace being now restored, Gulfastp, to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to Bahaman the son of Isphendiyar, and, according to the example set him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected not far from Sebivas, a palace of such superb architecture, that in after-times, as Mirchond tells us, it was attributed to Solomon, the son of David, to express its excellence. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind the famous palace of Persepolis, is held to be the sepulchre of the ancient Persean kings. We have seen from various instances, that it was a common thing among the Persean monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that Gulfastp was the Hesiodus of the Greeks, then we may apply what Ammianus Marcellus says of the latter to this retreat. "Hesiodus," says this historian, was a most wise person, who boldly penetrating into the inner parts of upper India, came to a woody defart, whose calm silence was to a very high wit the Braschmann; from hence he learned the true system of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and the pure rites of true religion, with which knowledge he returned into Perse, and taught to the magi, amongst whom it has by tradition been preferred even to this time." But perhaps, admitting Gulfastp and Hesiodus to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expectation to his junior years, when he fled from his father into Teurian, from whence his journey into India was not difficult. There are some Persean writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what from an ancient Persean historian we are told, as to Zerdast's promising king Gulfastp to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not Gulfastp, but his son Behuten, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this Behuten, in conformity to the prophet's promise, was transported to the mountain Dunavand or Domavand, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick veils of fial-armoniacal fumes from all sides of the mountain. Our famous traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, ascended this mountain, and palled directly over it without meeting any such veils; he acknowledges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon, and that in the night some luminous vapours are seen therabouts, which he thinks proceed from the sulphur; but the learned Dr. Hyde is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to fial-armoniacal, but the doctor confesses, not only that the history of Behuten is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort related of Gulfastp are likewise unworthy of belief. We may with tolerable certainty affirm, that the reign of Gulfastp, was the reign of learning in Perse. In his time flourished a celebrated astrologer whose name was Gjansoof, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, Al Hakim, i.e. the wise or the sage. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; some have made him the son of Daniel the prophet; others the counsellor of king Gulfastp; but the greater number, and those too of the most creditable writers, say, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only fo, but his confident and chief minister. The science for which he was particularly famous was astrology, and from his skill therein he is said to have predicted the coming of the

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Some treatises under his name are yet current in the caft; of which, the reader will meet with some account at the bottom of the page (R).

Babamaz, (R) Dr. Ho, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very ancient author, having before told us, that this author was affected, there had been among the Persians ten doctors of such comuminate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the tune following: "Of these the first was Chalda, an astronomer, who was also called Chaldaeus. He is the author of a book entitled, "Judicis Chaldeor, in which is contained his judgment on the planetary conjunctions. And thereupon he gave notice, that a false system of the" Materia Magica should be shewn, that the Magian religion should be abolished, &c.; nor did any astrologer ever come up to him (351)."

Of this book there is an Arabic version, the title of which runs thus: The book of the philosopher Chalda, containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them. This version was made by Lali, the title he gives it in Arabic was Al Korana, and he published it A.D. 1280. In the preface of his work it is said, that after the time of Zoroaster or Zarvanshr, reigning in Persia, the son of Labra, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only Iran but Persia and Babylonia, &c. Chalda, that in his reign flourished in the city of Babylonia on the borders of Chaldaea, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was Chalda, author of this book wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece, abounds with zodiacal, or zodiacal, or Pro- phy (355). That astrology, which we now mean, foretelling future events, or pretending to foretell them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a science, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the Persians, might be easily proved, for a proper place in the revolutions of the world, and if he did not intend it himself, we are pretty certain, that his schollar Ptolemaeus actually thought of subverting the belief of the gospel dispensation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominance to the influence of the stars. (357). The modern Persians are full great votaries to this fort of knowledge, but they distinguish between astronomy and astrology, they fill the former Elmunsha, i.e. the science of the stars, and the latter Elsark, i.e. the revolutions of the stars; they have, however, but one word to express astronomer and astrologer, viz. Manegium, which is exactly equivalent to the Greek word Astrologer. All of the provinces of Persia Chorassan is the most important for producing great men in that art, and in Chorassan there is a little town called Gao, and in that town a certain family, which from 6 or 700 years past has produced the most famous astrologers in Persia; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of Gao, or one brought up there. Sir John Chardin affirms, that the appoint- ments of time for these lages amounts to 12 mentions of French livres per Annum, which shows how highly these folk of people are yet esteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the transcendent skill of the ancient professo- rs of this art, this author just as he had been given such fam- ous influence in the history of Allendis, a Jew, who was professor of judicial astrology at Bagdad in the caliphate of Al Mamoon. Against this Jewish astrologer all the Muslimmedans had a very great respect, and the court itself was reported to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to dishonor him of the caliph's esteem; to this end he resorted to Bagdad, and finding Allendis in the caliph's pre- sence, he asked him why he took upon himself to know more in astrology than Babylonic people. Because I know replied Allendis what you know not, and you know not what I know. This provoked the Muslimmedan doctor so much, that he would needs make a trial of his boasted knowledge in the fight of the caliph; and because he was sure of the interview, and the caliph's presence, he set himself, and sat down therein with his books and instruments. The Muslimmedan doctor at last took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after seeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it to the caliph; and because he could not understand the writing, by telling what was written in his paper, to which the other after a little time answered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The cali- ph showed opening the paper, he found this to be true, and this adventure spread the fame of Allendis through- out all the east. It happened there was then resident in the college at Bacl which a young student of bright parts, who had been schollar to the Muslimmedan fage, over whom Allendis had triumphed. He was so much piqued at the discomfiture done his master, that as soon as he heard this story, he bought himself a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred English miles from that people. To try the truth, he at last-mentioned city, he enquired the time when Allendis taught in the publick schools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a servant come to hear him. Allendis was in the midst of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full stop, and turning his eyes on this stranger, addressed him thus: I know who you are, and to what purpose you come. Your name is Abul Al- manmar (the true orthography is Abul Ma Shar) and you will become one of the greatest astrologers of your time; but then you must lay aside the bloody design which brought you his, and you must throw into the midst of the school that poignard you carried on purpose to kill me. Al- manmar, struck at this speech, first threw down his poignard, and then himself, at the feet of Allendis, thereupon he applied himself strictly to the study and became such a great and predicted person, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of Almanmar of Bacl (358). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unnecessary digression; but we had our reasons for relating it. It was the insertion of a story told by the author, Mr. Chardin, of his visit to Persia, and his account of the practice of Christian. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the same thing from Almanmar, his words are these: in the sphere of Persia, faith "Abul-saara, there ariseth upon the face of the lamp. Virgo a beautiful maiden, the holding two cats of corn"
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Chap. II.

Bahram, the son of Ishkendyar, succeeded his grandfather Gufrast in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is necessary that we should settle his name. Mirkbon calls him as we do Bahram, and says, that he had two surnames, the one Dirazdeh, i.e. long-hand, because his right hand was longer than his left, and the other Ardibir on this account; when his mother was big with this son, there came a great astraloger to the court of Gufrast, his grandfather, and addressing him self to Ishkendyar, presented him a small bathet, which he told him was for the use of the son that should be born to him, upon opening it there was found a vessel full of milk and a little flour, the person who brought it adding by way of excuse, that his circumstances did not allow him to bring any thing better. Ishkendyar and his spouse were so much satisfied with the present, that they took from thence the name of their son, Ard signifying Flour, and Shirk Milk, in their ancient language; hence it came to pass, that this prince was better known by his surnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental histories Ardibir Dirazdeh, and by the Greeks Artaxerxes Longimanus. He is preferred by Mirkbon as one of the wifest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre; he was so solicitous for the impartial distribution of justice to all his subjects, that he sent some favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he sent for them into his presence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or else punished what they had done amiss according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his accession to the throne, he summoned the states of his kingdom, whom he addressed in terms full of tenderness and love, he told them, that he had assumed the regal dignity, not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong steps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the publick, that they would freely confess and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depose him, for he said, that kings ought to be publick blessings, and that such as were not so ought not to wear the title. The states, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they desired, separated, and going into their respective provinces, carried with them the highest sentiments of duty and respect for so deserving a prince. Ardibir or Bahram took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in Iran, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every-where in a flourishing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of Sigishian and Kabul to his eftates; and to this end he raised a considerable army, and marched into the territories of Rufstan, whither he was no sooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his son Feramorz had taken possession of his government, and was marching to oppose him with a great army. The king of Persia, being disquieted that the war should have a speedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the success he could desire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and Feramorz killed upon the spot. He took likewise Zal-zer, the father of Rufstan, prisoner, and returned triumphantly into Persia, after obliging the inhabitants of those provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful Lord. Mirkbon gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of Rufstan, which happened a little before this war commenced, he had, according to this historian, a brother whose name was Chojal, whom he sent to collect his revenues in Kabul, where it so happened, that Chojal fell desperately in love with a certain lady whose name was Giamat, who, according to the governor, observing how much the young man was smitten, gave him all the interruption possible in his

"corn in her hand, and a child in her arms, the feed-
eth him, and giveth him suck, &c. This maiden, 
faith Albumasar, we call Adenoscosa, the pure 
virgin. She bringeth up a child in a place which
is called Ahir (the Hebrew land) and the child's
name is called Eft (Efau). This was enough to
make Alberius Magnus believe that our Saviour
Christ was born in Efau, and therefore cardinal
Allan erector of our Lord's divinity by his descip-
li on, casteth this sign in the horoscope. But
that was not the meaning of Albumasar. His

"meaning was (faith fruar Bacon) Quodhenta Virgo
nata sui, quando fol sui in Virgine,& ista bahetor
figuram in Calendarium, & good natura fletum su-
um in terra Hebraeorum. That the said virgins were
born, the sun being in that sign, as also we have it
set down in the calendar, and that she was to bring
up her son in the Hebrew land (39)". The reader is to observe, that Albumasar wrote expressly from the antients, &c. astrologers, it may be from the very words of Jannat which induced this note.

(39) Mr. John Gregory: notes on various passages of scripture. p. 152.
his amour, until he promised to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might have his daughter; Chejol having promised this, the governor proposed to him the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might fecure to himself the absolute possession of his own territories by putting him to death, to which Chejol, for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discouraging with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of Kabul, whom he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. Rukran, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces; but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in Rukran's temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor of Kabul into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend and this treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kabul, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and having most humbly befouled Rukran's pardon, which Rukran having given him, the governor entreated him to rest that night at his house, which was but a small distance from them; when they came near its gates, Chejol rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way, and Rukran and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. Rukran, being apprized of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts; the man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands. Whereupon Rukran drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity, that he struck the treacherous governor and his pernicious brother each to his heart, dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the Persian historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, who had the glory and support of his country and of its kings; but we shall throw in the note below, that this story of the life and adventures of Rukran must not be understood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces formerly

(S) The title of this section is the history of Persia, according to the oriental writers. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians: but it does not follow, that we must either believe ourselves, or subside on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most invertebrate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the book of Persia; and it is not improbable, that we may sometimes mistake their meaning. For example, we know that Apadanaath, king of Tauran, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that country were the same. Apadanaath, as the kings of Egypt were called Psammet, and the kings of the Phœnicians were intituled Ahimelech. But then the same difficulty recurred as to Rukran. His father Zul-zer lived to be carried away prisoner by Babeman, of whose reign we are now speaking; he must have then been near seven hundred years old, and Rukran, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred, these are incredible things, and therefore we must suppose, that notwithstanding the Persian historians speak all of one man, there was a succession of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of Segjilans, and called from their famous ancestor Rukran. Something of this sort we meet with in Firdusi, where not only two kings of Geraz are called Ahimelech, but both the captains of their hosts are called Psammet (52). What renders our conjecture still the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a succession of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a suspicion, that we swallow without consideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we shall have closed our history of the Persian kings, natives of that country, we shall, as we have promised, give a large account of the chronology of these times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumstances, which we have not had occasion to infer in the text, as to the family of which we were speaking. The author of the Gulistan tells us, that Zul-zer gave his son Rukran this caution. Never despise an enemy, however impossible it may seem at present for a fireman, which will surely bear a fireman at its source, grows in its course, and makes its prey a consuming flame and its burden (54). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums bestowed by the oriental romance-writers on our hero Rukran. Of all his exploits none, however, furnishes them with so much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with Ishbadur. These stories were so pleasant in themselves, so agreeably embellished by those who took them for their theme, that they gave no small interruption to Mohammed in his setting his new religion. It seems there was one Niffer who had been in Persia about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of Rukran's combats with Ishbadur, vehemently opposed Mohammed, and laughed at his pretended miracles, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an effect, that when Mohammed brought them a new chapter of the Koran, they would frequently cry out, This is an old story; there is no great matter in this; it is not half so pleasant as the stories of Niffer, which provoked the pretended prophet very much, and put him upon cursing this Niffer violently as an enemy to God and the true religion.
By the hero we have just now mentioned, Babanam or Archib, extended his empire on all sides; some historians say, that Kiroth, i.e. Cyrus, was his governor in Babylon; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, viz., the great kindness which this prince expressed for the Jews; some have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son whose name was Saffan, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astronomy, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded theretofrom by his father on account of his ludicrous figure, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did he pretend to the succession, on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shown in the next period of our Persian history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of Dirazdes derived from thence, Babanam or Archib died, and left his empire to his wife Homai, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of this prince was, That the gate of a king ought never to be shut.

Homai or Khamani, about five months after her acquisition to the throne, brought forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself, for which reason they advised that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderfews of a mother would not permit Homai to follow their counsels, and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to fall down the Gibbon or Oxus. The floating cradle came as at last within the view of a poor man washing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He struck with the novelty of beholding a chest on the water, took pains to draw it on shore, and was mightily surprized on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it with the precious stones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with as much tenderfews and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of Darab, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found, Dar signifying a wooden vessel, and Aby water. When this child was grown up to such an age as required its learning some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy shewed a visible reluctance thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, trained his abilities to the utmost to furnish the young Darab with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, then raised for the reduction of Reumfahan, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but Darab performed

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religion (42). It is to these stories of Nefor’s, and to the behaviour of the people therupon, that Mos- 

mamat in the following passage of his Coran: “There is with God great reward for the 

righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God, he 

shall remove your enemies far from you, and 

pardon your sins, his goodness is infinite. The 

wicked have conspired against thee to punish and 

slay thee, or drive thee from Mecca; but God 

hath rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he 

knoweth all the designs of conspirators. When 

his miracles were related to them, and his com-

mandments taught them, they fad we have heard 

them; we had said the like things, we do in-

performed therein such extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the Persians nobility had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that he would needs see him. Darab upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was Darab, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the perions he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little child, and that from thence they had given him the name of Darab. The queen, having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people. This prince, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions Istarb; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the fame which the Persians call Cibliminar, and in the palace of Persepolis. We will not take up upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen Homai's chusing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they allege, that Gushtasp having erected several Pyræa or Fire-temples, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, Homai was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of Persian magnificence might appear together, and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller but not unlike those in Egypt, scattered throughout all Persia, and every where overthrown by the faithfuls of Alexander the Great. This prince is likewise said to have built a city called Semrim or Semirab, whence a famous Persian author hath been led to think, that the Homai of the Persians was the Semiramis of the Greeks; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity. The author of another Persian chronicle is so far from thinking her either the Semiramis of the Greeks, or fo famous a queen of Persia as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the Persian monarchs of the dynasty of the Caimiders.

Mirkhond, however, affirms us, that she reigned thirty-two years, and then reneged the crown to her son Darab T.}

Darab.

(T) The oriental historians mention various queens who flourished and did great things in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the Persians historians say of her building the glorious palace at Istarb, we shall find it not improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have been before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of Gushtasp, arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in Persia; his grandson and successor Bahaman must have carried them still higher, for he was very successful in all his wars, and after he had finished them applied himself to the adorning of his country with stately buildings, as Mirkhond expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful prince, shou'd endeavour to establish her fame by erecting the magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; the more adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of Egypt and Syria; and as to the grand procession which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to Bahaman or Archib by the states of Persia, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their censure. That he did this, Mirkhond affirms, and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on that occasion. What more noble translation could this prince chuse, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people. But let this proceede as be what it will, it may as well be placed here as anywhere else, and till the learned be dinit of their enquiries and criticisms can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the Persian historians. As to the modern Persians, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we have their tales of king Solomon and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen Homai's being the founder of that splendid fabric, the ruins of which are now called Cibliminar, i.e. forty pillars, though, if we may trust Dr. Hyde, its old Persian name was Hasarfas, i. e. a thousand columns (44).

Darab, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a Persian writer, that the young Darab, being one day at the water-side with his suppofed father, addreßed himself thus to the dyer: "I should be very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine, from the aversion I have to this business and from my contempt of all manual labour, that I am not really your son, as you have hitherto made me believe".

Whoever, said the dyer, behold a ruby and suppozed it dropped from a common stone, might conceive, that a youth of your shining parts was what till this time you had passeed for, the son of a fuller". "Whatever my parts may be, returned Darab, I should be much pleas'd to hear, without either allegories or metaphors, who I am to suppoze myself, and whether that spirit of ambition which I feel in my breast ought to be checked or cherish'd; upon this the honest old man related to him all he knew, which as soon as Darab heard, he demanded the jewels, and having received them went directly to the army, and applying himself to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father had related". The general was at that very time about to give battle to the Greeks, he therefore gave no answer to Darab, but advised him to keep his own counsel, and to serve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which instructions his he exactly pursu'd, and behav'd with such prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave easy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, presented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her son. Which of these stories is true, or which comes nearest the truth, we pretend not to determine. All historians agree, that he ascended the throne as the son of Babemon or Ardibr, and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent by his wife and gentle administration. His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before he ascended the throne, he furnished it not to ruin aver he assumed the royal dignity; at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administred throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewise a proficient patron of arts and sciences, easy of address, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other he found it necessary to turn his arms on Filikous, that is Philip, king of Macedon, at first by his captains, and at last in person with such successe, that Philip, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as Darab thought fit to impose; and they were these; that the king of Macedon should pay yearly the sum of forty-two thousand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and should give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses in Greece, to Darab for wife, which was accordingly done. The very first night that Darab passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, notwithstanding that, as some writers say, she was with child. After the Macedonian war was over, Darab applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to settling such things as were still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Amongst other wise and glorious acts of this good prince, the settling of pols throughout all Persia is particularly recorded, which he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in proper Persia on which he bestowed his name, calling it Daragerd, i. e. Mount-Darab, in the middle of which rose a hill in shape of a tent or a pavilion, and without i s walls lay a circle of hills, producing falt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of Persia; he likewise erected another city called Kousheh, and after a reign of four years, according to Mirkband, of fourteen, says another writer, and of twelve, says a third, he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

Darab

[VI] It is certainly no bad caution to an historian, that in his writings he should forget his country, or rather, that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the Persian historians, as we have said in our text, represent Darab mourning in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath, cloting all with passionate interjections, that Alexander would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter Ragibehn to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death? The Greek writers on the other hand
Darab the second, or the younger, surnamed Darab Kudobek, came very young to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, falso, and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The Persians, unused to such treatment, entered into private negotiations with Aesander, the son of Filikous, that is Alexander the Great, the son of Philip, whom many of the Persian writers believe to have been the son of Darab the first by the daughter of Filikous, whom he bent back because of her flinching breath, and persuaded him to enter Persia with an army, promising him to join with him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put him in possession of an empire, of which they held Darab to be unworthy. As a preparation for making war, they advised Aesander to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to fend annually into Persia; and with these negotiations the king of Macedon readily fell in. Darab, finding that Aesander did not send his tribute as usual, sent an embassayer to demand it; to whom Aesander answered, that those who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others say, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which signified at once a piece of corn and an egg, Aesander answered Darab's embassador in derision, when he demanded a mighty third the greater for the tribute in arears, that the bird which had laid those eggs was flown into another word, alluding to his father's death, who had burred his subjects with this tribute. This answer terribly provoked Darab, who, to show at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second ambassador with a harsh meffage, accompanied with a present, more expressive of his master's sentiments than any speech or letter could have been; this present was a little casket, containing a dibble, or planting stick, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens than in matters of state; the second shewing the power and strength of the Persian nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a rash imprudent thing for such a petty prince as he to oppose so great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambassador with his present found Aesander on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of Macedonia were not very numerous, but they were all chozen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time enured to hardships. On his entering Aisia he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against Darab, and partly from the generosity of Aesander's behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but subjects. When he arrived in Armenia, he received a letter from Darab, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to content to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding

hand make Daras moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was so strick with the virtues of the Macedonian, that he yielded to him his scepter rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what Plutarch puts into the mouth of Daras on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all faults contribute as far as possible to the glory of one's country is not peculiar to Persian writers. Plutarch, having long expatiated on the virtues of Alexander, tells us, that Daras was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune; but when he understood the truth, he said, "Well, I do not yet perceive the condition of the Persian to be deplorable, since the world can never teach us now with humility or effeminty, whose face it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may still be victorious in war, to the end that in well doing I may surpass Alexander. For my emulation and ambition lead me in point of honour to flew myself more cordial and friendly than he. If then the father have otherwise de-termined of me and mine, O Jupiter, preferer of the Persians, and you his equal deity, to whom the care of kings belong, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but Alexander to sit upon the throne of Cyrus (45). One may safely lay, that here is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery as any of the romantic stories in the Persian authors. Daras worshipped no God but the true God; he was utterly unacquainted with the Jupiter of the Greeks; and it does not appear, that even after Alexander conquered Persia, he rehabilitated the superstitions of the Greeks there. That Daras might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to Alexander, or that he might urge him to use his subjects well, is credible; but that Daras fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waste his empire, is a tress of Greek eloquence which may please us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digested for history. We must therefore bear with the Persians as well as the Greeks, seek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or disguising her to serve a turn.

(45) Plutarch, de Fortuna Alexand."

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Chap. II.

adding some menaces at the close. Artander returned him for answer, that empires
were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this
he continued his march till he entered the province of Adaveres, where he defeated
one of Darab's captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done
this, he advanced into Gihon; this province, according to Mirbonds, was in old times
a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants Elanda, i. e. the White Indies, in
allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the Indies
properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the Coepa-
tes sea on one side, and an easy correspondence with Varies, Persia, and Ar-
nomia, lying round them. This country Artander quickly subdued: from thence he
marched into the heart of Persia, where, in the province properly called by that name,
Darab met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle,
Artander carried the victory, and Darab was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his
wifes, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the Persians met
with a river, wherein many entering headlong were drowned; at last a ford was
discovered, through which Darab, attended by the principal persons in his army,
passed; but of the soldiers, who followed him crowding one another, the weakest were
downed, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to
a place of safety, he sent once more ambassadors to Artander to treat of peace,
offering in cafe he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his
troops back to Greece, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other
concessions; at the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched ambas-
diators also to the kings of India and Moccherel, intreating them to yield him affility,
that they might be able to drive the Greek out of his dominions; which they fur-
nished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more nu-
merous and potent than that which he had lost. As for Artander, he treated the offers
made him by Darab with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the Per-
sian forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great rein-
forcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle,
in which the Greek gained another compleat victory, Darab flying with a few of his
captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of
his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several
mortal wounds with their pognards, and then fled to the camp of Artander, leaving
their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. Artander no sooner received the news,
than he went with the utmost expedition to Darab's fortress, and found him in his
laft agonies, which sight so touched the Greek, that, melting into tears and holding
up his hands to heaven, he protested, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleasure
in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured
him, that he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors
by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter Reubconh, and
not to put the severer provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers, with
all which Artander promised to comply. Then Darab, after making many pitiful
complaints of the misery of human life and the inconstancy of fortune, all of which
are repeated by Mirbonds, yielded up the ghost after a reign of fourteen years. Thus
far we have followed for the most part the author last mentioned. An author men-
tioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that, in compliance with Darab's last
request, Artander or Alexander appointed for the governors of Persia natives of that
country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition,
and to have appointed Greeks in their room; but that Arifholte, whom this
writer calls his viceroy, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove
any of the Persians lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces a. It is
very certain, that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth;
Arifholte neither accompanied Alexander in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate
to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all im-
probable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, since
it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and easy; and
would also have been very conformable to the temper of Alexander, who, when
in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general,
and a deference of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom as a uni-

* EAHIA AL CAVIN IN LEBARTIKI.

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Book I.

verbal monarch he fought the power of ruling; at least, this is the idea Plutar is would give us of him, and of Aristeles, who, though a philosopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than most of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticize, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect, that we should here put an end to this fiction, especially since he has already seen the history of Perseus, according to the Greek writers, concluded at the death of Darius. But for it, as we have, in order to pursue the scheme laid down in the title of this fiction, we are bound to rely on this history to the death of Alexander, for, as we have shown before, the oriental writers, in order no less to save the credit of the Achaics, have pretended, that the empire of Iran, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of Alexander, not so much by conquest as by right; in this light therefore Alexander was the last monarch of the Dyaoph of the Kaimites, and his reign consequent-ly ought as much to be taken notice of here, as the reigns of any of his predecessors.

Alexander, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, is by the Pericman writers filled Jcander Ben Fileakoun, which signifies the fame thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of surname bestowed on him for the following reason; they will have it, that he was the son of Darab the first by the female of Filiwhos, whom he sent home because of her stinking breath, but that Philip bringing him up as his own son, and leaving him the kingdom, he called himself out of gratitude Alexander the son of Philip, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of Perseus as heir to Darab his father (X). The


(W) That Alexander should promise a dying monarch whatever he demanded fees perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eastern and western authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquished. That Aristeles gave him general precepts as to government we may easily believe; and if the authority of Plutarch had due weight, we shall conceive the expedition of Alexander against the Pericman to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philosopher to civilize all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to swallow this; we shall therefore, instead of prefacing it farther, produce the passage from the Greek author last mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will sufficiently show, that the Pericman writers are not absolutely in the wrong when they ascribe some points of Alexander's conduct to the influence Aristeles had over him; they are grossly mistaken in making him his vicar.

"If philosophers, say Plutarch, inflame to themselves their highest applause for cultivating the most fierce and rugged conditions of man, certainly Alexander is to be acknowledged the chief of philosophers, who changed the wild and brutish customs of many various nations, reducing them to order and government. "To true indeed, that so much admired commonwealth of Zeno, first au-thor of the fists text, aims finely at this, that neither in cities nor in private houses we should live under laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all men in general to be our fellow countrymen and citizens, observing one manner of living, one kind of order, like a flock feeding together with equal right in one common pasture. This Zeno wrote, fancying to himself as in a dream a certain scheme of civil order, and the image of a philosophical common-wealth. But Alexander made good his words by his deeds: For, as Aristeles falsely advised him, he did not rule the Grecians like a moderate prince, and influt over the barbarians like an absolute tyrant; neither like one that took particular care of the fist as his friends and domesticks, but learning the latter as mere brutes and vegetables; did fill him with rage and fury, and iniquities; and pernicious tumults. But believing himself sent from heaven as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and fudding those by force whom he could not associate to himself by fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all regions far and near under the fame dominion. And then as in a festival bowl, mixing convives, did act the servile office of the host, and in the same manner did rule the Grecians, so the Barbarians by their virtues and courage, and the Barbarians by their vices and their cowardice. However, that their habit, their dearth, their marriage, and custom of converse, should be everywhere the same, engaged and blended together by the ties of blood and pledges of offspring (45). How glorious a reputation would Alexander have obtained, if his actions had been uniform, and apparently founded on such notions as are attributed to him by the philosopher! His bringing of Perses is a little inconsistent with the idea given us by Plutarch; but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to flew to what Alexander would have done, if he had always stood up to the heroic maxims laid down by his teacher Aristeles. On the whole, it may be justly said, that it was the passions of Alexander only which made him a man: in his cooler moments, and when he acted without their impulse, he seemed more than man; both are the effects of an excellent education, and of such importance it is, that those who are to govern multitudes should be superior to knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(45) Plutarch, ubi supra.
The oriental writers in general bestow another surname upon him, viz. that of Dohucarmein, or rather Dulcarnein, which signifies literally with two horns, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers of Alexander, do not very well agree with what the Greek writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes Roxana the daughter of Darius, in which he joins with the Persian historians, who, as we have seen, allege, that the emperor of Persia, in his last moments, instigated Alexander to marry his daughter Roxenæa; whereas Arias makes Roxana the daughter not of Darius, but of Oxyartes; but this is a small matter: we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental style: ‘It was the custom, says he, of Alexander the Great, in the expeditions he made after the conquests of Persia, to go in disguise with such ambassadours as he sent to the courts of neighbouring princes, that in this situation he might make such observations as might facilitate his designs.

Of this it seems Candace, queen of the inner or higher Ethiopia, had notice, whereupon she made enquiry and discovered the present of this ambassador; the result of this was, that she was told, he was low in stature, had large broad teeth, some of which stood out; that of his eyes, one was of a light grey the other quite black; which made her renew the demand; and therefore Alexander appeared with his ambassadors in her presence, and instantly fished him out, addressing herself to him in these words: ‘You, O Alexander, have been too quick for all the world, and yet one woman has been too quick for you to which he replied, I therefore grant you and your subjects my protection, as a reward for your extraordinary capacity: I also accept for a wife, and to the land of Egypt in the future, his marriage Alexander went into Ethiopia and visited other countries (47). If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such fables, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compilers of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our part is to relate these fables; the historians have said of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leaves us to cite what is recorded by Abu-Pureigiy. This celebrated historian calls Nubiaroza↕ by the name of Nubia as the writers do, and in his short account of the Persian kings prefers exactly the names recorded by Mirkonda; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of Gobryaz, who succeeded after the Persian power ceased to have dominion in Persia; he calls the last king of Persia Darab, the son of Darab; of Alexander he speaks thus: ‘Alexander, the son of Philip, reigned six years after the death of Darab, having also reigned six years before his death. He subdued many nations, so that his dominions extended even to India, and the frontiers of China. He was called Dohucarmain, i.e. two-horned, because he had been fumed with one horn of the fox and the other, i.e. from east to west. Five-and-thirty kings he fought, and twelve cities he founded; two of these in the province of Timrafia, viz. Hera and Mopsos, one in the region of Afrías, viz. Samostath, and one in Egypt; one in the province of Indus, viz. Hebat, where he died of poison, and his body being put into a chest of gold, was borne on the shoulders of kings and nobles to the Egyptian Alexandria, where it was interred. It was Alexander who began the wall

"Pygj, which was composed of stone and iron, the iron being let into the stone to fix it by the help of fire, each of the stones being twelve cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall when it was finished came down to the place called Babak Periash, in the valleys of the region of Akaphiaj, from whence it was carried through the mountains as far as the sea of the Greeks; nor were there wanting many of the Persian kings, who to defend their dominions from the incursions of the Turks, sought to build the foundations of this wall; at last they were found by Teyjard, the son of Babram Fern, who began to carry on the work, but did not live to see it finished; several succeeding kings protected the same design, but none of them with effect, till God rendered it easy to Chobrea Nufrawar, who built it strongly, uniting it to the mountains, and at last brought it down to the sea, placing iron gates at the end, so that in the end they were then able to defend what would otherwise require an army of an hundred-thousand (48)."

Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of Persia, it is necessary that we should give some account of the Tartars, in whose fabulous fame Achmet Azawaz, Khan of Khwarezam, in his genealogical history of the Tartars, has given us the following account of it: ‘Thos of Khatay have built a great wall to cover their country, in which there are two iron gates for the passage of the merchants and other travellers. This wall is called Sar in Arabick, which signifies Fortres; i.e. in the ancient Turkis language it is called Tarturger: and in the language of Khatay Kings, Alexander went into the land of a like wall to be raised to cover the frontiers of his dominions; but it was composed of all sorts of metals. His design by this wall was to hinder the nation of Judaiades-Mahaut, i.e. of Gog and Magog from carrying their ravages into the lands under his dominion, where they had done great mischief in times past. ‘In a general tradition with the Tartars, that those people have the muzzle of a dog and this wall being made of various metal, they did all in their power to make a passage through it by dint of licking, but they could not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of judgment, they shall come and lick their way through the wall, and that then they shall do a great deal of mischief in the world. Another Wannah, sultan of Samboco, caust in like manner a wall of earth to be built round about his kingdom (49).’ On this passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the following remarks: ‘The remains of this wall, which the Persians pretend their kings New-fishians caused to be drawn from the Calpicon to the Black Sea, are at this day to be seen upon the confines of the province of Shiron and Georgia: it begins at the higher town of Derekand, and extends thence northwardly across the mountains of Georgia towards the black-Sea. These remains are everywhere where there are three feet thick, but its height is very unequal; for in some parts it is still six and seven feet high, in others only one or two, and in some places it is quite beaten down. It appears at first sight to be built of stone, but when one comes to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of perished earth, sand, and shells, which has formed so as to hold a body, that there is no free-done better than that; and it is on this account that one author thinks it might be called a wall of earth."

"his"
writers affirm to have been conquered by two Alexanders, to whom therefore they have given this surname. The first Alexander, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe, if we may be allowed the expression, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the defences of Gog and Magog from pouring down like a torrent upon their southern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to discover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of Abra-
bam, and say, that he lived sixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counsellor the prophet Khedbar, who it is said found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himself immortal; which prophet, according to others, was contemporary with Keykobad, of whom we have spoken so much already. As to the latter part of this story, it is easily cleared up, since it is certain, that they confound Khedbar, the counsellor of this mighty monarch, with a latter prophet of the same name, or rather surname, who is no other than the prophet Elias, whose translation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a discovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters. But enough of this elder Dulkarnein, unless we could lay more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our Alexander received the same surname from his being monarch both of the east and west. The eastern writers, and especially the Persian historians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the Greek or Latin histories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being asked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he answered, that it was not just, because his father made him defend from heaven to earth, whereas the instructions of his master had made him to rise from earth to heaven. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, I am not satisfy with your service, for this reason, I know that which I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and mistakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were silent, it was treason. It is likewise reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought himself to discharge its functions; Very well answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it; since every post requires feme and honesty to execute it well, and he who professeth thereof cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. Alexander, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward. Somebody wondering, in the presence of Alexander, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was full stranger he preferred it, he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. Khondonir, the famous historian, speaking of Alexander the Great, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the perfon of the man, and then answered him thus: Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as

(50) *Bid. Vol. II. p. 722.*
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as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am; to which the man readily answered. Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. Alexander was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in nececity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the Nighiaristan, i.e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a gallery or place to walk in; we are told, that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of Alexander, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom; which surpring those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man; and I, replied Alexander, who am not in yours, have pardoned him; then after a short silence, he added, I the more readily pardon my enemies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure one tastes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. Khondimer, speaking of the death of Alexander, affirms us, that finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to comfort her to the purport following; 'Four sons, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a flash of lightning, and has only left behind him matter of discours'. It may be supposed, that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, so human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore the ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes enquiring the conduct, of others. On what authority these stories are grounded is difficult to say; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions and wife sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which without such reflections instruct very little. A Persian author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the Greeks tell us of his siring Thebes, because it gave birth to Pindar. The Persian story runs thus: "Alexander having given orders after the reduction of a very strong place, that it should be given up to the mercy of the folders, some of his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this place a philosopher of great note who delivered his majesty's notice; the king ordered, that he should be immediately sent for; when he appeared, it so happened, that he made but a very indifferent figure; upon which Alexander, turning to those who had sent for him, said, with a smile of contempt, What strange figure have you brought me here? Which so piqued the philosopher, that he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made upon the spot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
Why shouldst thou slight my person, though uncouth?
Dost thou not know, that man's exterior form
Is but the scabbard of the envying mind?
Why shouldst thou judge then of the weapon's edge,
When yet you've nothing seen except the case?"

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose: "One may say of a man unendued with virtue, that his body is no better than a prison, since the soul must find itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement would seem liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious man is tortured continually, there is no occasion for a hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very sin which covers his body is at the same time the unformidable wall of a perpetual prison." The same philosopher added, "There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy others those gifts which God and nature have bestowed upon them. The boffom of the envious man is continually full of anger and spleen against his creator, he thinks every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the same time covers whatever is not designed for him. As it is thus the custom of the envious to oppose confantly

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"constantly the conduct of him who governs the world with infinite wisdom, for "the mouth that thus murmurs against providence defers no other answer than to "be filled with earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he sees in "the hands of his neighbour; For what reason should this man have more than I? "At these words he stopped, but Alexander, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of the man, bad him go on, affuriring him, that he took all that he said in good part; the philosopher on this proceeded in his harangue: "Wife men, continued "he, are liberal of their wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they "are alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue themselves in laying "up riches for their enemies. The raillerys thrown out by the great against such "as are in low condition tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take b "off that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Whoever wearsies him- "self with striking those who dare not strike again, will be easily beaten when "he meets one who dares oppose him; and he who pretends to the sword without pity, "will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword." Alexander at this stopped "him, revoked his resolution, pardoned the citizens whom he had defined to "destruction, and rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice."

It may possibly happen, that some rigid critics may object to the inferring of this dubious relation in our history; but we hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper instance of the Persians mode of writing history, and at the same time we remark this, let us be indulged another observation, that the writings of Xenophon, who was very well acquainted with the ancient Persians learning, correspond nearly with the manner of those authors we have lately cited; for he reasons on all the facts which he delivers, infornuch, that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the Persians, from the class of historians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatise of the education of Cyrus has within these few years found many warm and learned defenders, so, it may be, the time is near, when we shall see apologies written in favour of oriental historians, who, like Herodotus, may have their credit perhaps restored, when the subjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y).

" Farez im Baharistan."

(Y) It is a common mistake which reigns in Europe, that the eastern nations, and particularly the Persians, are in the gross very illiterate, and absolutely passive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be established forev$r, and therefore not to be contended with, or else stupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is imposed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the east, and in Persia particularly, would have overturned this notion, because there could be no such thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject slaves; there must be some reasoning to persuade people to take arms on the one side, and some arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other; of consequence therefore, there must in such countries be politicians, nay, and there must have been always politicians, since revolutions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good feme in Persia have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it must be allowed, they have unanimously preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have professed a dislike of any form of rule but it; it is likewise true, that they have a professed fondness for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into such high ridicule by some of our great politicians; but after all, though they allow their kings to be absolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked; they acknowledge, that we owe them the same duty we do our parents; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that respect; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholic opinion among the Persians; but at the same time they were far from paying him divine honour, or the king from hiding himself, as the Greek writers would persuade us, from the sight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one who dwelt in such state; the truth of all this will appear from an ancient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of April, called from thence, that is from this custom, Chorren-ruz, i. e. the day of Mirth, on which, as a very ancient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne drest in a white garment; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals; husbands and clowns sit down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requets as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms: I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings; let us then agree like brothers, without anything that can prejudice us (51). The foregoing history hath taught us, that the Persians kings in ancient times were really as wise, as humane, and as considering as any that have reigned in the north or south; it would be ridiculous to say more so. We

The Persians are not only much charmed with the character of the great Alexander, they are also wonderfully pleased with that of his vizir as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor Artaxerxes; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of Artabantis, but commonly by way of abbreviation Artax; they report, that he was wonderfully sagacious even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of Plato, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the fifth of Mopsheus, i.e. the Peripatetics; they affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all Greece. They are very pugilistic, that he was prime minister to Alexander, the son of Philip, and, in conformity of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings and moral maxims under his name. Ben Caffan informs us, that Artaxerxes composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at taken notice of by any of the Greek writers. Its title runs thus; A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle; which, Ben Caffan says, he dedicated to Alexander the Great. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the ancient Persians, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the Arabs.

But to return to Alexander, Mirkhond, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the eft of Persia under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the Indies, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of Heri, or Herat, and Samarkand; he reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the Persian learning, cauèd three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into Greek, the first relating to physic, the second to erudition, the third to the map of the world.


look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a Greek writer: "At fourteen years old, says this excellent writer, those who were called the royal preceptors among the Persians take charge of the children of the crown; they are in number four, the most renowned persons in the kingdom for wisdom, justice, temperance, and valour; the first of these teaches the magic of Zoroaster, the son of Ormazdes; he should have said the worshipper, for Ormazdes was the name of God; and teach also the royal institutions. "And as to the modern Persians, whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely as government as we. For example, the famous poet Sabdy wrote an express treatise on this subject, called the Use of Slaves, in which he among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these: "It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and not to oppress the rich; the felicity of a state depends on the good sense and right disposition of the rulers. The well-provided, he says, depends on his administering justice impartially; prosperity follows security, and will be where that is. If a country is once known to be secure, merchants will reform thither; the gain from these will be large, and all temporal blessings will abound. If the country become rich, the king cannot well be poor, and besides, at the last day he shall be recompensed amply by God for so well discharging his duties, whereas he who acts in a contrary manner will in every respect meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to merchants and publick ministers, that strangers being well received may carry a good report of you into your own country; soon will that kingdom fall within the toils of strangers are afflicted; be wise therefore, ufe the traveller well, that wherever he goes he may speak well of you. The prince ought to have more of his eyes this maxim, domination really belongs to God, and he has no certainty how long it shall be delegated to him; he ought likewise to remember, that the country he rules was given by God to the people who inhabit it, to the end he may not be misled by false ideas of things that have no solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not perhaps last five days. It is reported of the caliph Aaron Kofki, that he one day said to the famous Belaud his Brother, Give me some good advice; he answered, There is nothing to be carried out of this world into the other but good and bad works; it is in your power to carry which load you please. This Belaud was a very knowing man, who, that he might have the more leisure to attend his studies, would never marry. The caliph his brother asked him another time for his advice, how he might govern his people for their advantage and his own; and the sage answered, Let your decrees, though they become laws through their apparent equity, and never make reason yield to your will; prevent as far as you can requests, give little to such as ask, but think of giving in time to such as merit and do not ask; the king is the head; the people are the body of the state; if the king is either ignorant or wicked, the head will devour the body with its teeth. The government of an empire is an affair which requires a genius attentive and collected, and a heart which turns itself continually towards the Most High God to invoke his aid, that its owner may turn his feet, his hand, his tongue, and his pen aright; and the king who acts thus God will undoubtedly endue with the grace to conserve his empire and his piety (πλευρία)." It is evident from these citations, that the Persians have at present, and have always had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects, and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings as well as great actions of the famous kings.
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the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he divided, says the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a short and glorious life, ended his days at Babylon in the thirty-sixth year of his life, and seventeenth of his reign, leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains, who were distinguished by the Arabsians and Persians with the title of Molekch al Shariayt, i.e. the kings of nations or families. The Persians likewise take notice of Alexander's brother Arideous, whom they title Aridon, and generally speaking make him the son instead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the Greeks, in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire, but they soften this account, by pretending that he deplored grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from Aristotle to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

We...

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that Mirkhond might have inferred this story of Alexander's cause of war, to be translated out of the Perse language into Greek, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be impossible to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that Alexander was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and, secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever it might be useful to the commonwealth of learning in Greece; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in Babylonia. But as Mirkhond has set down the subjuncts of the books, which he alleges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indubitably better understood in Persia than in Greece. First, as to physics, if we consider the prescriptions of Hippocrates and other ancient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not a few from Persia; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of those places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of Zerdijaff, there is a treatise which bears the title of Buzdij-namn, i.e. the book of physicist, which is said to treat entirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been a very skilful in this matter, that Sharifian in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have often quoted, attributes expressly all the miracles Zerdjaff is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inspired, he knew all things, if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treated on physic among the Persians well worth Alexander's directing to be put into Greek. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were very well known to the people, when they were very little known to the Greeks, and that from the testimony of the Greeks themselves it is true, that the modern Persians stand indebted for most of their knowledge in these sciences to the writings of the Greeks, which are translated into Arabick and Persians; but the reason of this is plain, that the ancient books relating to the arts of science were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the light of many; those precious only in the eyes of few. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by Mirkhond, it was the dazzling flub of the ancient Persians, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered.

Mortality is the subject of the book, intituled Guiran Grand, addressed to Hisfajia, a king far older than Zerdjaff. Mortality was the subject of most of Zerdjaff's writings, as we gather from such fragments of them as we have seen, and especially from the book Sa'd-derh, which, though it relates to the evil of moral sentence as are to be found in Digenes Laetorius's lives of the philosophers. To these arguments in favour of the learning of the ancient Persians we may add the amazing loss of science visible in the modern Persians; for we can hardly account for it on any other way than by their mixing with the ancient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their stores, since they far exceed the Turks, and indeed all the eastern nations, in their affection for learning, as a proof of which we shall adduce the reigning maxim in their schools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our universities: Doubting is the beginning of science; he who doubts nothing disdains nothing; he who examines nothing discovers nothing; he who discovers nothing is blind, and must remain blind. An extraordinary affection for mystic theology seems to have been the reigning passion of the ancient Persians, and of the Persians at the latter there is a feel filled Scyph or Saphi, who professes themselves admirers of the Pythagorean philosophy, Pythagoras, as we believe, is generally, and not without good grounds, supposed to have been the scholar of Zerdjaff, and the latter there has learned from him those raised notions with which these men are charmed. To describe the notions of the Saphi in few words, we must say, that, according to their own account, they are quiets or entaphati; in the vulgar alogia. They fall often and to excess, they pretend to eclogies and conversations with God. They profess themselves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are fixed. They have a remarkable aversion for church-men. In considering perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy shew towards them, Sir John Car- din gives us a whimical influence of this: he says he was present, when a preacher at Saphi told the people in a sermon that the Saphi were atheists, that they desired to be burnt, and that he who killed one of these felt did an action more pleasing in the light of God, than if he faved the lives of other men. As soon as he came out of the pulpit, five or six Saphi, who were among his audience, was he heard him heartily, and when our author intre- posed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them answered briskly; but Ought a fellow who praches up murder content of a beating? (54)}

(54) Chardin. Voyages, tom. iii. p. 211.
We have now conducted the history of the Persian empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of Alexander the Great; in our next period we shall see it revive again, under a prince descended from their ancient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native Persians in Tezægerb; but before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these Persian monarchs, and the years generally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the ancient historians must be condemned in the lump. Borus, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inferred many fabulous narrations in his Babylonian antiquities. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and innumerable others will share the same fate with Mirkand and the rest of the Persian writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the Persian history, that if a critic's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consideration, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing, that the ancient Medes and Persians were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the file of these records, we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passagio cited in relation to a conspiracy against Ahasuerus in the book of Esther; and from all these it is plain, though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbole or romantic. But these records are not more; what we have now is taken from Maboniedan writers, who have certainly altered the old Persian history, and digested it according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more ancient and plain accounts of the old Persian empire, have taken up with the romance written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes, which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose, that strangers, born with a contempt for the Persians, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe, that those who, in consequence of the religion themselves professed, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that these writers have made many other alterations, when we find them afflicting of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not Magians, but true believers, i.e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the Persian monarchs from Keyonaras to Tezægerb were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of Persia remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every ancient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the Tartars written, by Abu l'Ghazzi Babador Khan of Khosrowzam, from records the most ancient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen Khans between Beriziza Khan and Khud Khan, though, according to his history, there intervened 2,500 years between those princes: and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended.
defended; we only allude, that they are not more preposterous than the numbers which are met with in other historians, who are notwithstanding allowed to have some truth in their works. This confession we hope will procure us some favour, and pave the way to those amendments which we shall offer in due time. But, secondly, it may be objected, that our Persian history from the oriental writers, being in most respects directly opposite to the history in the foregoing fiction, which is extracted from the Greek writers, one of the two must be rejected, since opposites can never be alike true. To this we may say, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow, that the Persian history from the Greeks is frequently to be preferred to this, and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in support of this demand has been already laid on account of Xerxes’s expedition, the life of Zoroaster, and the death of Darius. Besides, as we have before observed, the Greeks differ among themselves, nay, there is not one author amongst them, who in speaking of the Persian affairs may not be proved to have been mistaken in several points, even from his own works. As for instance, Herodatus, who in one part of his history makes them worshippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chattelers of them; add to this, that the Greeks, like all other writers, were notoriously partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the Persians; so that on the whole what we ask will not appear very unreasonable, especially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleases. But, thirdly, it may be objected, that these accounts, being opposite to what is recorded by the Greek writers, and having no authority to support them but their reputed antiquity, ought for this reason to be rejected, since true history is always supported by concurrent testimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the strength, however, of this objection, which is the last, and perhaps the most plausible of all that can be offered against the foregoing series of facts, will be effectually weakened from the following considerations, which we had no opportunity of inferring in the body of the work. First, amongst those writers which are best known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Amongst the Greek historians the history of the Medes and Persians ascends, as we have shown, very little higher than Cyrus, if we except what Diodorus Siculus has transcribed from Ctesias (A), which has

(A) We have so often mentioned Ctesias and his works in the course of this fiction, that there seems to be a necessity of our giving a short account of this author and his works, to render those remarks we have had occasion to make perfectly plain and clear. Ctesias lived thirty or forty years after Herodatus; he was by profession a physician, and seems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken prisoner by Artaxerxes Monomachus, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought against his brother Cyrus. He refixed six or seven years in the Persian court, and, though the favour he was in there, had leave to peruse the royal chronicles and those authentic histories of which we have so often spoken. From these he compiled in XXIII books the history of the ancient empires of Aegypt, Media, and Persia, which history of his he brought into Greece, where it was received with the greatest applause. Diodorus Siculus, to whom we are as much indebted as to any ancient author whatever, has transcribed into his bibliothec the substance of Ctesias’s first four books, after having given us the following character of their author: *Ctesias the Cnidian was later than Herodatus, for he flourished at the time of Cyrus’s expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, in which being taken prisoner, he was, for his skill as a physician, received into Artaxerxes’s favour, in whose court he lived in much esteem among authors. Fourteen years. During that space he digested into a regular history whatever he found worthy of notice in the Persian chronicles, wherein, by a fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable actions were expressly recorded; and this history was brought into Greece (55) Diodorus in the very place from whence we have quoted his passage, prefers Ctesias to Herodatus, as he does in most other places of his book where he cites either of them, in order to make perfectly plain and clear the events of the Persian wars. He assures young Cyrus, quotes this writer with applause (56). Plato agrees with him as to the power of the ancient Affrian empire (57). Aristophanes also commends him (58), and in a word almost all the ancient authors who have been written in Greek prefer him to Herodatus. The very learned patriarch of Cosmogonia And Ptolemaeus has preferred in his bibliothec an abridgment of this author’s Persian history, before which he premises, that this writer differed not a little from Herodatus, and even from Xenophon, who was universally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the east, and particularly of those of Persia, than any of the Greeks; but so it is, that Xenophon, as well as Ctesias, has been accused of mingling fiction with true history, because he has not represented the Persians as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in sensuality and sloth, according to the usual custom of their countrymen. Besides his Persian history, Ctesias wrote also an Indian history wherein, it is generally agreed, there are a great many fictions of fable; this Indian history of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and seems to be the true source of those fabulous stories which at this day are so much commended, having piled on this famous historian. Ptolemy at the end of his abridgment gives us this character of the writer we are speaking of: ‘*The life of Ctesias, says he, though it is extremely noble and simple, is far from being unpleasing; he uses the..."
Chap. ii.

The History of the Persians.

1 has been generally exploded by the critics. With respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontra
ticted. The first race of Per\fian kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix besides, unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of Ajyanian monarchs contrived by Annius of Viterbo; and as to writers of a later date, our Per\fian history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the Tartars, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of oriental writers do, from Turk the eldest son of Jaf\fber, he proceeds thus: "Turk was a man of superior genius, having been the first who invented many of the conveniences of life; he made himself tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence in a place called at present Jachkoll, he had four sons: 1. Taunak; 2. Zakale; 3. Benjotsar; 4. Atulak." At his death he appointed his son Taunak for his successor, who became a very rich and ingenious prince, author of many fine inventions.

It happened one day, that Taunak, having gone on a hunting and killed much game, ordered a piece to be roasted; but when he was just going to eat some of it, he by chance let a bit drop upon the ground, and having taken it up and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by reason of a grain of salt that had stuck to it; which having given him to understand, that this land was impregnated with salt, he sent himself to improve this discovery, and became the first inventor of the use of salt, no one before him having known what salt was, or that it could be used for various culinary purposes. The king then appointed him in succession to his son. Taunak, who lived many years, and before his death appointed his son Dibbockin Chan to succeed him. Dibbockin Chan lived also a long time, and disposed of the succession before his death to his son Kajak Chan, who reigned a great length of years, and had for his successor after his death his son Alianza Chan. From the days of Jap\fbin and his descendants to the time of Alianza Chan, the true religion was preserved, and during the reign of this prince his subjects lived in a profound peace, having great abundance of all sorts of riches. From this passage it is evident, that the records of Tartary mention this keyomanas just where the Persian historians place him; and it is likewise plain, that the belief of the


P. 1. ch. ii. p. 6.

The Magian, filled by the Greek writers Smerdis, is by him called Spheleptolites; he computes his reign to have lasted only seven months, and so have been thin by seven comparitors.

Darius, the son of Hystaf\pos, reigned thirty-one years, and his son Xenocris.

Xenocris had to wife Amyris; his children were Darius, Hystaf\pos, Artaxerxes, Sheomeladi, Ardunia, Amyris, and Rhodiana; this king was slain by Artaxerxes and Spargites.

Artaxerxes, his wife's name was Dannaplia; he reigned forty-two years, left but one legitimate son, viz. Xenocris, but seventeen by concubines, of whom Sygraphic and Ochus afterwards succeeded him.

Xenocris the second, he held the regal dignity forty-five years and was destroyed by a conspiracy.

Syraphicus, after a reign of six months and twenty-five days, was smothered in a well.

Ochus, called also Darius, married Parasti, he reigned thirty-five years, and had the following children, viz. Artaces, Cyrus, Artaxages, Ochus, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at Bactra.

Artaxerxes, this is the same prince whom the Greek writers fill Artaxerxes Mammon; he overcame his brother Cyrus, his wife's name was Statira; and in his time Cogris refuted in Persia, and compiled his history (65).

the true religion is reported by the same records to have remained unaltered in these countries, which is exactly what our Persian writers say; the same author agrees with them in many other things, such as making Sam, i.e. Sham, and his descendants the original inhabitants of Iran or Persia, and in acknowledging Huiszhangh, the grandson of Keyomaras his successor; he relates likewise the wars carried on by the descendants of Turk against the monarchs of Iran, and proportions the reigns of those Khans to the reigns of the kings of Persia mentioned in the foregoing history. In Dr. Hyde’s learned book of the religion of the ancient Persians, there are many Arabic and other historians quoted in support of such passages of the antient Persian history, as he has occasion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all these oriental historians have delivered ought to be taken on trust; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does also those of the Greek writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that entire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likeliest method for attaining truth is to read and compare both. Secondly, the whole series of ancient history teaches, that in the most remote ages of the world these countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the Persian history and other oriental authors affirm; so that we must either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of these eastern countries being first and most fully peopled, or we must admit, that these accounts are probable, if it were in respect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the ancient Persians, those poor disconsolate creatures who are now called Persians, as so many living witneses of the truth of this history. We can no way avoid our belief to this proposition, that the religion they profess is the very same which their ancestors held in the reign of Tezdegherd; and if so, we must trace this religion from their accounts, those of their conquerors, and such as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the Persians, as well those in India as those which still remain in their own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by Keyomaras, reformed by Zerdaust, and so continued till the dissolution of the empire of the native Persians. The modern Persians, and the Arabic historians, acknowledge these facts to be so; they are likewise admitted by such of the oriental Christian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that there is not so much in this third objection as at first sight there may seem; but that, considering the nature of the thing, this history has as strong evidence in its favour as any other history of equal antiquity, excepting that of the Hebrews, a proposition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto prosecuted with no small pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of some deviations in this fiction from our ordinary method, and of frequent recaptillations of facts, which have drawn this fiction to an extraordinary length; but at the same time we hope it will be observed, that this is a subject that hath hitherto been confused, a scene of confusion, wherewith little was expected; if therefore it has cost an unusual trouble to give it some form, it ought to be excused, since translations of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing Chaos, wherein there was first motion, and then light. The first is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental histories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchemy, been defiled as trifles by some, and esteemed as treasures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our business to bring them here, to place them in the view of our English reader in the best method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

Hyde, H. R. vet. P. in Pref.
A Map of the Migrations and Settlements of the Celtes, or Gomerians, and Scythians, and the latter in Asia.

Europe

Unknown to the Antients

Sarmatia

Atra

Sarmatia in Europe

Scythia

Celtica

Galicia

Imaum

Sarmatia

Intra

Extrum

Sarmatia

China
A Map of the Migration of the Ithians
C H A P. XII.

The History of the Scyths and Gomerians, their Migrations into Europe, under the several names insinuated in the Margin *.

S E C T. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scyths and Gomerians, considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.

These two nations are so blended in ancient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by ancient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from Gomer †, the eldest son of Japhet. This fact we have also proved to have been the eldest son of Noah *, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that God would enlarge his borders †, upon which account Moses observes immediately after, that the isles of the Gentiles, by which is understood Europe, was divided by, or among, his posterity ‡. This perhaps is what induced Bereges and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle Gomer’s children in Italy, Afteritis, Bifay, and other parts of Europe, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring Gomer into Gaul, Tabal into Spain, Ashenaz into Germany, and Magog into Sweden or Denmark §. These precipitate migrations (and sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility ¶ (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of Asia. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, accidental discord, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out further on all sides towards Europe and northern Asia, whilst the descendants of Shem and Ham enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of Asia and Africa, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of Gomer, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in Asia, their migrations thence into Europe, their successive fluctuations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into Asia in process of time, where they gave names

† See before, Vol. I. p. 166. & seq. † Ibid. p. 117. d. e. * GENES. ix. 27. ‡ Ibid. x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 116. c. "PEERON. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. ¶ Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. p. 1. c. 8. feb. 5. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. PEERON. ubi sup. § (A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose, that they separated themselves from the rest before the general dispersion at Babel; and if immediately after, how little time ever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabric, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 5000 miles, thro’ woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far Sir WalterRawleigh has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It was still more monstrous to suppose, that they could come into Europe by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.
names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused much confusion in ancient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distinct migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary to examine, in the first place, whether the Scythians and the Goerians, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such a previous inquiry, we shall find their names, countries, and exploits so confused, that it would be next to impossible to fettle their geography, or understand their history, with any satisfactory clearness.

We have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point; which seems chiefly to be owing to these two causes. 1. That some of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other names than that of their progenitor; and 2. That prophane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in several parts of Asia as well as Europe, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same nation under different names, or of two distinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the Scythians and when of the Celts or Goerians. At least it is evident, that Herodotus, Ptolemy, Hecataeus, 

"fjistn ț, to name no more, have called the Scythians, who remigrated into Asia by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which, upon closer examination, are found to have belonged to the Celts or Goerians, whom they had driven thither out of their European territories. An accurate ancient geographer tells us, that the old Greek historians gave the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a considerable part of them were properly Celts or Goerians. And in the same book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the Caspian sea, which should be the Scythians, were by the same Greek historians called some Sacks, and others Moisogeeters, though the former of these names, at least, belonged only to the Celts, as we shall shew in its proper place.

For these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters, under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which, and the silence of the sacred books, Josephus's authority has been more universally received both by ancient fathers and modern authors; who affirm, the Celts and Gauls to be descended from Genev, and the Scythians from Magog his next brother; and we think very justly too. As to the first, there is not the least reason to doubt of it; for, besides the testimony of the Jewish historian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithstanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which seem rather to have been given to them by other nations than affirmed by themselves; they have still preserved their original name of Genev, or Cymra, or descendents of Genev, and retain it to this day in all those countries where the Celtic or Goerian language is preserved; which is therefore called Cymræg or Cymbræg, that is, the language of Genev.

To all this we may add the concurrent testimony of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, or rather Chorazan, Mela, and others, who mention them under the


(B) By these names we mean, not only those which were a palpable corruption of their original one, such as Cymbrians, Commierians, Conmierians, and the like; but those of Celts, Guals, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, and perhaps also those of Scythians, Celto-Scythians, Celtiberians, and some others; all which, if we may guess at them by their etymons, seem to have been given to them, some out of compliment and on account of their value, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incursions, plunder, and conquests. That the word Celts, in Greek seltev, or kattene, signifies foremen in Homer and Pindar, might be given them on account of their great expertise in horsemanship (1).

The History of the Celts.

The names of Conamrians, Camarians, Chomarians, Cymbrians, Gomerians, and such like, all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of Gomerian 1. We have likewise the authority of some ancient fathers, who agree, that Gomer was the father and founder of the Gomerian, called afterwards Celts, Galatians, and Gauls 2. And if all this be not enough to prove the Celts to be derived from Gomer, we shall add another pregnant argument out of Claudines, who proves, that the ancient Celtic nation, which according to him included the regions of Italic, Germany, Galicia, Spain, the Britannic and other northern isles, did all speak the same language, which could be no other than the Gomerian, or the language of Gaul, which had been universally preferred among all his descendants, as we shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall add at the bottom some authentic monuments, which the warlike descendants of Gomer and his brethren have left in their various settlements, which still more corroborate what we have said concerning their origin, migrations, and settlements (C).

We are as well acquainted with the Scythian nation, with respect to these two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain-head, and to dispel that obscurity which we find in ancient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the Gomerians. However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of Josephus, who affirms them to be descended from Magog above-mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns 3. For first, we find some ancient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers Structus and Tsael, in the neighbourhood of his brother Gomer, in the regions of Heres, where they planted themselves after the dispersion (D). Secondly, As they spread themselves towards Europe, and Gomer’s descendants turned towards the north-west, those of Magog may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north-east into both Scythian, where we find some plain foot-steps of their progenitor, besides the name of Mogoli, which was that of the ancient Motorcetes and Tartarians.


Another author (2) derives that word, and that of Gaul, from the Celtic, in which both signify a warlike man. Bocchat conjectures, that they were called Gouls and Gulatians from the redness of their hair (3).

That of Titans may either allude to it, as it was a name of the fune, whose etymology can no where be so aptly found as in the Celtic, which in Et or Ter, signifies a House, and Tan, or Tanu, Fire, and both together, The House of fire. Some, however, fetch it from the Celtic Yit, which in that as well as in the Hebrew, signifies dust or dirt; or that Ter, shall signify the same as terrenae, or children of the earth or dust. This last etymology, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to imply the baseless of their origin, as that of Sackt, which signifies thievish and plunderers, was given them on account of their living chily by that trade. That of Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtibaria, or Spain, might be degenerated to distinguish those Celte on that, from those of this, fide of the Pyrenes, as we shall further occasion to chew in another note. For thus we find Galia or Gaul divided into Cit and Frans apsiva, and the word Heria terms derived from the old Celtic and Touwine Ber, which signifies far (4); and thus Spain, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into Guerios and Ulterior.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, because they were ignorant of the Celtic, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(2) Thus the Gomer leaves their name to the Albanian mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleasant plains of Pyrgia; and to a city of this province, which in Playe’s time was still called Gourmis. After, Gomer’s son gave him to the Sinn Abanosia, to a lake, and river of the same name, and in the latter Pyrgia to a city and province, and to the Eufala Abanosia.

From Raphis, another of his sons, we have the Rhiphaean nation and country, since called Pudiangonia, and from Tygera, his youngest son, whom the Greek version calls Girnai and Typana, the Tyrgans or Tyrens of Capadocia and Pontus; all these the reader may further see in the learned Bocchat (5).

In like manner Mogg, Mezech, and Tahol, whose bands are joined together by the prophet (6), have left their names to several countries bordering upon those of Gomer; as Magog to the Gogarans, Mezech, or, as he is called by the ancients, Mezech, to the mountains Mechites between Celtic and Aminna; and mentioned by Ptolomy, Pity, and Metchi; as the reader may see it further proved in Bocchat above quoted.

(3) Of this kind are the provinces of Moggus or Mongus, Congiga, Gogwu, and some others; and the cities of Gynu, Angi, Gergauai, and Geigai in Tartary (6).

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Tartarians (E); and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of Magogli, the son of Magog. To these we may add, Thirdly, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of Cog and Magog, as that of the barbarous Scythians; upon all these accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with Josephus to derive them from that patriarch.

Having thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of ancient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from Asia into Europe, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember, that we formerly settled Gomer, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of Phrygia; Afrenaeus his eldest son, or, according to the Armenians, Tagaranhis his young-est, or, it may be, both of them, in Armenia; and Riphab his second son in Capcadacio; or, in some province in the neighbourhood of Phrygia. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of palture for their numerous herds; even when they began to spread themselves further and wider into Europe, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a letteled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the Gomerians, who had taken the lead, intially spreading themselves westward, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and to quite up to Spain, whilst the Scythians, or descendants of Magog, moved to the right, and thencewards, towards Moesisy and Tertiary, as far as the borders of Cathais, if not beyond.

Thus was all Europe, and the far greater part of Asia, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the Celts or Gomerians, that is from the utmost parts of Spain to Scythia Europeana eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of China, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 19th degree west of the 8th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the arctic circle.

Upon the whole then, it appears, that the first rank belongs to the noble Celtic nation, as descended from the elder brother, tho' the preference has been given to the Scythians by the universal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted, that their progenitor was Gomer's younger brother. Scytharum gens antiquissima was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the Celts, who claim it on account not only of their elder ship, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both.

S E C T.

(1) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of Europe in which these are not mentioned by ancient geographers and (2) historians, under the names of Gomerians, Cimbrians, Celts, Celto-Celtians, Celti-Scythians, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for Iberia or Spain, Josephus doth indeed affirm, that it was first peopled by the Tubalians, or sons of Tubal or Tobbal, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of Japhet (9). On the other hand, Sir Walter Raleigh thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the Africans, who did from their very conceit such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the name of Celti, given to that province, and that of Celthians or Celtio-therians to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the Celts were the first people of it, especially if we consider, that the name of Theris signifies in the old Celtic and Teutonic, water, or, on the other hand, as we hinted in a former note. So that the Celthians might mean only the Celts on the other side of the Pyrenees, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of Spain might invite the Celts from the more northern climates of Europe, than that the Africans could come thither fo early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous Spagio tradition, which makes Tobbal to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of St. Paul, which is still standing at this day (12).

(3) Vid. I. c. 2.
(4) Vid. I. c. 3.
(5) Vid. I. c. 4.
(6) Vid. I. c. 5.
(7) Vid. I. c. 6.
(8) Vid. I. c. 7.
(9) Vid. I. c. 8.
(10) Vid. I. c. 9.
(11) Vid. I. c. 10.
(12) Vid. I. c. 11.
The History of the Celts, under the names of Gomerians, Cymmerians, Cymbrians, Celtes, Gauls, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, &c.

We have already spoken of the migrations of these sons of Gomer, from Asia into Europe, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the left faction; wherein we observed their regular progress from Phrygia their first settlement, through Thrace, Hungary, Germany, Gallia, Italy, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of Spain. In this large European tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the Sabinians and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of Gallia and Gallatia, whilp themselves did retain their own ancient name of Gomer, or Gomerians. As for those of Cymmerians, and Cymbrians, &c., which seems only a corruption of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the Celts, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of Europe, above thewine sea and the north of the Danube, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of Germany now known by the name of Holstein was called Cymbria Kerkowfus. The names of Titans, and Sacks were given only to those of left Asia, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of Europe by those of Celts and Gauls (A). The name of Galatians, &c., was given them also by the Greeks, but it is plain, it meant the same with the Gauls, and accordingly ancient authors make them descended from the same father, namely Gomer. It was not, however, in this tract of ground they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalized their names in several parts of both the higher and lower Asia, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of Gomerians and Gomarites, as well as those of Sacks and Titans, in those parts, among ancient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of Celts, after their spreading themselves into Europe, as will more fully appear by the sequel. But those early exploits are so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too strenuously upon them. At the most, it is plain, that these Asiatic conquests did not remain long enough in their possession to deserve a place in this geography of their country. Those exploits will be best resumed in the history of those nations with whom they had to do. Whilp we confine their territories at present within those limits of Europe, in which we can speak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

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(B) We must not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the Jews with bringing Gomer and his armies against them from the north quarters (3), he seems to intimate, that there were still some of the descendants of that patriarch settled in some of the northern parts of higher Asia even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till some years after the Babylonish captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into Palestine, of which we shall speak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find Ptolemys placing the Cymmerians and Cymbrians as two distinct nations, though originally the same; the first with Cymmer, their supposed metropolis, in Bactria along the south banks of the river Oxus; and the latter a little further north in the province of Segestaia (1). Melis, though he differs somewhat from Ptolemys in their situation, doth

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(1) Vid. 1. (2) Vid. Pessin, Ch. ii. (3) Ezek. xxxviii, 6. (4) Pess. lib. vi. c. 11. & 15.
It is not easy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the Celts from the European Scyths, for the reasons given in the last section. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At present we shall only observe, that the former extended from the Danube, their supposed boundary, to the farthest part of Spain and Portugal, reaching at least three degrees from east to west, that is from that famous river to Cape Finistere. It was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean sea, and west and north-west by the western and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the Hyperborean or frozen sea, or only to the Baltic, we presume not to say. The last, however, seems most probable, for reasons we shall give in the history of Scythia. For it is probable, they did not advance towards Sweden, Denmark, and the other more northern regions, till they found themselves too frighted in the more pleasant climates of the south, which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into Europe. However, it is certain, that in the time of Julius Caesar, not only they, but also the northern islands of Britain, Ireland, and even Iceland, were inhabited, and made part of the Celtic Gallia. As for the southern islands on the Mediterranean, such as Sicily, Corzica, Majorca, and others, we need not doubt, but they were much sooner peopled than those on the northern ocean.

So considerable was the Celtic nation, even in Augustus Caesar's time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur and shrunken into much narrower limits; that it contained no less than sixty great people, distinguished by the names of cities or districts according to Strabo. Tacitus says 64, but this is nothing to Josephus, we reckon the number of these nations about 315, or to Appianus, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they must have made before that time, may be guessed by that notable expedition they made into Italy, in the time of Tarquin the elder, that is almost 600 years before Christ, when Bellovosus, having penetrated through the Alps, with a numerous army, did in a short time invade a great part of Italy, called from them Gallia Cisalpina. For this and their succeeding exploits against that province, and their conquest of its metropolis, we may justly look upon it as part of the Celtic or Gallic territories, tho' we should grant it to have been originally peopled by some other nation than the descendants of Gomer. But this doth not seem to us to be the real cause, for though we have already sufficiently discomfancened the fable of Berossus, who brings Gomer into Italy so soon after the flood; yet it is much more likely, that his descendants were the first that peopled it with the rest of Europe, it being impossible so fine a country should escape them in their progressive migration, than to suppose, that either Kittim the son of Javan or his descendants were got thither before them. To make this still more probable, we must remind our readers of two things, namely, that the Umbrians were by many ancient authors esteemed the most antient people in Italy. And Pliny in the place last quoted tells us, that when the Hetrurians entered that country, and made war against the Umbrians, they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves, that they must have been there a considerable time. Our observation is, that the Umbrians are affirmed by other ancient historians to have been the descendants of the Gauls or Celts. And if it be so, it will be more reasonable to believe, that these Gauls or Umbrians had already passed the Alps and settled themselves in Italy, long before Saturn's time, since we find, that he made no scruple to go and take refuge amongst them, and was courteously received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the sons of Javan, or, as others pretend, that the Arcadians, their supposed descendants, could come thither so early by sea; they who are only famous for their pastoral life, and consequently to unacquainted with navigation. (C). If ever therefore either of these did possess

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(a) Annal. i. 3. (b) Bell. Jud. i. 2. c. 16. (c) Vid. REYNECC. ap. RAWLEY Hist. lib. ii. c. 24. (d) Sid. i. 2. (e) FLORUS lib. i. c. 17. Plin. i. iii. c. 14. (f) DIONYS. HILIC. i. c. 8. com. Serv. in Virgil. (g) SOLIN. cx Boicho. Isidor. & al. ap. PEKZON. c. 10.

...
The History of the Celtes.

Chap. 12.

The Celtes, as some have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and some intricate testimonies from ancient authors, is more reasonable to suppose to have been of later date, and that they drove the greatest part of the Celtes out of it over the Alps; and this may be the reason of their making so many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

Plutarch, indeed speaking of the Gallic or Celtic nation, tell us, that some of them paling over the Riphean mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern sea, the extreme or the northern parts of Europe, whilst others remained in the south parts, between the Pyrenees and the Alps. Where he adds, that having tafted of the wine that came out of Italy, they marched over the Alps, under the conduct of a malecontent, named Arvon, and conquered those territories which had been till then held by the Iustians. But the name of Celiterus, by which Spain was antiently known, and that of the Celtic promontory, now Cape Furfur or Finisfer, the utmost verge of Spain westward on the one hand, and of Gallia Togata or Cifalpins on the other, including near one third part of Italy westward, shews nothing less than their having confined themselves within the limits of these two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of these Celtic names, or if he did, that he thought the Celtes had been only the invaders of those two provinces, rather than the first inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have shewn by this time to be at least the more probable of the two.

Upon the whole then, the ancient territories of the Celtes extended themselves east and west, from the head-spring Ilper or Danube, which divided them from the European Sarmata (E), quite cross Europe unto Cape Finfir and the sight of Hercules now Gibraltar, and contained the following provinces, namely, Sisius, now Spain and Portugal; Gallia 1 or Celto-galatia, now France, with the low countries; Germany as far as the Danube eastward and Denmark northward; Belgia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, since Switzerland, Savoy, and Lombardy, and the Gallia Cigalpins or Togata, containing that part of Italy, now Piedmont, the duchies of Milan, Parma, Mantua, &c. and the republics of Venice and Genoa, besides the southern and northern islands of Europe, which we have lately had occasion to mention.

These extensive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before Julius Caesar’s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the Alps and Pyrenean mountains from east to west; by the Mediterranean on the south; and by the Rhine and British ocean on the north and east. In Caesar’s time we find it still limitted by all that tract which lies between Geneva and the Alps, which had been sometime before added to the Roman empire, over and above the Gallia Cigalinsa lately mentioned, which they had invaded in Tarquinian Priscus’ time, and advanced almost as far as the middle of Italy. This Gallia, thus curtailed, was called Ceneta. Caesar divided it into three nations, namely Belgae, Aquitanis, and Celtes or Gauls (F). But by this time a great part of the Celtic territories had been diminished.


snort of the same import with that of Aborigines or Terrigenae, out of the same Gentile, we would not venture to affirm after Peucer, seeing it is capable of another signification, as we shewed in a former note. We may say in general, that the surnames of the various names of Italy are manifoldly forced, as Latium from late to be hid, because Saturn sheltered himself there, and Italy from the Greek Ilithos or the Arcadian Elatos (G). Upon the whole thing, though we will not allow it to have been peopled at first by the Umbrians above mentioned, and these to have been a colony of the Celtes or Comarians; must be contented to remain in the dark about it. (D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in Spain and Italy, which are met with in all the ancient geographers,

(E) Herodotus says much the same thing, though in other words, when he tells us (q), that the Ileraths its spring in the land of the Celteis, and traversing the European regions enters obliquely into the borders of Spain. (F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the Romans. Thus we find also the Gallia Cigalata called Togata from the long robes, and the Ulterior or Transalpine Bracconata from the breaees which were worn by its inhabitants.

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differed from it; as Spain, which had passed from the Cartaginians to the Romans; the Gallia Narbonensis, which was become a province of the Roman empire, and included all the southern provinces of Gallia along the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Alps; this last contained at least Gascony, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the Celts had left in Europe, though Cesar has made the most of them in his account of that war (G). Other divisions of Gallia, which were made by Augustus and other Roman emperors (H), after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the Roman history.

(G) By which division it is plain, that he speaks only of the Gallia which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the Celtic or Gallic nation, which still spread themselves vastly further, at least towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himself, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of those three nations, it appears, that he goes no further than his own conquests (10), so that it should seem, as if he had affected to confine himself within the limits of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the Celts, so famous both in Europe and Asia, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the same consideration, that he reckons, for instance, 16 people under the name of Belgae, namely the Belgaei, or those who belonged to the city or district of Rhenania: the Sabauds, the Cales, the Bellovi, the Noviomagi, the Atrebates or Atros, the Ambiani or Ambionis, the Matini capital of Terssino, the Menapii, or the Getes, the Aquitani, the Eburoantes; the Cattorii or tribe of the district of Corni, the Pannonic, now Vexinum, the Veromanduvi, now St. Quentin; Aquitania, now not known, and variously glossed at the Corduass, Exorciis, and Ambiani, concerning which we are also much in the dark. Now it is plain, that all this pompous list did take up little more than the third part of France and the Netherlands.

The name may be said of another third, Cesar, Aquitania, among which he reckons twelve distinct people, making up in all the galliae Armorica, so named from the Celtic word Armor, which signifies those countries which are upon the sea coast: this province in Roman times was afterwards called by the Romans Aquitanum from its mineral waters (11). And this continued at most only to the western provinces of France from the river Ligeris, now Loire, to the Pyrenees, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the Celts, to whom Cesar tells us the Romans gave the name of Gauls, their country extended only north and south from the Liguris or Loire to the Sequana or Seine, and east and west at most from Burgundy to lowest Britain, including the Gallia Belgica, part of which last was already under the Romans. But how short did all these three come of the Celtic territories, when some authors tell us, that they extended from the Pyrenees and Alps quite to the Septimius (13). When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each side of the Rhine were still called Celts (14), so that all that were on the other side of that river were out of the boundaries of the Gallia Belgica, and much more so out of those of the other three. Whether or no this Gallia Celtica was so called, and its inhabitants Celti, in Cesar's time, by any way of excellence above the rest, as the province of Holland is commonly taken for all the seven, and whether or no the other Celts were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three Gallic provinces which he subdued, one of which only he distinguishes by the Celtic name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have spoken of the Isles of Great-Britain, both as they were first inhabited, and are still in true parts, by the Celts or Cornianners, which last name, as well as the ancient language of that nation, is still preserved, especially in the north east part of Wales. But as they make so grand a figure in ancient history, from their being first planted by some colonies of that nation, their history will be better referred to another book, wherein we shall refute those of the western and northern empire according to our first plan of this work.

However, it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of Britain, which has been confounded by Comnenus and others with that of Gomor, as if they had both belonged to the same race. Thus far it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the Britains in France, who call themselves Britains, and are as great strangers to the name Gomor, as the Gomorans or Welsh are to that of Britained or Britain. It seems therefore, that those names have no lighted the stray of the Britaines coming into England and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called Britannia or Britain, which Comnenus and his followers will have to be derived from Brit painted and Tain regia because the Britains painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the Romans Picts or Painted.

It doth not appear at all probable, that if the Britains, who went out of England into France, had been the same with the Gomorans, or the inhabitants of Gomor; they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendents of Gomor did so pride themselves, for the name of Britained or Painted; much less, that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preferred by their neighbours. As if the Britains were themselves a colony of the Cornianners or Welsh, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under Britaine, or Britram, as they called them, and by others Brits, and from this name they were called Britains, and invented a considerable dominion beyond the Ganges, and it will at once account for the name, and for the great antiquity there is between the Cornianners or Welsh, and the Britains or Brits, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first. It is therefore not only more for the honour of that nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with Sir John Price (16), that these Isles were at first peopled by the ancient and warlike Cornianners, than by the conquered and fugitive Britains; for we can think, that they should have been so long unknown to the foreigners there after the dispersion; for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed

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Chap. 19.

The seas of note were the Mediterranean, the western, British, and northern ocean, and the Baltic. Their principal lake in the east territories is that of Geneva, which is upwards of twenty miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableists inriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of Serviere in high Dauphine, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day’s journey up to the Alps, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much smaller at eight or nine miles distance, and is calculated to stand near a half mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or finding out more water than a very inconsiderable stream, scarce sufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the Pyrenees and Alps, otherwise called Apenins, which are of very great length, and of such prodigious height, that they are always covered with snow of incredible hardness. The latter were supposed by Levy to others to have been called Apenins from Hannibal Peninus, but much more probably from the old Celtic word Pen a head, by reason of the exceeding height and whiteness of them. So that Apenins may be only a contraction of A Pen Gravis, white heads, as the word Alps may be derived from the Celtic Ap or Alh, white.

The chief rivers are the Rhine, which runs into Schelde and empties itself into the Ewino or Black Sea. The Rhine which springs from the mountains of Switzerland and runs through Germany and Holland into the British sea. The Steine, Loysr, and Genev, of which we have lately occasion to speak, as they divided the Gallia Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitana from each other. The Darius now Ducro, which descends from the mountains of Sierra in Afturia into the Atlantic ocean at Oporto. The Topus or Teja, which crostes great part of Spain and Portugal and falls into the same ocean below Olypis or Lisbon. The Ams now Guardiana; the Beavis or Tertes, now Guadalquivir; these two empty themselves in the gulf of Cadiz. The Ver now Ebro, which descends from the same mountains of Sierra with the Darius, but, taking a contrary course from it, runs eastward into the Mediterranean and empties itself into the gulf of Valencia. The Rhodanus or Rhone, which hath its spring from the mountains of Switzerland but descends a contrary way, and crossing the lake of Geneva, runs through the south part of France and empties itself into the Mediterranean about Marseilles; the Pedus or Po, and Adefis now Adige, which descends, the former from Piedmont and the latter from Switzerland, and fall at a small distance from each other into the gulf of Venice. Those of Italy and of the European islands will be seen in another chapter.

We shall only add, that the greatest part of the names of these and of other smaller rivers are certainly of Celtic extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus Garunna from Garus, tough, expresseth its great rapidity. Rhodonas from Rhodog, to run swiftly, implies its swift course. Arar now Saw is so called from its flowness, its descent into the Rhone being scarce perceptible. Darius or Duari from Daur, water or river, whence the name of a great many cities and towns situate near the water-side ended in Duro and Durum. Thus likewise the names of counties and districts which end in Tan, Ox, or Tain, and in the Latin Tania, as Aquitain, Britania, Lusitania, &c. are formed from the


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The Celtic Tan and Stan, a region, and imply the country of waters, of the Britons, and Lusians, which last were a Celtic people from whom came the Portuguese. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other ancient names which are palpably of the same extraction, concerning which the curious may consult the authors above named.

Natural and artificial rarities in so spacious a field would take up too much room in this history, and are so well known to the curious, that we think, they may be safely omitted, those only excepted as have some immediate relation with some remarkable facts as shall fall in the course of this history, when we come to refute it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the Litus Lapidum, otherwise the Campus Lapidum, or stony shore or field, of above a mile in length upon the coast of the Gallia Narbonensis or Languedos, where Hercules is said to have fought the giant Albion, the son of Neptune; which place is still called by the inhabitants Les Craux, from the multitude and largeness of stones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the Celtic Craig or Craats, which signifies rocks or stones.

* Vid. Camden, Brit. Lewis introduct. in hist. Britan. Pezron. antiqu. lib. iii. sub. voc. tan. & alib

Sect. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, and trade of the ancient Celtæ.

The Celtæ exceed all other nations in antiquity, their descent being, as we have seen, from Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, the eldest son of Noah, in which respect they outgo the Egyptians, Phrygians, and even the Scythians; yet it must be owned, that our knowledge of their government comes valitly short of the two first, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the flowness and length of their migrations into Europe, where we find them first settled into a spacious and regular polity. A late antiquary hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the dispersion of Babel, Gomer and his immediate descendants did prefently enter into Armenia, thence into Phrygia and Cappadocia, till at length, under the conduct of Acmen, and afterwards of his son Uranus, two warlike princes, they spread themselves further, and sent their colonies from lesser Asia even into Sparta. Cronus or Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury, or Teutot, were their three next successors; and it was this last, according to our author, who settled the Gomerians then called Titans in Europe into a regular government, gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of Celtæ and Gauls. According to this system then this Gomerian polity must have begun about the time of Terab, Abraham’s father, or even of Nabor, if Manes be admitted to have been, as some historians think, the father of Acmen; tho’ Saturn was the first who took the title of king.

All this our author brings proof for from ancient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we shall find a proper place for the history of those princes, first defined by a great part of the world; for the present we shall only observe, that nothing is more likely, than that their government was originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, since we find it in the same form even in Caesar’s time, when they had spread themselves all over Europe. Only by that time they had so far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that historian, that instead of one monarch they were divided into several petty kingdoms; and did not yield the absolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invasion from a common enemy. This is further confirmed by another historian, who tells us, that the Cimmerians or northern Gomerians, being invaded by the Scythians their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whose disagreement about defending or abandoning their country occasioned the loss of it, as well as the lives of those who resolved upon opposing the invaders. It is indeed hard to conceive, how so warlike a nation, extended over such large

* Pezron. ubi sup.
* Comment. l. 6. & al. Herodot. l. ii.

a tracks of ground, and in such a difference of climates, should continue long under one head, without splitting itself into several kingdoms; so that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preserved so much of their ancient affinity and government in Caesar's time, as to unite themselves under one head in cases of common danger.

What their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their sovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary above-mentioned, that *Mercuarius* did polich and give them laws, and by others, that *Samotheis*, otherwise called *Dis* and *Difceta*, a man of singular learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the Celtic monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the Hebrew tongue but in the Phocianian character; and that the Greeks did borrow the latter from the Celtes when they re-entered *Afra*. The mistake of these authors in affirming, that he wrote in Hebrew, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the defendants of *Heber* excepted, may be easily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the Celtic and it, of which we shall have further occasion to speak; and as to his using the Phocianian character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, since it was the most universal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the same with the Samaritan or ancients Hebrew. The reader may see what has been heretofore said upon that subject†. It is added, that he was therefore called *Saturn* of the Celtes, and that their learned men, such as their divines and philosophers, were called from him *Samotheis*. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethren the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline.

The *Curteties*, of whom we shall speak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all causes whether criminal or civil, and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it was by them excluded from afflicting at their sacred rites; after which no man dared converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even more than death itself.

Their religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worshipped the same *Religious*, gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the Celtic signifies thunder; *Mercury*, whom some authors call *Heus* or *Hefus*, probably from the Celtic *Huda* which signifies a dog, and might be the *Anebus latrinos* of the Egyptians. But *Mars* was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. It will not, however, be easy to reconcile the greatest part of their Celtic deities with what *Perun* says of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we shall shew in the sequel. All that need be said at present on that head is, that the Celtes after having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them defray their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worshipping *Jupiter*, and shewing his sepulchre at the city of *Gnusia*; for which reason, whilst *Cattamatos* calls them liars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, especially the Christian fathers, justly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How these gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be shewn, when we come to speak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour loses to inquire what gods or religion the Celtes had before they defied their kings; but since that time we find them very much addicted to all kind of superstition, divination, astrologoy, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their Curteties, since known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). There were, as Cesar tells

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(A) The Curteties were among the Tribonic Celtic what the Druids were afterwards among the Gauls, and were held in the same reverence and esteem, in- much, that the education of Jupiter was committed to them, and one of his fons was of their society. It is not easy to trace their original; and Strabo, exact and learned as he was, doth not seem to be satisfied with all he has said about them (1). Their name of Curtait seems derived from the Celtic word Curt, to *fiile* or beat one thing against another, whence the Greek *Apides*, by the transposition of a letter, which signifies the same. And this seems to have

(1) *Geogr. lib. x.*

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4 Vid. Lewis hist. Brit. cap. 2. & auct ab eo citat.
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Book I.

Learning.

tells us, the performers of sacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteemimg them too faried to be committed to writing.

Other more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their extortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, all these were written in elegant verse, and recited, or rather sung, by them upon all proper occasions. Diordus, speaking of the Celts, tells us farther, that these poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as that of organs, harps, and the like, and that they were had in such veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, if one of these poets or Bards appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting, so that their fury gave way to wisdom, and Mars to the mules. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to disbelieve what they supposed came from their gods.

These prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were reforted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth but even of other countries, innumerable, that Aribate says, that their philosophy passed from thence into Greece, and not from Greece thither. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality. But a Roman historian makes no scruple to call their religion an impious one, and as such to have been forbidden by Augustus and abolished by Claudius. Lucan is no less severe against them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the Romans bore to them; yet it must be owned, that they had some barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than those of any other animals. And Diordus tells us of another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a cimeter, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

But though they resembled the Scythians in some of their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their pastoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the Romans with following the oldest law in the world, which ever leaves to the strongest what the weaker cannot defend. And indeed so greedy were they of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they even fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them. And so sudden and violent were their onsets, that, like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people. As for the prisoners they took in war, they sold them to their


have been given them on account of their striking their shields with their jowels, which an ancient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young J uvent concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noise and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the Druids, as some pretend (3), we will not determine. If the Druids were exempt from that duty, they must have been different from the Bards, who, though in all other respects of the same order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and musical compositions. Upon this account it is, that these Bards are mentioned by Cesar (4) to have been the inventors of music and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king Bardos, whom Beroeus affirms to have reigned over the Gundi and Britanni, or Cimbri (5), from whom they were called Bards.

The Druids, some think, were so called from Beroeus's Drusus, the 4th king of the Celts, a man of uncommon learning for those days (6); but we think with Camden, that Pliny's is far more probable, who thinks, that they were so called from the Celtic word Druis or Droris, an oak (7), which term was held so fared by the Celts as well as Scythians, that they performed most of their religious rites near some large oaks, if not in oak groves, and offered no sacrifice without some leaves of oak tree. As we shall shew more fully in their
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They were also observed, that they were expert horsemens, so that, considering their martial genius and discipline, their cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing them. In other respects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to almost all other nations, and so shall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and scimitars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewise shields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the business of their poets to record the actions of those that signalized themselves in songs and stories, which were afterwards sung at their games and other solemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had such an effect upon them, that they chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than to be made prisoners. It was also their custom before a battle to observe the moon, and, if possible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not so much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a superstitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the Lacedaemonians. They used also, like other nations, to consult their priests or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, these priests used to march before them with fongs, and dances, and musical instruments, till the onset was begun; but if the augury proved otherwise, they gave such heed to it, that nothing but absolute necessity could prevail upon them to fight. Their martial laws used likewise to be written in verse, and set to some warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions, so that their very youth were versed in them, and knew the theory of military discipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They feem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inspire them with a desire of conquest and glory, and cherish the warlike temper for which they have been so famed in history. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the Romans and other European nations, will be seen in another chapter, and we shall dwell in the sequel of this, that they signalized themselves no less in Asia, both before and since their migration into Europe.

Their language, which we have already occasion to speak of, was the old Celtic or Gomerian, preferred still by the Welsh. This has been so fully proved by numberless antiquarians, that we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to them, without entering into so spacious and intricate a field. Those who are acquainted with it must readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this Gomeræg; and that, though it must be supposed to have been very much blended with the Greek, Latin, and German in process of time, yet it retains still so much of the admirable simplicity of the Hebrew grammar and construction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the same

*De his vid. CAMD. BRIT. IOACH. PERION. orig. ling. Celt. BRIER. inquir. in Orig. ling. LLOYD. DAVIES & ROBERT. GRAM. WOOTON. HICK. lexic. LEWIS & PEZRON. ubi sup. & al. mult.

(B) With respect to the Hebrew, we refer our readers to what has been said of it in the history of the Jews, and it would be endless to enumerate how many infallaces the Gomeræg, now the Welsh, doth imitate. We shall, however, give our readers some few instances of it by way of specimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The Gomeræg is so near akin to the Hebrew, that an antiquary (8), who was master of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a considerable number of phrasas out of the Old Testament, which are so alike in both, that they seem to have been originally the same, and their difference to be only owing to divinity of time and place, and other such-like causes, by which a language is naturally altered. It distinguishes the cafe like the Hebrew, but by different terminations as the Greek and Latin, but by prepositive articles: 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the preposition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it sometimes a harder, sometimes a softer sound, more for the sake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aspirations and gutturals, which

same tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the Arabic, seem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would be, that the Germans should be the only people that have preferred their own in such purity, whilst the Jews, and all other nations, have suffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former having still preferred themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, chusing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? And as this at once inspired them with an overweening value of themselves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preferring them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neighbours?

It were labour lost to endeavour to find out what their ancient poetry was, in which their Careses and Druids recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here is to observe, that as these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the Hebrew and other eastern oracles, with bold allegories and figures, as we observed in the last note, this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their musick, of which we have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have brought it from Crete, where, having found an iron mine on mount Ida, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms, and shields, and armour; hence Sprang not only the trades of smiths and armoursmen, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the found of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, especially when the Careses were nurturing up young Jupiter, of which we have spoken already. How far they improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and household furniture, we may reasonably suppose, all those arts and manufactures that attended to it have been likewise encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find, that they used any in their food. Puffs of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the Greeks called Elinos, which we take to be same with Lim, which in the Cetic signifies mead, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and is to feasts, they eat very sparingly of it, as we observe, in the Celtic Sanc, whence perhaps the Greek ξερα or ξεϊς, and the word Sick, used by the country people in several parts of Europe to call their hogs.

Concerning

which are more or less dene like thoof the Hebreo, Arabic, Chaldaic, &c. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as Car, he loves; Car, thou lovest; Cara I love; Carum, we love; Caruh, ye love; Carum, they love.

With respect to its genius, it is strong, masculine, very poetical, and figurative, and through, perhaps more than ordinary, than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of conjunctions, yet when put into verse, and spoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the Hebrew, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquity has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (g). But we dare not be so sanguine as he in to applicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyric than the history of that nation's nation and tongue.

Here, however, the reader may find the most rational account for that surprizing affinity which the learned have found between the Cetic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, High-Dutch, and some other European and Asiatic languages, which had never all then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to ancient history, in which it seems at least highly probable, that all these were tribes or colonies of the Germans, and used the same language, till in process of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with Scythians and other nations, it split itself into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still in use among them, as may be seen by the vocabulary at the end of this author's work, and by the history itself.


Concerning, their ancient traffic we have not much to say, only when Mercury the son of Jupiter had obtained the empire of the west, that is of Europe, as we shall see in its proper place, he is said to have polished them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worshipped as the patron and protector, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as Cæfar himself affirms it. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the Scythians their younger brethren, he polished them by degrees, as to vie in most respects with all other nations in learning and polite arts, as will further appear by what we have to say of that deity under the next section.

† Comment. I. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of Mercury seems to have been given him from the Celtic Merc, mercantilia, and Ur, a man, as if he had been called by way of excellence the man, master, or founder of merchandising. That of Teutus, which he is supposed to have taken at his going or returning from Egypt, seems likewise to be of Celtic extraction, Ten Tat, signifying the father of the people, such as he was upon this and many other accounts.

S E C T. IV.

The chronology and history of the Gomerians or Celtes.

It must be owned, that all that has been said concerning the time of their migration from Asia, as well as of their most famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to say fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to settle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about these as we are about the Scythians, nothing being more confused than the history of these two nations. Sir Isaac Newton a thinks, that these two nations had already spread themselves over lesser Asia and Europe, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is about the latter end of the Israelites judges. But before that time they had signalized themselves in Asia, under the names of Sacks and Titans, and had a succession of kings. The first of which was, according to the author whom we chuse to follow, contemporary with, if not before, Terah, the father of Abraham, that is about the year of the flood 1670, according to the chronology of this history. The person we mean is the learned Porson b, who has taken greater pains, and made more considerable discoveries, concerning the Celtic nation, than any historian we know of. It were indeed to be wished, he had left less upon conjectures, and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without some solid testimonies from antiquity, and that his history of the Celts carries a greater share of probability, than any that has been attempted, concerning this ancient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conquests, and settlements. We shall upon the close of this history make some kind of apology for preferring his notion, that Uranus, Urantia, and Saturn, as well as their predecessors and successors, were Celtic princes reigning in Asia, about the times of Terah and Abraham, to that of bishop Cambrensis, who supposes his Sanchoniatho’s Chronos, or Saturn, to have been Ham the son of Noah, and so on; because it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his system carries from ancient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable history at least of those heroes, and of the Titanic and Titanic nations, divested as much as possible from the fable, and that there is at least more reason to believe, that there really were such men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

But in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations and exploits of the Gomerians in the several parts of Asia, before their spreading into Europe. For though they are mentioned by ancient geographers and historians under other names, such as Titans, Sacks, Parthians, Celtes, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the same people and the descendants of Gomer, and that these names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilist they not only preferred still

still that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

Thus then from Phrygia, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of Comarians, fixed along the river Taurus, beyond the Capinnus, quite up to the province of Bactria; the Ptolemy expressly calls Sackis, Comarians, and Curtes; his words are, the Saccis, which inhabited along the Taurus, were the Comarians and Curtes. And as we find the Saccis in the more fruitful plains of Armenia, Cappadocia, Gallogrecia, and all those provinces which lie along the Euxine sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of Asia, till their course was frit, (not by the Bactrians, who seem rather to have been of Celtic extraction, and are accordingly called Choromanniby Ptolemy, who makes Chumar to have been their metropolis), but by the Scythians, who being of Scythian race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the Comarians reached that of Bactria, and had by that time spread themselves much farther northwards from Armenia, either for want of room or through derelc. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the Margiana, and entered into the country of the Median Arii, where having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by the reft, they were called in scorn Parthians, which signifies in the Celtic, parted or divided from. This is affirmed by Justin, only with this difference, that he makes them of Scythian extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient Greek writers, who, as Strabo tells us, called all the nations towards the north of Asia, Scythians, and Celto-Scythians. This origin of the Parthians is likewise confirmed by several other authors, though it doth not appear to us, that the Parthians were descended from them.

That the Saccis possessed themselves of at least the best part of Armenia, is expressly affirmed by Strabo, who adds, that they called that country by their own name Saturnia.

(A) This truly holds true with respect to all except the name of Titas, with this difference, however, that they sometimes confounded them with the Scythians, as has been observed more than once, which was doubled owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and such like, as well as to their regular progress, and spreading to the right and left of the Taurus, in Europe, so that there is no other way to distinguish them but by those countries through which each of them took its way towards Europe. Accordingly we find Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and others speaking of them in those respective provinces of Asia under the name of Sackis, or Sackianis, Celto-Scythianis, Curtes, Comarians, Comarians, and Cymbricius. Thucydides tells us, that the Saccis, who lived near the river Taurus, were of the Curtes and Comarians (4). Pliny likewise seems to mean the same thing, when, speaking of them, he says (2), Beyond are the Scythians, whom the Persians did in general call Sackis, from their next neighbouring nation, a proxima gente, etc., which nation could be no other than the Celtic, because, as Pliny observes elsewhere, the Comarians in Bactria, who were a more civilized nation than the Scythians, had a capital city called by their name Cosmar (5), whereas the Scythians were known to live in the open fields at large, as we shall show in the next book.

Thus then it is plain, that, bating their confounding with the Scythians, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of Comarians, though they used in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we observed in the first section had been done by Herodotus in his account of the Scythians. But as to the name of Titas, as it was both known to be a gentile name, and consequently with least probability applicable to the Celtic nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it, but which we own is not altogether so clear as could be wished.

He first affirms, that the Comarians, or, as they have been since opportunely called, Sackis or Sackianis, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous name of Titas, which, as we have shewn, is of Celtic extraction, upon their removing farther into upper Phrygia. Here it seems they built a city which they called Aemona from Aemon the son of Basa, the founder of it (4). Aemon being by the Greeks reckoned the father of Uranus, who is therefore called Aemoneis; our author supposes him to be the same with Sancronitius Elius, or sectylis, because this is there affirmed to be the latter of Uranus; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other Celtic princes.

The several conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in Tucidides, where the Titas are mentioned as synonymous with the Giantis (1); and from another in Isaias (6), in which the Septuagint renders Γακιτας ιπηγετε τον γατων τον Γαυρον, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the Titas or Titans; but the misfortune is, that the Hebrew doth not in a means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the Celts over all other nations, so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that as the tale of the Titas seems to have been founded upon some antient facts, and that these since devised heroes being laid to have signified themselves for their wonderful exploits, in those very regions of which the Comarians had made themselves masters.

Saccaca (B). It likewise appears from the same author, that they paddled over the mountains, bordering upon Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia, that part especially which is upon the coasts of the Euxine sea. This expedition seems to have been made under the conduct of Amon, the father of Uranus, and of his brother Doas, where they gave their name the former to the capital city called Amonia, in which we are also told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the spacious Doas plains near the city of Themisfrya along the river Thermador (C). From the Euxine sea their progresse towards the Pelas Moeis is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the Cymbrian or Cimmerian Sophoborus, from which they needed but to cross the Tanais to enter into their European territories.

We must now leave those colonies extending themselves towards Europe, and return into Pergisia, whither Amon is supposed either to have returned from Cappadocia (D), or, which is more likely, where he continued after his ancestors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called Amonis, and said by the fame authors to have been founded by himself; likewise another grove dedicated to him, and some spacious plains called Doanteis from his brother Doas (D). From which one may reasonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worshipped here likewise; and consequently, that they were able to suppoze him a fabulous personage, any more than his descendants Uranus, Saturnus, and the rest of the Titan princes. And as for the Celtes being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very ancient author (E), who was no friend to the Celtes or Gauls, and yet says, that the warre were upon Theraudes or late popery of the Titans. If it be objected, that the Druids in Cefar's time did boast themselves to be descended from Dis or Pluto (F), it will appear, that he also was a Titan prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is Europe, to his share; whilst Jupiter kept the easter part to himself; so that both Cefar and Callimachus agree in the main point, Pluto being the great grandson of Amon, the first prince of note of the Gomerian or Titanic race.

This

1 Strab. ubi supra. 2 Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph. Byzant. ubi supra. 3 Pernon. ch. viii. 4 Byzant. ubi supra. 5 Vid. Cae. Comment. lib. vi. 6 Strab. sive ib. 7 Diodorus Siculus (G).

7 Or rather perhaps Saccacenus, as we find it more properly spelt by another author (H); from the Celtic Sian, which signifieth region, and is still preserved by the Persians, as in Indisian, Chasian, &c. which perhaps the Celtes softened afterwards into Taran, as in Aquitan the country of water, Brittan the country of the Brits (I).

8 That these two were brothers, our author (J) not only proves from the testimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that Themisfrya meant no more than the city of Themis. Ker in the Hecato and Ker in the Celtic signifieth a city. As for Themis, whom the Greeks made goddess of justice, he supposes her to have been the grand-daughter of Amon, a famous magician or prophetess; and that Doas Amon's brother was of the same profession; his name in the Celtic signifieth a divinity, from Doas or Does, God.

(D) If any fuch monuments were really in two different provinces of Aega; the one in Pergisia, as the authors above quoted expressly affirm, and the others in some other parts, for they do not name Cappadocia, it will only follow, that both had been under Amon's government, and there will be no necessity to fend him into the one to bring him back into the other, since his colonies could easily atchie the conquest of the latter, and leave those monuments in honour of their prince.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of Sacs is from that time wholly absoorbed into that of Titans; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into Pergisia, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of Titans, which either signieth sons of the sun, or of the earth, as we flewed elsewhere; whilst that of Sacks flyck only to those who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of Aega. It is not easy to say, when or why they affumed the name of Titans; but if we suppoze with our author that word to signifie sons of the earth, which answers to that of Asiatics, it will be more reasonable to suppoze, that they began to aim at it much earlier in Pergisia, because it was the original settlement of their progenitors Cemers and his descendants, whilst those colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and settle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, must be contreset to qu it for that of Sacks or Robbers, which the luteis give to them.
This prince was the son of Mon, Man, or Manus, his name Amon, or perhaps rather Ack-man, seems to imply as much. He is supposed by our authors to have lived in the days of Terab the father of Abraham. So that, including Manus in the list, we have a succession of six Titan princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years. And are as follows,

Man or Manus
Amon
Uranus

Saturn
Jupiter
Thebeus

We have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some ancient writers; we shall give what he has therein laid in his own words.

I have taken no small pains to find out what ancient authors have said on this head. I find, that Jupiter began to reign when Isaac had attained the one half of his age, or some years after Abraham's death, and this is what may be made out from ancient historians, such as Eumenes, Ennius, Thallus, and some others, who all agreed, that Jupiter reigned in the time of Belus the first king of Assyria; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the Sybil, which expeditiously, that Saturn with his brother Titus and Jasper began to reign with the 100th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in vertue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of Abraham. Saturn must therefore begin his reign many years before Abraham had been in the land of Canaan. Nay, his father Uranus must already have been very potent, both in Asia and also in Europe, in the time of Terab Abraham's father. All these seem plain to me upon examining those monuments of antiquity which are still extant. But the chronicle of Eusebius, which has been regulated from ancient histories, and especially those which related to the island of Crete, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about these times, Crete, one of the Curetes, who took care of Jupiter's education, reigned in Crete, and that the island received its name from him. Eusebius by the words around the year of these times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of Abraham's life. Now Jupiter, according to his calculation, must have begun his reign about the latter end of Terab's life. But I have many reasons to believe, that Eusebius was mistaken in making him of such old standing, and that this Titan prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, that is the 98th year of Isaac's life, and that he could not precede Moses above 300 years.

Thus far Pezron; according to whose account it might be easy to conjecture the times when Jupiter's predecessors reigned, by tracing so many generations back, especially because we have the length of Jupiter's life recorded, as we shall see in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which if it come short of the number of his contemporary Isaac, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

We have nothing recorded concerning Manus, but that he is reported to have been the father of Amon.

Concerning Amon, if he be the same with the Elian of Sanchoniatho, as this author makes him the father of Uranus, who was therefore called Amonides, or the son of Amon, we have nothing particular, except that he had a son named Epigenes Antichthon, called afterwards Ouranus, and that being killed by a wild beast, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worshipped by his descendants (E).

Uranus,

(F) If his descendants paid him those divine honours presently after his death, we have here, as Pezron observes, one of the ancient Teuthen deities in all antiquity. But we see no reason for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date; those groves which were consecrated to him in Phrygia might be to other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to those of the Sycilian kings, of whom we shall speak hereafter, by which the idolatrous worship

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a Urannus, according to the fame ancient author, succeeded his father, and married his own sister, in Ge, or the earth (F), by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom, called Ithys or Crenus, afterwards Saturn, also succeeded him. Sanchoniatho observes, that he had two other names, and that that of Ouranusa was not given him till afterwards; but tho' he knew not the reason of it, yet if we attend to the Celtic etymology, Ur or On, a Man, and en beven, it will appear highly probable, that he was called Our-en, a man of heaven, from his being very much addicted to the study of astronomy and astrology. From this the Greeks might easily also call him Cronus or Ouranus, if not wholly derive that word from him. We pa'is by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the Greeks and other writers, and shall only add, that his new conquests in Asia and Europe seem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic; or his policy than to his skill in astrological probabilities. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having inflamed his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious son and successor Saturn, who, having intercepted him, put him into close confinement, where he either died with grief, or was dispatched by the order of that unnatural son.

b Saturn, after named afterwards Cronus or Croneus, is said by Sanchoniatho to have been the eldest son of Uranus; whilst other authors affirm him to have been the youngest of all; and that his eldest brother, who was called Titan, did for a long while contest the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. Saturn is supposed to have been the first, who took upon him the regal dignity; for we are told, that all his predecessors, down to Uranus, had contented themselves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us, upon the authority of Phercydes, that he was the first that wore the diadem, whence he is supposed to have been named Cronus, which in the Celtic signifies crowned (G). He likewise tells us in another place, that he much delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a short coat, of the Galatic dye, from which perhaps came all the royal purple, so much worn by kings and perfons of the highest rank (H). Saturn, though he was no less politic and crafty than prone to ambition, could not so well conceal his treacherous designs, but that Uranus had some suspicion of them, and to be before-hand with him dispatched his daughter Rhea to make away with him by some private means. But Saturn, who perhaps was apprized of it by his mother Tita, whose jealousy had so far transported her (I) as to encourage

more such Greek names in the sequel, which are palpably of Celtic extraction.

(G) That of Saturn, which some have absurdly derived from the Hebrew סָרָה, Sareh, to hide, because he went and concealed himself in Italy from his son Jupiter, is more naturally deduced from the Pergaman Saturn, or rather Saturn, which signifies strong and potent; for so he really was, till weakened by his son's unnatural rebellion, as the history will shew immediately. Sanchoniatho gives him also the name of Il or Iles, which may be properly enough derived from the Hebrew word יש, which signifies strong and mighty, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) Saturn being supposed to have dwelt in Pergamum, part of which was afterwards called Galatia; Pateron observes, that this country being very famous for dyeing that colour, the Greek σικάς, and Latins Coccus, may naturally be derived from the Celtic Cокk, which signifies red (I).

(I) This jealousy and refinement, Sanchoniatho tells us, was occasioned not only by the number of other wives which Uranus took, but because tho' he had left him upon that account, yet she would come and lie with her by force. But what most of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to destroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her son's rebellion (J).
encourage him, if not to inspire him with the first design of this unnatural rebellion, a scon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprise, but to bring her over to his side. This caused an open rupture, in which Saturn, after a contest of several years proving the stronger of the two, imprisoned his father, as we have seen above, and made himself absolute; after which it is supposed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he assumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in Asia but in Europe as far as Spain, and gained also some provinces in Africa, a less title than this could not well suit his ambitious mind.

He had two notable counsellors besides his mother, the one from his youth named Hermocrates, a great philosopher and conunfante politician; some add that he was also a great conjurer; the other was his sister Rhea, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). These three did so far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and especially with his other brothers, what with their addresses and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, so that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conquests did so vastly exceed those of his predecessors, and himself proved so successful both at home and abroad. But his happiness was 10ured in many different ways: he was extremely mischievous of his children: he had himself dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, lest his crime should be punished in the same kind. This made him sacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as some think, or, as others believe, to the ghost of his father. He was extremely given to superstition and divinations, and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increase his suspicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by some of them, as he really was by Jupiter. He had still another private enemy to ward against, namely his brother Titan, who, though forced to yield to him, at least in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was so intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of surprising him and his wife Rhea, whom he immediately conveyed into some province of Asia, and kept them in close confinement, till his son Jupiter came with a considerable army of Cretans, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

What we have observed concerning Saturn's jealous temper and cruelty to his children, must in all probability have been the cause, why his wife Rhea took such pains to preserve her youngest son Jupiter, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and sending him to be privately educated in another (N). This action therefore of Jupiter, pious and generous as it was, of course, got him no ill-will, and was not the cause of any enmity or prejudice against him; on the contrary, his great and beneficent actions served to increase his love and affection among his people (O). This account of the Cretans, with the experience of his rising as king, is taken from the most ancient writers, and the pleasing story of the Cretans may be considered a sort of legend, with the exception of the first account of his having been born in Egypt, which is not so generally accepted (P). The expression of his birth, as the same, is also not so generally received, but is given in several other writers, and is generally admitted for the truth, as the most probable and credible. But it is not intended to make this narrative a matter of dispute, but only to give an account of the history of the Cretans, as it is related by the ancients, and such as are most likely to be believed.

(K) This custom of marrying fathers had no thing extraordinary in those days; we have seen in a former volume, that it was common to the Egyptians, Phrygians, and many other great and polite nations. The name of Rhea is likewise of Celtic extraction, and signifies a lady, as Reia signifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called Japheth or Japhet, a name preferred only among the descendants of Gomer. Sanchoniatho likewise names Alcu, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the son of Japheth. It is very probable, that Saturn, in recompense of their friendship to him, gave that part of his conquests in Mauritania to Alcu, and that the famous mountains of Africa received their name from him (17).

(M) This remarkable transaction has been preserved to us by an ancient father (18) upon the authority of Eumenes, or of Eusebius, whom translators have supplied; and as he produced it to prove against the heathen, that the gods they worshipped had been mere men, he introduces it with this singular preface: Aperiamus ex quo versis fictius continentur, na pretium insanias in absurdas religiosas igre et producunt videntur. It should be by their words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic testimonies of historians, and knew full well how to distinguish the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add, that many other fathers and philosophers have appealed to the like historical facts concerning Saturn, Jupiter, &c., which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as such by those against whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of Jupiter's birth. The Cretans did pretend, that he was born in that island on mount Ida, and Callinclus (20), who gives them the title of Ida, for having forged his tomb there also, because such a god as he could not die, yet, sufficiently enough, cause him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been Mount Icchus in Arcadia. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The historians add, that the place was since held so sacred that no women dared to approach it. It was also called by way of excellence the sacred top, and the Purumurn, or place of Reus lying in: As for the Cretans, they might be easily led into the belief of his being born among them, because he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmost secrecy.
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did rather increase than delfel his jealousy.

His surprize to find himself over-reached by his wife, and to see his son, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, lest he should in time deprive him with the same facility of his kingdom and life. Laëntius adds, upon the authority of Eusebius, that he went to consult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his son Jupiter, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he left no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into Crete with an army, for his son was again retired thither after he had achieved his deliverance; but he soon found, that the Cretans were all in his son’s interest, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of Greece since called Peloponnesus, whither Jupiter, enraged at his cruel design against him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into Italy. Janus was then king of the Aborigines, who, we observed before, may either have been of Celtic extraction, or upon some other account friends to the Titans (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and, as some affirmed, admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in his kingdom; so that the region where Saturn reigned, and which is adjoining to the Tyber, was since called Saturnia from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being placed in Sicily may induce one to suppose, that he went and ended his days there.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called, Jove (P), because he was the youngest of Saturn’s children; did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle Titan, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party whilst he was taken up against his father, raised a war against him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of Titan and his army.

This war seems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the Giants or Titans against the gods, which the poets have so interlarded with their inventions, that

privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the Curetes, and these being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him so powerful an army to go to his father’s rescue. And it is not improbable, that they were the priests that inspired him with that pious design, which might probably cure the father of his unjust affection, and entitle the son to the succession of his kingdom.

The story of Saturn’s cruelty, in sacrificing so many of his children to his jealousy, may also have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring them, as Jupiter’s depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occasion to the supposition of his sacrificing him.

We have already taken notice, that the Umbrians are supplied by ancient historians both to have been the oldest people in Italy, and so have been the descendants of the Celts (1); and it is hardly to be supposed, that Saturn would have trusted himself, in his desperate circumstances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether these were the same with the Aborigines, or another colony incorporated with them in process of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from Janus, scarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by some other tie.

Some critics have found fault with Julius Firmicus for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the Spartans in Italy. Pausanias has taken some pains to prove, that they were really in Italy, before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the Sabines were defended from them, and they from the Celts or Gomerians. But if this should not seem altogether so plain, as it is impossible to grope into those dark and remote ages with any tolerable satisfaction, the words of Firmicus in Istio a sparti abfandit, if there has no error crept into them, may be understood proleptically. The nation that received Saturn, whatever they were, might in time, if not by Jupiter himself, be driven out of Italy, and go and settle in Sparta, or upon some other account be thenceforth called Spartans. At least the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from Italy; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into Joveis, &c, shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as Cicero doth upon the authority of Varro, from Jovam Pater, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the Celeus Jove, or, as we pronounced it, Jove, which signifies young, is on all respects so much nearer to it; and Jupiter seems plainly to be the same with Jan-pater, which last was added to his former name of Jove, when he came to be worshipped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the ancient Latins did not write his name Jupiter, but Jauipiter, Jupiter, Jupiter. And the Celtic has still preferred his ancient name of Jove, and call Jovisleri, or the Dios, which was of the Romans, Diz-jua, and Diz-jua, the day of Jove (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

† Vol. II. p. 249. Note.

(21) Lib. de Error profan. relig. (22) Vd. Pausan. eb. xii.

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that it is scarcely possible to discover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the ancient city of Tarifa in Spain, a sea-port town a little to the north of Cadiz (R), whether it seems he went in person with a great fleet and a plentiful army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

Jupiter, after the example of his predecessors, married his own sister Juno (S). But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleasures so close, but he allowed himself proper seclusions for the administration of justice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and Bash-Diti who sheltered themselves in the forests of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Illyria, where they committed the vilest outrages. But as he had made Mount Olympus, (T) one of the most delightful parts of Thessaly, his chief residence, he was under a kind of necessity to rid those countries of such vermin, that his subjects might have the freer access to his court.

Before his death he is affirmed by the last quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western, or European, part of it to his

(Q) We have deferred till now to observe how much this system of history, for we dare not to venture to give it a augurer name, doth clash with that of our learned Cambriac, who, as we have already shown in the beginning of this history*, makes the Greek story of Ulysses to have been Neab, Crowns Him, New Marain, Zelis Thiebickaeb, and so on; that these events might be of the two carriages the greatest probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both supported by some collateral kind of proof, and upon a supposition, that this fragment we have left is the relic of a fuller history, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We shall not resist what we have said elsewhere on this List; but much less do we design to draw a parallel between these two systems or their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may say without prejudice concerning that of our Celtic antiquary, that it is not only a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathen as well as Christians. But the latter, especially the apologists, seem plainly enough to have been generally of the same mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned against their stupid worshipers.

Now far all this is further corroborated by numberless Celtic etymons, the greatest part of which are both easy and natural and confirmed by historical facts, must be submitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been said concerning the names of many Ulysses and Titas, Crowns or Saturn, and Rhea, Jun or Jupiter, Teutat, and others, besides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be seen in our author, and some few which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at least, justify our giving it a place in this history, as we have that of our learned bishop in the former volume.

(R) This seems also confirmed by what Jupin (Z) adds, that the Carrthis lived formerly in the

forests about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after Pausanias, that it ought to be read near, because the Carrthis were a people of Carthage. We have already shewn, that the latter were the priests or foot-slayers of the Titans and Carthage, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that some of them who had followed Jupiter in his expedition, and delighted others in a kind of ecstatic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode? But we shall have occasion by and by to say something further concerning them, who may convince one of the probability of their being men of that nation and profession in those parts of Spain.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of Celtic extraction, and to be derived from Goluain, which signifies fair, white, and by way of excellence, beautiful. Such as Juno is said to have been to a great degree Hence perhaps it is, that the antient Gallicans call here Jaflana, a jolly or fine woman.

Thus Jupiter had some other names among the Greeks which seem to flow from the same fountain, as Zeus, from which they irregularly made their Daeces &c. in the oblique cases. Now the Zeus, from which the Latin made Deus, seems more plainly derived from the Celtic Dhuol, God, and the Dius and Dias from Di, bright. He was like wife furnamed Fawna and Pucis, from the bird of that name, which Pleg tell us was then much used in auguries (Z4), which bird seems to be to be called from its being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of Woodpecker. Pleg indeed pretends, that he was called Ples from a king of Latium of that name; but it seems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like Jupiter, so furnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the Celtic word peck or beak, signifies a bird's bill; and hence it is likely our verb to peck is delivered.

(T) Hence the last quoted father observes, that after his death the place of his residence came to be called by his superstitious worshipers Jovisia, or to be synonymous to it (Z5).
his uncle Dis or Plato, surnamed also Agelabus (U), whilst himself kept the Ajatius, or eastern, part of it. We observed alo before, that he gave some part of Africa to his nephew Atlas, but having afterwards either conceived jealousy of him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he was reported to have cauhted him to be put to death.

This Atlas (W) had a daughter named Maia, or Flower, whose beauty Jupiter was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a son named Tethuat, since Mercury, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage Jove, who was ever plotting something against him. We cannot guess whether Atlas had been unfortunately drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen, but Jupiter is by some accused to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he did find means to discover in good time.

On the other hand, the Cretan historians extolled his virtues up to the skies. Didonius Siculus and Eumenes, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valor, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholesome laws and regulations for the public good. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62, this great, and since deified, hero, resigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the Cretians in the Isle of Crete, and in the city of Gnathia, where his sons erected a flayed monument, which was thrown many ages after by the inhabitants. The same authors add, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His son Cres or Cret (from whom that island of Crete is supposed to have had its name, Cret in Celtic signifying bold and daring), was then at the head of the Cretians, and performed the last devours to his father, after which he took the government of that island (X). How the reft of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors is not to be guessed at, only we find, that his son Tethuat or Mercury, of whom we are going to speak, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle Dis or Plato.

Mercury is allowed by all antiquity to have been the son of Jupiter by Maia, and as we have seen above. We have given already in a former note the etymology of those two names. The Greeks did likewise call him Eunom, Hermes, (Y), and the Latins Fannus (Z). He was famed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for

(U) This last name which signifies a leader of the people, or Agelauar, as it is found in other writers (26), and signifies a leader of men, might be given on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into Europe, and perhaps as far as Spain, where we observed a little above, there had been both Titans and Cretians in the neighbourhood of the ancient Tarpeia. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out such rich mines of gold, and silver (27), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of Plate, in Greek Plauron, which signifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced Strabo to believe, that the Tartarion of the Greeks and Latinus came from the above-mentioned Tarpeia, a country situated in the utmost parts of Spain westward (28).

Hence likewise, Jupiter having the dominion of the salt or fun-fritting, and Plato of the well or frit-fetter, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewise, might the mythologies of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the same deity, to put men in mind that the origin were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was also called by the Greeks Telamon, from the Celtic Tellamor, or Man, on account of his high stature, and as he was also a great astronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have since made of him.

(X) This is at least intimated by Laconicus's words out of Eunom, Cretace filii fili (Petrus) cum eum evasisse, for Cretas was then a Cretes, and probably the head or principal of that society. Eunomius seems also to confirm his having succeeded his father in the government of that isle, when he makes him the first king of Cretes (29); that is, as we understand him after Peiron, he was the first who reigned in that only island, whereas his father's kingdom is said to have reached from Ephesos to Spain, besides some parts of Africa, which he had given to Atlas, as we have seen elsewhere.

(V) Which name comes probably from the Celtic Anuo, which signifies disposition. For Mercury seems to have out-done all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art, as we shall see by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymology can be found in the Cretae; nor can we guess upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of Fannus and

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(27) Ibid. ap. Pteon. cap. xii.
(28) [Footnote reference]
(29) Vid. Strab. Geogr. h. v. (25)
for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. He was active, courageous, and eloquent; and so prudent, that he always kept close to his father's interests. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was also by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An ancient father tells us, that he went down into Egypt to penetrate further into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that at his return he assumed the name of Theutat (A). It was probably from the Egyptians that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is said to have first brought into Europe, whence it again manated itself into Asia, as was shewn under another head.

He not only taught them the metallick trades, but how to make an advantageous traffick of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of Merkur or Mercury. This great improvement, which could not but enlure him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seemed to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and cared for the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in Caesar's time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village.

Some attribute the invention of the Olympic games to him, others to Hercules, but, if Pausanias be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that Saturn and Jupiter had wrestled together at them. They may, however, be supposed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. Sidus (a) and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure and retiring into Egypt, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, Livy acquaints us, that there was a large tomb near New Carthage, in the time of Scipio and Hannibal, which was called the tomb of Mercury Theutat; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the Romans, except that the unwieldiness of so vast an empire did probably cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the Roman conqueror found them, when he invaded the Celtic territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of the Roman empire, this is not a proper place to speak of them; they will be the subject of another volume, in which the history of the European kingdoms will be resumed.

Arcad. a Sub. voc. 43746.
Hift. lib. xxii. c. 44.

and Mercury; so that this Faunus must not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in Italy, especially with Faunus the father of Latinus, in whose age the Romans came into that kingdom. Whereas our Mercury, according to this chronology of Titus, princes, must have lived at furthest about the time of Joseph's being in Egypt (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the ancient Egyptian Mercury or Theou, who, as we have seen in the former volume, was worshipped by the Egyptians for his great learning, wisdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himself a more honoured one in the Celtic, Theutat, as we observed before, signifying the father of the People, such as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well deserve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope if we have not quite, cleared that point that the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the World with some considerable materials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a desis as this.

(30) Idem, cap. xiv.

* Val. I. p. 242. c. 2.
These intestine divisions having once weakened the strength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did easily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewise. Among the first Iberia or Spain was dismembered from it by the Carthaginians, from whom it passed to the Romans together with the southern provinces, since called Galicia Narbonensis, and the provinces on the other side of the Alps. The Scythians, it is likely, did also inchoate upon them on the north side, and very probably seized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called Scythia in Europe, and drove them quite to the hither side of the Danube. For it seems most natural, that, in their first migrations the same boundaries which parted Europe from Asia, did also part the Celtic and Scythian dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering sword of their neighbours*, or through their intestine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occasion it, sure it is, that several powerful colonies of those Celts or Gauls returned into Iberia, where, finding almost everywhere some ancient monuments of their progenitors, they settled themselves in several parts of it by main force, and gave some of their new-gotten names to them; such as that of Galatia, Patribia, and some others, without which it would be impossible to distinguish these latter excursions and exploits from those by which they had signalized themselves before their migrations into Europe. The first of these, as far as it can be disentangled from the latter, will be best seen in some of the following histories, either of those nations whom they there conquered, or of those by whom they were driven out of their conquests.

As for those whom we have left in Europe, we hope our readers are satisfied by this time, that if we have chosen to follow a new guide through those dark and remote ages, he has at least conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed, and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concern- ing that populous and warlike nation, joined to such a vast number of Celtic etymolo- gies, do at least carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with anywhere else; and we may add, than we ourselves could ever have attained, by all the ancient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the Celtic language. These etymologies, which seem to strike a light to every passage quoted from antient authors, and which we can assure our readers we did not take upon trust, will, we hope, sufficiently justify likewise our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of Sanchoianthe, which is at best but a confused medley of some dark and imperfect hints stolen out of the writings of Mofes, and jumbled with the history and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

We submit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the testimony of antient authors, than that which our learned bishop Cumberland has endeavoured to give us out of his Phoenician historian. As for ourselves, we wish we could meet with such another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, history, that of the Scythians. But hence we must be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the best of those few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

* See before, Vol. II. p. 16. d.

[Though we cannot by any means give into the nation of many learned men, who have supposed his history to have been a forgery writ on purpose to invalidate the authority of Mofes, as if he had stolen his account of the creation out of the Phoenician records*, yet we cannot but think it manifest, that he had copied that sacred historian, and that very bunglingly too, besides blending and adjusting his cosmogony and theology with the history and fables of his time.

What else can we think of his dark and universal Chaos? His fragment wind-engendering Me or Mo- tive (for that is the Hebrew meaning of the word), which produced the seeds of all things animate and inanimate? the sun, moon, stars, and the word spoken by God to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other use of those Jewish memoirs than to put them in a phantastical Phoenician dressed, such as he filled the theology of the heathen world, and was most likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the Phoenician records beyond all others, even beyond those of the sacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

* Vid. lat. al. Dodwell's dissertat. de Sanchoianth. (31) Judg. vi. 32. (32) Ibid. xxiv. & viii. 27. Vol. II. Y y y

Whoever compares also the history he gives us of the second and third line with what we read in Genesis, and with what has been quoted, in the last section out of ancient authors, concerning Elison, Coronas, &c. will easily see, that it is a mere confu- sed mixture of sacred and profane history, inter- larded with fable, and that if Jeruham, priest of Jehovah, from whom Pherecydes pretends he received his information, be the Gideon of the Jews, who was furredname Jeruham (31), and might have been mistaken for a priest of Jehovah, because he is re- corded to have for up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other use of those Jewish memoirs than to put them in a phantastical Phoenician dressed, such as he filled the theology of the heathen world, and was most likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the Phoenician re- cords beyond all others, even beyond those of the sacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.
The History of the Scythians.  

Book I.

Sect. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

H ow this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of Scythis, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one which Herodotus gives us from the fabulous Greeks, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the Greek σκύθη, which expresseth the fierceness of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the Teutonic Schetien or Schuten, to which art this nation is affirmed by Herodotus, Lucian, and others, to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that according to this supposition the word Scythian did properly signify a great Schooter or Archer. We have, however, observed heretofore, that the Tartars and Muscovites called themselves the Magi, which we suppose only an abbreviation of Magnogly, the sons of Magog. That of Scythian might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the Celts, whose language, as was before observed, did not originally differ much either from the Scythian or Teutonic.

This vast territory, which extended itself from the Ister or Danube the boundary of the Celtes, that is from about the 25th to almost the 110th degree of east longitude, was therefore divided into Scythis in Europe, and Scytibia in Asia, including, however, the two Sarmatias, or, as they are called by the Greeks, Sarcomeitas, now the Circassian Tartary, which did lie between and sever the two Scytias from each other. Sarmatia was also distinguished into European and Asiatic, and was divided from the European Scytibia by the river Don or Tanais, which falls into the Paks Maiasti, and from the Asiatic by the Rha now Volga, which empties itself into the Caspian sea. But the Sarmatians differed so little from the Scythis in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe Herodotus, that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the Amazons, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this Sarmatian offspring. But the former seems to us the most probable, when we consider how early, short, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their first settling out, and that we find in the very center between Armenia and Sarmatia a large province called Iberia, which is much more likely to be that which Josephus tells us was peopled by Tubal, the brother of Gomer and Magog, than the Celtiberia of Spain. We shall not repeat here what we have so lately urged against this last opinion (1).

Upon the whole then, we may safely venture to say, that the two Scytias were only parted by the two boundaries of Europe and Asia, that is by the river Tanais, descending, as is supposed, from the Riphean mountains (B) into the Paks Maiasti.

For

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the pante Grecos, that Heracles being got into Scytia then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot havingraggled out of the way, whilst he refreshed himself with sleep as he was in search of them, he met with a monster, half woman and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and lived with her till he was tired, she seized him at parting how he would have disposed of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest beam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and fend the other two away. She followed his orders, and Scythis, who was the youngest and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of Scytis bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (2).

(B) Some modern geographers (3), who prove plenily enough that these could not be those of Siberia, which are at the distance of near ten degrees from the Tanais, are therefore of opinion, that they were imaginary, and supplied by the fertile fancy of the ancients to furnish a head to that river. The cave is hardly worth disputing; and yet since we find that Riphath was Gomer's second son (4), whose migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it seems more reason able to think, he might leave his name to those mountains S. E. of Misiscope, from which that nation, which takes its source, as most other geographers have supposed he
For beyond these mountains northward we find not that the Scythians advanced into any of these remote regions, so that these were the proper confines of the Aetopic Scythia on the west. The northern ones reached to the Hyperborean or Frozen sea, called also by the ancients, the Scythian sea, the Cronian, Amalcheian, or Amnachian, the Dead sea, and by some other names which expressed its extreme coldness and frozenness. On the caft they are supposed to have extended to the promontory of Thapsis, and to have been bounded by the Caffian mountains, which parted Scythia from the kingdom of Severus, now Cathai or northern China; and on the south by the Euxine or Indian sea, and by mount Caucasus, and the Cappidian sea.

As to the northern parts of Scythia, their extreme coldness made them uninhabitable by any but wolves, bears, and such like northern wild-beasts; and this is probably the reason why they seem to have been unknown to the ancients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than these was called terra incognita, and their notion of their being surrounded by the Hyperborean, or northern ocean, they seem rather to have had some conjecture than from experience. But the southern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely, Scythia within, and Scythia without, or beyond, Imaus, and Sarmatia, which lay between the former and the European Scythia, which, as we observed before, was either a branch of the Scythian nation, or had been by some means so blended with it that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name. The Aetopic Scythia did therefore comprehend in general great Tartary and Russia in Asia, and in particular the Scythia beyond, or without, Imaus, contained the regions of Bogdai, or Ophiaces, and Tungsit. That within, or on this side of Imaus had Turkestan and Mangol, the Ufek, or Zogotai, Kalmuc and Negaian Tartars, besides Siberia, the land of the Samsoes and the Novo Zembo. These three last were then inhabited, as we supposed, were wholly unknown to the ancients, and the former were peopled by the Bashrians, Sogdians, Gandari, Sacks, and Masjagetas. As for Sarmatia, it contained Albania, Iberia, and Celbys, which make now the Circopian Tartary, and the province of Georgia.

Other seas, besides the Frozen and Indian ocean, were the Cappidian (C), and the Euxine, or Black Sea, and the Palaus Mazotis. Mountains of note were Taurus, Imaus, and Caucasus: the first, beginning in the province of Asia Minor called Pamphylia, runs eastward through Cilis, and divides it into two parts, the northern and southern. The second lies in Scythia or the greater Tartary: and the third is between the Cappidian and the Euxine sea. Its rivers, into which we have occasionally mentioned, namely the Rha or Volga, and Tanais or Don, are the Obys, Lena, Anmar, and Helum; the latter of which is supposed to be the Quentung or Bengal; all these are in great Tartary. To these we may add the Jaxartes, now Jezick, and the Oxar; these empty themselves into the Cappidian sea: in this sea there were likewise some islands not distinguished by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the Scythian islands.

Natural rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what Herodotus tells us, that those northern regions are altogether invisible and impassable by reason of the vast quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by those who inhabited the more southern parts of it, who, as he tells us in another place, did doublets of a very large size and shape, which, falling in abundance in those cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were still more absurd to seek for artificial rarities here, among a people who were strangers to everything but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we shall shew in its proper place.

2. Scythia in Europe, whose confines we have already fixed eastward from the Tanais, reached towards the south-west to the Po and the Alps, by which it was divided from the Celtes, or Celto-Galilæis, and by the Rhine northward. It was bounded on the south by the Iler, or Danube, and the Euxine sea. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch to the spring.


he did, than to believe that those ancients, who could know nothing either of Riphaeus or his migrations, should yet to luckily hit upon this fictitious name. (C) Mistaken by some ancients for a gulf; but, as it has no visible communication with the ocean, may be rather called a great lake, if sea be thought too big a name for it*.

* See before, Vol II. p. 4. e.
spring heads of the Borysthes or Nieper, and the Rhô or Poiga, and fo to that of
the Tanais (D) &.

The ancients divided this country into Scythia Arimaspea, which lay eastward,
joining to Scythia in Asia, and Sarmatia Europaea on the west; these two were con-
tiguous to each other, and stretched some length from north to south, but what di-
vided them abonder is not easy to find out. In Scythia, properly so called, were
the Arimaspeoni on the north, the Getai or Daotians along the Danube on the south,
and the Nauri between those two. So that it contained the European Ruffia or
Muscovy, and the lesser Crim Tartary eastward, and on the west Lithuania, Poland,
part of Hungary, Transylvania, Valakia, Bulgaria, and Moldavia. Sarmatia is
supposed to have reached northward to that part of Sweden called Feningia, now
Finland, in which they placed the Ourtes, Panoti, and Hippopedes (E), this part they
divided from northern Germany, now the west part of Sweden and Norway, by the
Mare Sarmaticum or Scythicum, which they supposed ran up into the northern ocean,
and divided Leptland into two parts, made the western part of Sweden with Norway
into an island, and Finland into another; supposing this also to be cut off from the
continent by the Gulf of that name.

This Scythia had no other Sea than the Sarmatian mentioned before, now called
the Baltic, with the Gulfs of Botnia and Finland, and the white Sea joining to
the northern ocean, all unknown to the ancients, if we except the Euxine and
Pais Meotis, which bounded it on the South. Lakes of any consideration we
find not, except those of Ladoga and Onega in Finland, which were therefore
unknown to the ancient Sarmatians. Their chief rivers were on the south, the
Donetz or little Tanais, Borysthes or Nieper, Bog, Tyras or Niefer, and the
Ister or Danube, all which emptied themselves into the Euxine, and on the north
cast the great and little Dvina which empty themselves, the first into the white sea,
and the other into the Gulf of Finland, and therefore not known to the ancients;
and the Vistula on the west, which runs into the Scythian Sea and divided Sarmatia,
from Germany (F).

The whole extent thereof of both Scythias, including the two Sarmatian,
reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from the
Alps to the promontory of Taffis and strait of Arian, and in latitude from
Caucucus to the arctic circle above 28 degrees. Herodotus indeed tells us, that the

(4) vid. mel. ii. c. i. cluver. cellar. & al.

(D) This is upon the supposition, hinted before,
that the first planters of the world did spread them-

(D) selves along the rivers for the fake of paltrage and

(D) correspondence; but it is plain, all these northern

(D) parts were so unknown to the ancients, that all we

(D) can say concerning these boundaries is merely con-

(D) jecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little

(D) above out of Herodotus, that they could not be in-

(D) habited very far north, since they were so afraid of,

(D) and so little acquainted with, snow.

Mela adds, that about the Riphian mountains,
which are placed but between 32 and 35 degrees of
north latitude, the snows fall in such abundance,
that those parts were uninhabited and unappro-
pable by any but wild beasts (4).

(E) These Oarimentes, were so called for living molly

(E) upon the eggs of their sea-fowl, which they eat with

(E) eaten cakes. The Hippopedes were supposed to be

(E) so called from their having feet like horces, or

(E) from their going barefoot and hardening their feet

(E) like horces hoofs. The Panoti were so called from

(E) the largetnes of their ears, which was such that

(E) they could cover their whole body with them in-

(E) stead of other covering (5). Some other monstrous

(E) people and croures are also mentioned by Herodot-

(E) us: of the first are the Arimacapeon, so called

(E) from the Scythian Arimas, one, and Spos, one; not

(E) because they had but one eye, as was absurdly be-

(E) lieved by some of the ancients, but rather, as Be-

(E) ckhart justly conjectures, because they were such,

excellent archers, at which exercize it is necessary
to that one eye, that the nick-name of oneget was
given them upon that account. To these we
may add the mountainiers, who are affirmed to
have been held from their infancy; and another
which had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous fawns,
besides some monstrous animals, among which were
reckoned the griffins, which dugged up and guarded
the golden oar or dust (6), all which flew by
little were known of these regions at that time.

(F) The same author (7) mentions several other
rivers of which he gives a curious description, as
well as of those southern ones which we have men-
tioned above; but we shall refer the reader to our
author for those particulars, as well as for the
rivers we have omitted, because they are either not
taken notice of by our modern geographers, or at least
are not reckoned of such great note and usefulness.

We shall, however, take notice of what he says of
the Borysthes, which he compares to the Nile in
Egypt, and the next in greatness to the Danube.
This noble river, says he, besides the beauty and
fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands,
abounds with variety of excellent fish and pleasant
water, and doth breed a sort of white without bones,
which is fed for food. They called it Awahee; he adds, that towards the
mouth of it that river yields abundance of salt,
which is incessantly made by the hand of nature.

The History of the Scythians.

a H Gropercans were not of Scythian race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were Androbogii, or Men-eaters, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the Baidbeads or Argippeans, a wife and peaceable people, esteemed facred by all their neighbours; but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such difidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

Cities we find none in either Scythia, not even a metropolis, though Herodotus mentions a branch of Scythians, called royal Scythians, whom he places along the banks of Tamais, which river divides them, he says, from the Aptic or Sarmatians. These, as should seem from the sequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we shall see in the next section, but such was their ways of living, that they never chose to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or safety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curiosities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large stone lying by the river Tyres, in which was to be seen the print of Hercules's foot, said to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being six inches thick, and containing full six hundred amphoras or fifty hogheads. The occasion of calling this monstrous vessel we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place.


Sect. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, arts, and trades of the ancient Scythians.

A L I. that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origin of this nation, has been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess, as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of Herodotus, that one or two tribes at least, that is the royal and free Scythians, were under a monarchical one, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest. But whether the former was the eldest branch, whether it governed immediately over all the rest, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vast country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the Philibines, whether their succession was hereditary or elective, whether despotic or subject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What seems most probable to us from the little remains we have left of their history, is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might still have a kind of authority over some of the rest, whilst those who were more remote from the center had lords, laws, and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward; and this may be the reason of the variety of names and characters, which we find in those few ancient writings we have left concerning them. Thus Herodotus tells us, that in process of time, when the Scythians were like to be invaded by Darius, the king, finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the Scythian princes, namely those of the Taurians, Agathysians, Neurians, Androphogii, Malaulemions, Budians, and Sarmatians, to come to his assistance; all these seem to have been different branches of the same flock, and only degenerated from the royal one by dilution of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and customs, as the same author there tells us. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations joined with the king of Scythia, but the others refused to affil him, under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the royal Scythians some considerable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present we

† lib. iv.

Vol. II.

Z z z
we confine ourselves to the two most considerable, the royal and free Scythians, as being the most considerable and the best known of all the rest.

What their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient historians. Such indeed seems to have been their justice, temperance, and contentment of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of them. Juvénal sums up their character in words to this effect: The Scythians were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well matter their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of losing them. Thieves they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk and clothing themselves with their skins. Instead of house, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggon, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and silver were as much defiled by them as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues, which the Greeks did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue. A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property, some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and policy, which forbid, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women from the benefit of marriage, and the men from afflicting at their royal feasts, till they had killed an enemy. Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covertness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history.

It ought not to be objected here, that some of the Scythian tribes bear a quite different character, some of them being of such fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Thoše, as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the center of its laws, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; so the distance and barriers of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true Scythians, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the Greek historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by and by.

(A) This excellent character of the Scythian, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several ancient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned Bocchart has brought to confirm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused Juvénal of flattering that noble nation at the expense of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, Herodatus tells us (3), that Anacharsis, a Scythian of no small consideration, having in his travels alighted at a festival, which the Græciæi celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got safe back to Scythes he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly, after his return he retired privately into some woody part of that country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it so secretly, but a Scythian, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce some of the Græciæi rites and creeds, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened, that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy. As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the feasts of the flute, and in proportion to the number of them; whilst those, who had not as yet signified themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast and excluded from taking of it.


(2) Phalen. lib. iii. c. 9. (3) lib. iv. (4) II.
If we may guess by some few succeions we find mentioned in history, it seems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not to depotic as not to be deposit, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where Syles having been found celebrating the Bacchanaia of the Greeks, his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother Ot涅nades, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstance out of Herodotus.

When any of their monarchs fell sick, they sent immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him, that some Scythian whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this disquiet upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and if the majority of them did aboive him, then the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had stope the false prophets mouths, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and men, and feldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male-children of those whom the king condemned to death feldom escaped the same fate.

Another instance of their great respect for their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleaned the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypresses, incense, parsley and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate the royal Scythians in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow; and in this guise they accompanied the hearsel to the next province, till it came at length to that of the Goerians, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situated along that part of the Borybthenes where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed incommoded round with spears, which they covered with timber; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his uncubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of n. cellary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be Scythians, those monarchs having the power of choosing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by flaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies fluffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron flake. The hebes thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose. 6

6 Herodot. I. iv.

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined, or made a show of divining, by willow sticks gathered up into bundles, which they loosed and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden caves and try into futurity. The Scythians seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of divination, by the great number of these sham diviners which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had more the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration; and their oracles, which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the same readiness. 7

7 Vid. Meyer, antiqu. Septentr. Dissert. V.
The Scythians worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Vestā*, whom they called *Tabītī*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Peperus*, and *Apaia*, or *the earth*, which they esteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Vestā* for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to *Darius*, when he came to subdue them to his empire; besides these they worshipped *Apollo*, the celestial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under the names *Ostāfrus*, *Artemis*, and *Thamīmadoses*. But their favourite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* speaks of, he doth not tell us: neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any other ancient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves indeed, and very fumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they effectually to have one or more oaks of a monstrous size, which were accounted to sacred, that it was sacrilege, and was punished with the severest death, to lop so much as a branch or twig, or even to wound the bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, in omnia, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrutiate, with it. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned these things by word of mouth, and had never seen them himself, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be built like those of other nations.

How spacious these groves must have been, may be seen in the last quoted ambiguous, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which, *Herodotus* tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of small wood tied up in bundles, and to cover three fathoms of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to render the top of it easy of access. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to supply those which had been purifed by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of these heaps was erected an old iron fymetar, which flowed there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, besides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they sacrificed horses, which were a martial creature; and, what was still more shocking, every hundredth man they took prisoner from their enemies. This last bloody offering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the captive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, ascending to the top of the altar, they went and washed the deity's sword. As to this victim, they only cut off its right arm close to the shoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it exposed in the place where it fell, and the rest of the body in that where it was killed.

As to their other victims, which they sacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they observed the same rites everywhere, but without variation; they brought the beast and tied its four feet together with a flip-knot, and he who officiated as priest came behind, and at once loosed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilst it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then strangled it with a cord which he twirled with a stick; and as soon as it was dead he let about flaying and dressing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The flesh was put into pots, and whenever these were not ready at hand into the punch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones instead of it. When the flesh was sufficiently boiled, the priest made an offering of part of the meat and intellines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the rest was, we may suppose, believed to becast the priest and votaries. Thus in cases of necessity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furnish them with all things necessary for the sacrifice. Of all beasts the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to suffer to live among them. They took care also to offer to their gods the first-fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the spoil they took in war. Some considerable part of the latter they were wont to lend to the *Diaspitē*:

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Apollo: it was usually conveyed thither by a number of their most honourable virgins, and under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, our author tells us, obliged them to discontinue it. This is all that we find remarkable concerning their religion.

But before we come to speak of their manners, customs, and such other particulars, it will be necessary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from Herodatus, Homer, and other Greek authors, who cannot be supposed to have been well affected to the Scythians, by whom their country had been so often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and sometimes almost destroyed; we must not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the dishonour of that ancient and warlike nation. Some of them we shall have occasion to confute in the sequel of this history, and others are of so horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, especially when we compare them with the character which Justin gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by Bechart, as we have lately shewn; this caution once premised, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of those authors concerning the customs of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without some mixture of barbarity.

Thus we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a sharp incision made in some part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the prints of some warlike weapons, such as a cymetar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they defiled some of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to witness of the contract, which being usually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

Their warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently known to the ancients; fear is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering where-ever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remaining still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the case; since we find they were once invaded by the king of Persia at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conquest of greater Asia, which could not be wrested out of their hands but by the blackest treachery. But upon the whole, such was their strength and courage whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that, as Thucydidus himself tells us, no nation, either in Europe or Asia, could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing reft their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves.

Such care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, insomuch, that they could not be admitted into marriage till they had killed at least one enemy with their own hands, as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without some considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if Herodatus doth not bear them: for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; these were either returned or registered, and intided the person to several privileges, such as being present at some publick feasts, sharing the spoil of their enemies, and such like; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at least one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did rise in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them.
them at their horse bridles, where they served both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always most esteemed who wore the greatest number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went so far with some of them, that they took off and dressed the whole skins of the slain, and covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies with them.

Had they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country and in defence to all invaders of it; but as they might naturally enough think such men deserved no better fate, who attempted the conquest of a country, which had nothing to tempt or satisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (E). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to those whose territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of Thucydides, that, as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their vaft territories they made mutual incursions one tribe against another, which they again retaliated upon the first opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity so far, as not to join their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it.

How populous the Scythians were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made such frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose, that it must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, hardships, and other such-like advantageous circumstances, which rendered them lusty and strong, prolific and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told, that very few died of sickness, but all in general lived to a good old age, insomuch, that, many of them being weary of the world before death took them out of it; it was usual with such to halt their exit by throwing themselves from some eminence into the sea or into some river. Herodotus, however, who seems in doubt whether they were indeed so populous as some, or so thin as other, reports represent them, gives us an authentic instance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it seems a custom, not uncommon to other nations*, at their first taking of the field to murder their fighting men, and to make every man cast an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could easily compute not only the number of their men, but also that of their slain, or of those who either ran away, or absented themselves from the war. It was at some such muster as this that one of their kings, whom Herodotus names Ariantes’, being present, and observing the heads of arrows to amount to an immense bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and cast, or made into that large capacious vessel we have lately spoken of, and which, our author tells us, was still extant in his time, and though full five inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphorae, that is, about 5000 hogsheads, and remained still a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making of an exact estimate: from this story, supposing it literally.

* Herodot. ubi supr. * Lib. iii. c. 5. Herodot. & al. See before, Vol. ii. p. 64. —

(D) This was the argument which, Justin tells us (5), they made use of to dissuade the king of Egypt from attempting a war against them, for, said they to his heralds, it were madness for the opulent Egyptians to invade so poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds: whereas the Scythians would fall upon them with utmost fierceness at the sight of so rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a mullet they sent afterwards to Darius when he had entered Scythia, that as they had neither cities, houses, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treatise in their country, except their families, and the epilochi of their ancestors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery; the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) Lib. ii. c. 2. (6) Vid. & Herodot. l. iv.
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...literally true: but might not this unwieldy vessel have been at first designed only to keep the arrows which every soldier threw in, and the other part of the story has been foisted in process of time. However, supposing the fact as related, and that it must have been a prodigious army that could furnish metal enough for such a monstrous vessel, yet might it not therefore necessarily follow, that the Scythian nation was more populous than its neighbours, considering the vast extent of it. But what seems to be a stronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually sending out, chiefly towards the southern parts of the world, of which we shall have further occasion to speak in the sequel.

As they cultivated no art nor sciences except that of war, nor scarcely any trade or commerce except pathurage, the reader must expect us to be very barren on these sciences.

...Thucydides in the place above quoted seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe they have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture: and another Greek author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the Hellepont. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that, like some of his predecessors, he has mistaken them for the Celaen, who, as we have observed in a former section, were become great merchants both by sea and land under their king Mercury. For as for the Scythians, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by and by. They do not so much as seem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from Asia, after their twenty-eight years invasion of it: neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the Cretan among the Celaen, or the Bards and Druids among the Gauls. Herodotus, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous things he has said of them from the common report of their neighbours; since it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hostile way.

...Their language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern language antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cause it to split itself into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the Munsterish, Slavonick, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Saxen, and many others; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to make us believe them sprung from the same mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a visible vein of the Celtic still preferred, as we have seen to this day among us, and which runs through all those various languages; that they did not anciently differ much more from it, than the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.

...Neither is it so much to be wondered at, that they should have branched out into such a vast variety, as that they should still preserve so much of their pristine affinity as we find they do. We have in a former section endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phrases that are found not only in those northern languages, but also in the Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persic, which shew them to have been so many dialects of the old Celtic; if those few relics of the Scythians, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and districts, do not so plainly appear to be of Celtic extraction, we must remember, they have past through so many different hands, and have so often changed their dres, especially among the Greeks, that they may be easily suppos'd to have quite lost their ancient form. We may add, that some of them are perfectly Greek, or translated from the Scythian into that language (F).

Their chief manufactures seem to have consist'd mostly in building their wagons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the skins of beasts, they must have had some notion of tanning them, as well as those with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewise reasonably suppos'e, that they fabricated their

* DICTY: Cret. de bell. Troj. i. ii. c. 8.

(F) Of this kind is the name of the Orenes, a Scythian tribe, so called in Herodotus from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the Greek Όρνη. The Cymodoci were so called from χύμος, cup. Of the same extraction, were the Hephaestia, Anthrophoia, and several others, which we need not point out to the reader.
their own weapons, which were scytemas, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they were so expert that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark even as they rode on horseback; infomuch, that it became a common proverb, That the Scythians were as dextrous at their bow, as the Greeks were at their lyre. Hence Cynaxares, king of Media, is reported to have lent his son to be brought up under them to learn the use of the bow. They were so less expert in horsemanship (G), infomuch that we find them called ἰωνίζομενοι by Herodotus and Lucian. And their very women are affirmed to have been so well skilled in riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men. The ancients observe, that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shown the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that their horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they whenever occasion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. Herodotus indeed tells us of one province of them, whole inhabitants called themselves Olbiopolitans, and the Greeks Boryshenians, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called hufbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale. But the rest of the Scythians wholly neglected it, chusing rather to roam where they found the best pasturage for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it.

And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of ancient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their clothing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts, as we are told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggon, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such-like weapons, if their heads were made of copper, as is probable they were if the story we have related above of the large copper vessel that was made of them be literally true, there was still less art required in making them, since they might easily cast them in a mould. Their bows might also be made of the same metal like those of other ancient nations, though it is not improbable, they might also have some smiths to forge iron and steel weapons, besides those they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be supposed, they could make their waggon without the help of such artificers, though upon the whole it doth appear, that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and used none they could possibly do without.

Their chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds, they entrusted the care of them to Shepherds, who were a lower rank of Scythians below the martial men, and had slaves and captives under them. They used to move from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families which were unfruit to go to the wars. Those did chiefly live upon honey and milk, especially that of their mares, from which creature, if Herodotus was rightly informed, they had a strange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities.

What provisions the warlike fort made, when they were absent from their flocks, we cannot guess, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to seize upon all the cattle they could meet with.

From an instance or two we read of their kings, it seems as if they allowed of polygamy, and were not over strict in their marriages. Some we find took wives from

7 Herodot. lib. i. 2 Id. lib. iv. Lucian in Tolot. & Hermot. Mela, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. Bouchart, ubi supra, & al. 4 Herodot. ubi supra. Justin. lib. ii. c. 2. Mela & al. 1 Id. ibid.

(G) This the learned Bouchart observes the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where speaking of the army of Magog or Scythia, he calls their horsemen ἰωνίζομενοι. Saffin says ἰωνίζομενoι Mikhel, horfet and horfemom, clothed with perfection, or compleatly disciplined and armed, or, as Kimhi renders it, expert in all kind of weapons, and our English version clothed with all kind of Armour; for such it appears the Scythian horse were.

(7) Ezek. xxxviii. 5.
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from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the fame liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reason the Scythians gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feasts of the Greeks, namely, that it was unreasonable to fuppofe that a god should drive men into all the violent transports of madness, seems to shew, that drunkenfe was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to fealing. Fasting.

One-feast they had, however, once a year in every district, for tho' who, as we hinted before, had figured themselves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was used at funerals, and with which we shall close this article, since we have no more to say concerning their other customs.

We have already spoken of the funeral obsequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other perfon died, his nearest relations caufed his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from house to house among his friends and acquaintance, who received and fealed them in their turn, setting part of the fame things before the deceased, which they did to their guests. This was continued forty days, Funeral feast.

after which the perfon was buried, and his attendants went and purified themselves, quits, not by any ablution, but by the fmoke of foine hemp-fed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon some burning stones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincence ufed in Greece, and so transported the company as to fit them a howling aloud. This ferved instead of washing, which the Scythians, our author tells us, never practiced. Not even the women, who ufed, instead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paste, which they made with cypres, cedar, and frankincence, ground upon a rough stone, and foked in water, which paste, being taken off the next day, rendered their skins clean, fhining, and sweet. There remains, that we should fay a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of Scythia, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal Scythians. For whether they were all really defended from the fame flock, as we suppoled in the beginning, or whether they did spring from some other of Magog's brethren, yet since they inhabited fo confradatable a part of Scythia, and made fuch figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit at least thefe of the greatest note.

The Sarmatians, we have already hinted, are affirmed by Herodotus to have been Sarmatians, the offspring of the Scythians (H) and Amazons. These warlike women, or, as their Scythian name Aior Patta imports, Man-flayers, in their flight from the Greeks having landed near the precipices of the Palus Medus belonging to the free Scythians, and having been perfuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of Scythia, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of Sarmatia on the other side of the Tanais. Hence our author says, the Sarmatian women retained still the Amazonian temper and way of life, being more warlike than the reft of the Scythian females, and the language of the country became a corrupt Scythian, because the Amazons never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves they make it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had dispatched an enemy in the field.

The Taurians had this inhuman custom, that they Sacrificed to a virgin all that Taurians were shipwrecked, and all the Grecians which they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the perfon on the head with a club, after

1 Herodot. ubi supra.  
2 Id. ibid. Mel. ubi supra.

(8) Some authors, however, from a passage in Pline (8), where he tells us, that they were reported to be defended from the Medes; and another out of Polybius, who tells us, that the language of the Parthians was a mixture of Scythic and Medoid (9) have suggested, that the Sarmatians, who most resemble the Parthians, were the offspring of the Medes; and that the name of Sarmatian was only a corruption of the Chaldaic דבכשע שֶהמדא (10), a "viper from the Medes." We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think Herodotus may be more relied upon than the other two, who spoke at a much greater distance of time and place than he. However, if what they say be true, it proves what we observed before, that the descendants of Gomer and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only separated by degrees from each other. As to the Parthians, though their name in the Scythic and Celtic signifies separated, it seems probable, that they were rather Gomerians or Celts driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themselves into a country of the Medes, were by them called Parthians, or bastards (11).

8 lib. vi. c. 7. 9 lib. xii. 10 Vid. Mel. lib. iii. c. 4. 12 ubi. Bocchart. lib. iii. c. 14.
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after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcass down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and referring only the head to be flung on a pole. These Taurians pretended, that the virgin Demon whom they thus worshipped was Inbigena Agamemon's daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands, The Agathyrsians are said to have had their women in common in order to link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies and other ill effects of matrimony. The Neurians province being infested with dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the Budians. They observed the customs of Scythia in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they returned in their own shape 1.

The worst of all were the Androphagi or men-eaters, who observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common with the rest, but their drest and breeding of cattle. The Melanocheiromenians were so called for affecting to go always in black; they followed the Scythian customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the free Scythians did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at least as common food, but only on some particular occasions, such as we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by. The Budians were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the rest did they build them a city, and called it Gelonium, whole houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls was three hundred fathoms in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the Greek gods; and here they celebrated the Bacchanalia triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themselves to the keeping of cattle and to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, these Gelonians had too much better minds than the Budians, that they seemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other fuch animals: their skins sewed together were used for garments, and the tecticles against hysteric diseases. The Caunones, Phantic, Arimaspi in Scythia Europaea we have spoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more resemble the royal Scythians than any others, in most particulars, especially in their warlike genius, and simplicity of living.

The last two nations or tribes of Scythians worth our notice were the Scythian Nomades, inhabiting, as we have seen, upon the north-west of the Caipian sea, and the Messagotes on the caft. As for the Amazons, as they are accounted somewhat fabulous, we shall speak of them in a separate note (I). The Nomades differed so little

1. Id. ibid.
2. Id. ibid.

(I) Concerning these so famed and so much wondered of female warriors, it was endless to trouble ourselves with all that has been written on either side; those seem to come nearest the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been said of them by the ancients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the Scythian women in general, and more particularly that of the Sarmatians, in whose neighbourhood lived thee Amazons if they were not originally of the same blood, with the occasion which gave birth to this strange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their husbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a strange country; if, I say, in all these circumstances, there will be nothing so improbable in the brave and masculine line method they took to save themselves from slavery and to revenge the slaughter of their husbands. We may add, that the Scythians as well as Celtic women were anciently held in great authority and veneration, for their skill in divination above the men, inasmuch, that the latter are even upbraided by ancient authors (12) for suffering them to asst and fleer their councils as they pleased, and to have even precluded in all courts of judicature and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (13). Being therefore thus invited to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery; we need not wonder, that they to soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence, and to like so many heroes, having chosen one or two of the wifest and stoutest among them to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and achievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it was nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the fame allowance in both cases, than to suppose, that to so many historians, who have written of either
of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble Scythian youths, whom our author calls Hilios and Scythes (15) had been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first invasions of the Scythes into Asia, and in the reign of Seleucus king of Egypt, retired into part of Capadocia with their wives and families. They brought with them all the manners and inclination of warlike youths, by whose affability they got possession of the region of Thessalonica, on the river Thermus, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length killed by all the inhabitants of all those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprized of it, than, partly through fear of slavery and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of flavity, and destroyed the refuse of their persons who had escaped the slaughter, that is, being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew their enemies, greatly augmented their own dominions, and made their neighbours fruitful for them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their fruiting; whence they came to be called Amazons; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or sent them back to their fathers, according to Herodotus (16).

These surprising exploits were achieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, Lampiso or Lampets, and Marthaesa or Merope, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of Mars; and having carried their conquests into Asia and built some cities there, this last, who had been left there with army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home laden with spoils, was afterwards surprized, and cut off with the rest of her female warriors by some bands of barbarians. She was succeeded by her daughter Ortawa or Orbya, whose valour, added to her beauty, was surpassing, did not a little raise the glory of the Amazons. To this succeeded Antiope, whose father, Hippolytus and Menalippe, are reported to have challenged Hercules and Theseus, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by these two heroes. 4. Penthesilea was another famous Amazons' queen, who is said to have come at head of an army of her viragoes to the assistance of Priamus' king of Troy. 'Tis added, that she was the inventor of the horse-cloth, and was at length killed by Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. Some other particulars related of these heroines smell so much of the fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them (16).
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The Massagetae did likewise imitate the free Scythians in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; but they used, besides bows and arrows, for which they were so famed, javelins and cymeters. Brafs served them instead of heel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armours. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brafs, whilst their briesle, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or wagon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, Herodotus tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the Scythians by the Greeks, whereas it was peculiar to the Massagetae only. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms; all his relations met and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate, because thefe last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations and intimate friends. The fun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and sweetest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and sweetest of all the gods. They neither fowled nor planted, but contented themselves with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with milk, of which the Ixarites did yield them a very great plenty. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the nobility of all the Scythians, being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowefs, and exceeding them in opulence.

S E C T. VII.

The history of the Scythian kings.

What has been observed in some of the foregoing sections, concerning the barrenness of Scythian records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will candidly convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in Herodotus, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any index, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of Asia, and engaging in wars with some of the Aegatian monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to Europe, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of their former affinity. And this seems

\[\text{\textsuperscript{9} Herodot. lib. i. ad finem. } \text{\textsuperscript{1} Mela, Cluver. } \text{\textsuperscript{2} Vid. Strab. l. xi. paff. Dio. Sicel. Mela, Cluver. } \text{\textsuperscript{3} al.}\]

could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained still the fame conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their return, their wives acquainted them further, that, since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side of the Tanais. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march outward of that river, and three more northeastward from the lake Matris, they arrived and settled in the country of Sarmatia, where they continued till in our author's time. Hence it is, that the Sarmatian women are by far the greatest warriors of all the Scythians; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the Amezonians not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach, their children the true Scythic, the Sarmatians became a mixture of the Scythic and of the Amazonica. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into Europe and Asia as for those of America, they shall be insisted on in their proper place.
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seems to have been most probably their cause, because they cultivated no arts, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The Celts indeed had their Caretis; and other European nations their Burdi and Druidi, who celebrated their exploits in verse, as we have shown in a former section; but we do not find any footsteps of the Scythians having had any such persons among them; so that tradition, such as it could be got, seems to have been the only fountain from which our ancient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confused and irregular a manner as they had received it.

The following is a list of Scythian kings, as we find them mentioned by Herodotus, Justinus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Melas; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they succeeded one another in the order we have set them down, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations, or some of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we shall to the list of their names subjoin such particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we shall be forced to close this history.

Kings of Scythia:

1 Scythes. 2 Napis. 3 Phibra. 4 Sagittus or Prototyphes. 5 Madyes. 6 Thounyris. 7 Jancyrus. 8 Indatyris.

9 Targitaus. 10 Calaxasis. 11 Sebolypethes. 12 Panaxagor larvae. 13 Tanatis.

14 Saulius. 15 Spargapites. 16 Aripetbes. 17 Scyl. 18 Oetolmades. 19 Ariantes. 20 Aheas. 21 Lambinias.

Scythes is that fabulous son of Hercules, begotten on a monster, of whom we have spoken in a former note, and from whom the Scythian nation was affirmed by the fabulous Greeks to have taken their name, if not to be descended. This history seems to have been invented by the Greeks, for no other end than to fully the origin of the noble and warlike Scythians, to whom they were no doubt vastly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accomplishments, as the reader will easily by comparing the history of these, with what we shall relate, in a subsequent chapter, of the more obscure and barbarous beginnings of the Grecian nation.

Sagittus is said to have been his son Panaxagoras, who is perhaps the same with Sagittus Prototyphes, the father of Madyes, with an army of horse, to the affiance of Orithya, queen of the Amazons, against Theseus king of Athens. To persuade him to it, she let him know, that the Amazons were of Scythian race, that it was mere necessity that had obliged them to dispatch their surviving husbands, and to erect themselves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, she used all the arguments that could induce the Scythian king to her affiance: his son came accordingly with a large army of horse, but presently after his arrival, upon some dispute which that prince took at those brave heroines, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, who soon after gained the victory over them.

Madyes, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter, and supposed to be the Madyes, with the Indatyris of Strabo, though different from that of Herodotus, was the son of Prototyphes, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the Scythians, having drove the Cymanrians or northern Celts out of Europe, and purged them into Asia, invaded the country of the Medes, and held the greater part of upper Asia in subjection twenty-eight years. The occasion of their quarrel with the Cymanrians, and of this Affatic irritation, is indeed no where to be found; but may, however, be easily guessed. Scythes, we observed, was more fruitful of men than of food and sufficiency; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable frosts and snows; where though they then discharged their over-swelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the south, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accustomed to an easy and delicate life, as those were to a hardy and warlike one, were most likely to yield to them if not their country, yet at least a free passage through.

* Herodot. I. iv.  b Justin. ex Trog. I. ii. c. 4.  c Vol. II. p. 15.  d C
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through it, and affix them with all necessaries of life, that they might be the sooner rid of them? Hence it is, that they so swiftly passed into Asia, and led their victorious army even into Egypt. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by their king Pharnamnaites, either by presents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made like-wise some incursions into the land of the Philistines; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of Bethshean from the half tribe of Manasseh on this side of Jordan, and called it by their name the city of the Sythians or Syriopolis, as we have hinted in the history of the Medes*. In their return through Syria some of their stragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Aesalon, and for their sacrilege were punished with hemorrhoids, or, as others say, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other sex; which did also cleave to their pottery as a brand of infamy.

They might probably have held their dominion in Asia much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactations on the one hand, and the treachery of Cyparissus king of the Medes on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in this history. What became of the rest that survived the slaughter we cannot give an account of, but many of them might submit themselves to the Medes, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is suppos’d, and served Nebuchadnezzar, part of whose army is said to have conspired of all the families of the north; but the greatest part, according to Herodotus, marched towards Scythia”, where they met with an unexpected reception from their servants and slaves. This story is somewhat differently reported, as well as that of their Asiatic expedition, and the time they spent in it: Justin, who calls this their third expedition, lays, it lasted but eight years, during which their wives, having given them over for lost, on account of the great distance between them, had married their servants and slaves, whom, as we have observed, their masters used upon all such excursions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon therefore as the Sythians were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upsurge of races fomented to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

But Herodotus, who speaks of this expedition as their first into Asia, and affirms it to have lasted twenty-eight years, adds, that their wives, unused to be so long idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was spring, which obstructed their masters return into Scythia, after they had themselves to be driven out of their Asiatic conquests by the Medes. This last is the more probable of the two in many respects, and agrees better with those other authors, who affirm, as was observed before, that the Sythians held the dominion of Asia twenty-eight years. However that be, this flavius offspring, having timely notice of their masters returning home, had so well fortified and entrenched themselves against them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not some of the wilder of Scythians betoght themselves of a stratagem, which quite disconcerted that rebellious rout.

They had already been several skirmishes with equal success on both sides, when one of the Scythian lords told the rest, that it was a shameful thing for them to fight with their slaves, as with their equals, and that if, desiring to force them into submission, they must fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and scorpions, such as they were formerly wont to chastise them with. This advice was followed with surprising success, and the flavius rebels were taken with such a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the most cruel deaths, whilst their mistresses, conscious of their guilt, sought to avoid their husbands’ resentment, by hanging, or some other speedy death. After

* Ib. p. 17.  
HERODOT. lib. i.  
H. ii. c. 5.  
HERODOT. lib. ii. iv.

(K) It is plain by these Scythians leaving their wives, servants, and baggage behind, that they designed to return again from Asia; for it is scarce probable, that their design was to conquer some innoxious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we observed above, that they only went to affix those new colonies, which they were obliged to discharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good settlement there, after which they designed to return to their own homes, as usual.

However that be, this adventure seems plainly to contradict a story which Herodotus tells of the Scythians, that they used to put out the eyes of their slaves; for it can hardly be supposed, that this flavius army that opposed their return was wholly a new offspring, unless we can believe that their wives took their blind slaves into their beds almost as soon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itself between the masters and slaves, it is so far from being a feint, or so much as doubted of in those parts, even at this day, that we...
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After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the Scythsians, according to Justin, enjoyed a long and un molested peace till the days of Janus, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. We must, however, except the invasion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

The Scythsians, or Scythians, was that heroic whom, we are told, *Cyrus the Tomyris.

great did, or at least pretended to, court in marriage, and was sending an embassy to treat about it. But the, supposing that her kingdom, rather than her person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to the embassadors not to proceed further. Cyrus, provoked either at her refusal, or at her Shelleying his artifice, advanced with his army against the Massagetae, who were then under her dominion.

What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragic end, and the revenge which that exasperated princes took of him, we have already seen in another chapter, and shall not repeat it.

Cyrus, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which Janyusz,

bent to Daris king of Persia, when he sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in token of subjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that aspiring monarch's army; and as such seems to be the same with Herodotus's Indatathyrs, * or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the Persians is variously related by Justin, and the last quoted author: the former tells us, that the Scythian monarch had exasperated Daris by refusing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces some Scythian princes, accusing him with being the first aggressor and having invaded the Persia terri- tories, whilst Daris himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the Scythians had committed in a few years before, when they held it in subjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling these accounts and the two different names of the Scythian monarch; but by supposing the Janus of Justin to have been the father of Indatathyrs, and that, finding that the refusal of his daughter had provoked the Persian king to a war, he resolved to be before-hand with him, and to send his son Indatathyrs to invade his territories; and, that dying soon after he intailed that war upon his son, from which he afterwards reaped so much glory. Herodotus might not think fit to transmit a circumstance so much to the honour of the barbarous Scythians, as that of the great Daris's seeking to contrive an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the same reason, that he makes the Persia army to have been rather harried and scourged out of Scythia, than repulsed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for Daris, if he really received such an affront from the king of Scythia as the refusal of his daughter, it was too ridiculous a pretence to ground this invasion upon; and a more glorious motive must be sought out, though it so great a distance of time, to cover the true and real one.

However that be, Indatathyrs, having received the proud challenge from the Persian king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have already seen to signify not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection: let him this haughty reply; that, as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor Jupiter and Vesta queen of the Scythians, he would shortly send him a remorseful remonstrance, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent of his arrogence. This present accordingly was dispatched to him from after: it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any further explanation; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of Scythian tribes which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. The last and living creature Daris immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of indemnification.

* Herodot. lib. i. ad fin. † Vol. II. p. 87. ‡ iv. 5 li. & 5. See before. Vol. II. p. 102. E.

are told, that the Scythians, whose city stands in the Saratian Scythia, did cut off a coin, which they call a Dingee Nencroth, to be emblematic memory of it, which had a man on horseback, flagging a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been found ever since throughout all Russia. It is probable likewise, that it was from this branch of conjugal faith in the Scythian wives, that the custom has been since imitated among the Slavonic women of preserving their future spider, even in the time of their courtship with a Pelor, or sklep, wrought with their own hands, in token both of a greater subjection and fidelity than their Scythian ancestors, or most probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

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mission. But Gobrias, who knew the Scythians perhaps better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another fene to the latter, namely, that the Persians must not hope to avoid the effects of the Scythian valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice: Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the Persian army (L).

Accordingly, the king of Scythia summoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians; the Agathyrsians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlomians, and Taurians. These, being assembled in council and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three first were the only ones who esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join Indathyras in defence of it. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the Persian territories without their participation, so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which Darius was preparing against him. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them, that the Persians designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them, that it was not their design to stand idle and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyras was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved at the same time that he made the best defence he could with his royal and free Scythians and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their country. To this end he resolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and springs, and to destroy all the grafts and provision they went. He divided his army into two columns, the one, under the command of Taucisius, was to act in conjunction with the Gelonians and Budians; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himself; whilst the Sarmatians were ordered to advance to the territories of king Scopas; that, in case the Persians should come by that way, they might retire by the lake Meotis to the river Tanais; and upon their retiring harrafs them as much as they could. Taucisius was ordered to keep still a day’s march before the Persians, and to tire them with frequent skirmishes, in order to draw them into the territories of some of these five nations that had refused to join with them: and if that did not succeed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their discretion should suggest to them.

These orders being thus fixed, they sent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could spare; after which Indathyras commanded the best of his horse to march towards the enemy, whilst the rest followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the Persian army advanced about three days march from the Ister, destroyed all the product of the ground and fled away. This cau’d the Persians to pursue after them, as fast as the others retired still further back, till they had drawn them through Sarmatia into the territories of the Budians, where they burnt and laid waste all that came in their way. They continued their pursuit till they came to a great defant of about seven days march; and here Darius, not thinking it proper to proceed further, let himself about building of some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. These, however, he left unfinished to go in pursuit of the flying Scythians, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the Melanchlomians, Androphages, and Neurians, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the Persians, and who failed not to lay all waste as they went through, that the Persian army might find nothing there to subsist on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former

(L) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in Herodotus, who tells us, that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the Scythians had drawn the Persian army into the furthest parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the Melanchlomians, Androphages, and Neurians. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as Darius then was; neither will those circumstances he then found himself in permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the Scythians. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that their messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the Scythian territories.
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a former section: the result of which was, that the Persian monarch was forced to retire with the loss of the greatest part of his numerous army (M), glad to escape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer still this invasion would have cost the Perians, had the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the Jber, kept their promis to the Scythians, and left them to destroy it, may be easily guessed; but they only deceived them with a promise that they would demolish it, and made a show as if they were going about it in good earnest, by taking off so much of it on the Scythian side as an arrow might reach, to prevent the Scythians passing and demolishing it, which, however, they soon rejoined again, when the flying Perians appeared; by which means Darius once more escaped the fury of the pursuing Scythians, who failed not ever after to load the Ionians with the woof of epithets for their treachery and cowardice. As soon as they found, that Darius was gone beyond their reach, they resolved to be revenged of him some other way, and to make themselves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. Thence, so lately conquered by the Persian king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waste as far as the Hellespont, and repassing the Jber returned into Scythia, loaden with the immense spoils of that province.

Saulius. This was he of whom we took notice before, for killing Anacharbas, a Saulius, prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into Scythia, which he had seen used among the Grecians. For though Anacharbas had chosen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a Scythian, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. Saulius hastened to the place, and found him playing on a tymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot. Our author gives us here the names of three of Saulius's predecessors, in a literal descent, viz. Spargapythis, Cyrus, and Gnarus, and of one of his successors, viz. Indathyrus. 1

Aripitides had a numerous issue, but particularly one fon named Scythes, not by Aripitides, a Scythes, but by an Iberian, woman, who therefore brought him up in all the Grecian customs and learning. Aripitides being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the Agathyrsians, this fain found means to posses himself of his father's kingdom.

Scythes, though now king of Scythia, and married to one of his father's wives Scythes, who was also a Scythes, yet preferred the Grecian customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence to his subjects, he betook himself of the following stratagem; he led his Scythians to the metropolis of the Barybentians, which is reported to be a colony of the Milesians, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his Scythian dress, clothed himself after the Grecian manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the Grecian worship, customs, and dress, after which he resumed his Scythian habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing Sphinxes and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but whist he was in the midst of it, a Barybentinian went and acquainted the Scythians with it in words

* Vol. II. p. 105. & seq.  

[M] If Herodotus's account of this trystation may be credited, Darius was not so much repulsed by the arms of the Scythians, as affronted at an unaccountable instance of contempt which they occasionally showed to him, just as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us, they were both drawn in order of battle. When a hare accidentally starting in the interval between them, the Scythians immediately quitted their ranks with loud yells, and in the usual confusion pursued after it. One would expect, that the Persians would have took the opportunity of falling upon them whilst they were in this hurry-burry; but, it seems, Darius judged quite otherwise of an enemy that threw so little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; so that he thought it high time to take Gelon's advice and secure his retreat as soon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

k Id. ibid.  

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words to this effect: you upbraided us with celebrating our Bacchanals, because you rejoiced with the god we love, you say, the use of our reaon; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that God has taken possession of him. Some of the principal Scythians were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers performing the Bacchic rites with a numerous choir.

At their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did to engage the Scythians, as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother Oesamadas in his room. Scythes being informed of the occasion of this revolt fled into Thrace, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the Ister, where he found Stelates, king of Thrace advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, Oesamadas received a message from the Thracian king to this effect: why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son and half my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will send Scythes to thee, to shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. Oesamadas agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to Stelates, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of Scythia having received his brother from him, caudef his head to be immediately taken off.

Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately spoken upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting-men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he causd it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to Enampus.

The last king we shall mention in this history (M), and under whom the Scythes are said to have received a considerable overthrow, was Abisares, or, as he is called by others, Mattheas and Mactheas. This prince, being engaged in a war with the Thracians, a people of Mysia on the south banks of the mouth of the river Ister, sent to Philip king of Macedon to desire his assistance, and upon his complying promised to make him his heir to the crown of Scythia. But the Thracians having at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to Philip, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for

1 Id. ibid.  n Id. ibid.

N) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epoch.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of Herodotus, not fo much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of Greek, but Scythian, extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of Scythia, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indifferently call Scythians, who, though they owned themselves to be of much less descent than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before Darius's expedition. The account they gave of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by Tartares, the son of Jupiter, by a daughter of the river Byrbenes; that this prince had three sons, viz. Lygos, Apoxus, and Colosax, in whose reign, a plow with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning hot; but the youngest, coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to them. They add, that the Aeschatian Scythes were descended from the elder, the Catarrian from Apoxus, and the race of their kings, whom they called Patzliariss, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of Scholates, which, our author tells us, was also the name of their kings, but were called Scythians by all the Greeks. The miraculous golden utensils, we are told, were put up at utmost care, and that their kings did affix at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colosax, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, as being devoid of any one to take his place, allowed however, that the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have lasted at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers and snow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered; we may reasonably suppose, these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the ancient Scythians, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any other, meaning doublets than any other Scythians, though older by 1000 years than the time of Darius. As for the pretended divine exiration of their founder and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days, than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms. And the divine original of their first founders, Hexa was such a one, that it is most likely, that the kings of Scythes, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the royal Scythian, but
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for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the Scythians neither wanted the help of the Macedonians, nor their king an heir, while he had a son alive. Philip, who was then besieging Byzantium, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expenses of the siege, especially considering, that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistence of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

At this had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the indecency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their enrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient succour. Philip, vexed at heart to see himself thus bafiled, resolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilst he was raising the siege in order to enter into a war with them, he sent the Scythians word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to Hercules at the mouth of the Jster, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the Scythians. At this, who finetl his design, sent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care both of the erecting of it, and of its remaining safe there; but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he persisted in spite of him, to come and set up such a statue, they would soon melt and call it into arrows against him. Philip not minding his threatening refusal, and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other, a bloody battle ensued, in which, our author tells us, the Scythians, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the craftiness of the Macedonian king; twenty-thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty-thousand of their finest mares, which they sent into Macedon for breeding. As for gold and silver they found none among them, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the Scythians gave of their poverty in that respect.

However, this overthrow is not so universally agreed among ancient authors as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces Mitridates haranguing his army, part of which consisted of Scythians, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, Darius and Philip, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signifying themselves upon many occasions, both against the Macedonians and Romans, and against several other nations; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

Lambinus is supposesd, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of Scythia.

* I. xxxvii. c. 7.  

but that some of them reigned oer other tribes or branches which time and necessity had divided for them, especially as they were ever warring and elowing one another out of the most pleasant parts of the country.

With respect to this pretended daughter of the Bosphorus, it will not be amifs here to observe once for all, that it was a common custom in those early and ignorant times for the first planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but also to the considerable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their posterity, who every where affected to boast of something miraculous in their origin, chose rather to derive it from the river itself than from their real parent who gave name to it. We shall meet in the history of the fabulous and heroic times with instances more than enough of the sons and daughters of rivers to justify the truth and show the necessity of this present observation.

* Vid. Hyl. lib. iii. p. 172.
AS the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were
anciently comprehended under the name of Asia Minor, we shall premise
a general description of that country, for the better understanding of the particular
accounts which we shall have occasion to join, as we come to treat of the several re-

gions contained therein.

The different and various acceptations of the word Asia, even in its strictest
sense, has created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led the un-
wary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniences, the
incomparable bishop Usher a advises those who are to give any account of Asia to
begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impos-
sible to understand the ancient historians or geographers. He looks upon this as one
of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between
the sacred and profane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of
Asia, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful dissection of times and
places. In reading the ancient historians or geographers we frequently meet with the
following terms, viz. The Greater and Lesser Asia, Asia Proper or Asia properly fo
called, the Lydian Asia, the Proconsal Asia, the Asiatic Diocese. That vast contin-
ent, which was known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Asia, was
divided by the ancient geographers first into the Greater, and Lesser Asia. The
lesser, commonly termed Asia Minor, comprehended a great many provinces, but
that which included Phrygia, Mycia, Caria, and Idaia, was named Asia Proper or
Asia properly so called, as is plain from Tully b. Where it is to be observed, that
Tully, in enumerating the regions contained in Asia Proper, makes no mention of
Eolіs or Ionіa, though undoubtly parts of Asia Proper, because they were com-
prehended partly in Lydia and partly in Mycia. Lydia, beside the inland country
commonly known by that name, contained also the adjoining countries both of
Ionіa, lying on the sea-side between the rivers Hermaus and Meander, and of Eolіs,
extending from Hermes to the river Caicus according to Ptolomey c, or according to
Strabo d to the promontory Leuctum, the ancient boundary between Troas and the
sea-coast of the Greater Mycia (A). The remaining parts of Eolіs and Ionіa areby
Pliny e, Strabo f, Hellenicus g, and Scalіn h, placed in Mycia; nay Mycia itself, after
d the Eolіans possessed themselves of it, was commonly called Eolіs; which Stephαnus
not being aware of makes Aіфіs of Єolіs a different city from Aіфіs of Asia near
Antandrus. From what we have said it is plain, that Asia Proper comprehended
Phrygia, Mycia, Lydia, Caria, Eolіs, and Ionіa. This tract was bounded, accord-
ing

* In his geographical and historical disquisition touching Asia properly so called. b Cic. in Oct.
pro Flacco. c lib. v. cap. 2. d lib. xii. e lib. v. cap. 30. f lib. xv. g Id. lib. xiii. h SCALI

(A) That Mycia reached to the mouth of the river Caicus is acknowledged, not only by Ptolomey (1),
but also by Strabo (2) and yet, because it was pos-
sessed in his time by the Eolians, he tells us, that
Eolіs, properly so called, extended from Hermes to
Leuctum (3). In like manner Pliny (4) makes the
promontory Leuctum the boundary betwixt Eolіs and
Troas; though elsewhere, following other authors,
he places Aіфіs in Eolіs (5). But Hellenicus (6)
Strabo, and Stephαnus (7) make it a city of Eolіs
near the Hellespont.

(1) lib. v. c. 2. (2) lib. xii. (3) lib. xiii.
(6) Strabo. l. xiii. (7) Id. l. xv.
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Chap. 13.

As Asia Proper is but a part of Asia Minor, so the Lydian Asia is only a part of the Lydian Asia Proper (B). Asia in this acceptance comprehends Lydia, Ionia, and Ionia, Asia, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that Asia whereof mention is made in the Aes and St. John’s revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. Paul’s journey: When they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia; after they were come to Myidia they assayed to go into Bithynia; but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by Myidia came down to Troas. Where it is to be observed, that the Greater Phrygia through which they passed into Galatia, Myidia Olymposa bordering upon Bithynia, and Hellepont where Troas was situate, through provinces of Asia Proper so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the Proper Asia of the Romans; as is likewise Caria, by what we read elsewhere in the same book. As these cities and countries did not belong to the Lydian Asia, so what remains of Asia Proper, together with the seven Churches mentioned in the Revelations, were properly Lydia, or the Lydian Asia. In the first place Pergamus is placed by Xenophon in Lydia, and also by Aristotile. The name Aristotile tells us, that Smyrna was at first poiseffed by the Lydians, and Scylax Cyraeuluts recorks it among the cities of Lydia, as also Ephesus, wherein he agrees with Herodotus, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira, are reckoned by Ptolemy among the cities of Lydia, as is Laodicea by Stephanus (C).

The Proconsular Asia (so called because it was governed by a proconsul) accord- ing to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by Augustus, comprehended the following countries, viz. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Myidia, Phrygia, and the proconsular Hellepont. And this is Ptolemy’s Asia Proper. By the same emperor Pergamus and Bithynia were made a Praetorian province, and Asia a confederation, containing all that part of Asia which lay on this side of the river Holy and mount Taurus. In the time of Constantine the Great the Proconsular Asia was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the Proconsular Asia, and the Asiatic dioceses; the one being governed by the proconsul of Asia, and the other by the Vicarius or Lieutenant of Asia (D). The Proconsular Asia, according to the description which Eunapius gives us of it, seems to have been much the same with the Lydian Asia abovementioned. In the reign of Theodosius the Elder, who succeeded Valens, the confederal Hellepont was taken from the vicarius of Asia, and added to the Proconsular

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(B) That in ancient times Lydia was called Mo- nia and the Lydians Basanians, is manifest from Herodotus (8), Diodorus Siculus (9), Dionysius Afinic (10), Strabo (11) Pliny (12), Stephans, and when and that Monoia was called Asia is no lefsplain from Cal- lus, who flourished before Archelaus (13), from Dometius Siculus, contemporaneously with Grotis and Arriaucta the Grammarian (14), from Euphrates (15), Suda (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that Lydia was formerly called Asia, is expressly af- firmed by the ancient scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius (17). From whence Lydia borrowed the name of Asia is altogether a uncertain fact; some deriving it from a city of Lydia, seated on mount Triusalis, others from one Asia king of Lydia, who according to the Ly- dian communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that Lydia has a better claim to the name of Asia, than any other part of that continent.

(C) Laodicea is placed by Ptolemy in Caria, by others in Phrygia, and by some in Lydia, the con- fines of these countries having been in often altered, that it was not possible, as Strabo witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the ancient geographers in Phrygia, by another in Lydia, and by a third in Caria.

(D) We find in the Imperial Constitutions two receipts of the emperor Valens, the one dated the 27th of January 365, (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign), and directed to Clerculus, Vicarius Asiae; the other dated the 6th of the October following, and directed to Auxonius, Vicarius Diasporae Asiae (20). This distinction was brought in by Constantine, and continued under the chritian emperors that succeeded him.
The History of the Phrygians.

Book I.

The name of Afa.

Climate and fertility.

In present division.

The Asiatic dioceses (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict sense, as distinct from the Proconsular Afa and the provinces under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the Proconsular Afa. According to this acceptance all Afa in the reign of Theodosius the Younger consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of Afa, viz. the Proconsular Proper, which he governed by himself, the confinal Hellespont, and that of Rhodos, with the other islands called Cyclades, which were first made a province by Vespasian, and placed under a prefect; seven were under the vicario or lieutenant of Afa, viz. Lydia, Caria, Phrygia Salutaris, Phrygia Pacatiana, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Paphlagonia, eight made up what was properly called the Asiatic dioceses (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet with in reading the ancient historians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned bishop Ulfilas, who thought it well worth his while to examine the various acceptations of Afa Proper in a particular treatise. As to the common name of Afa there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from Afa the daughter of Oceanus and Thebas, wife of Nepetus, and by him mother to Prometheus; others from Afa son of Atreus king of Lydia, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named Afa. Butchart is of opinion, that it took its name from the Phoenician word Afa, signifying the middle, because Afa Minor, which, says he, communicated its name to Afa the Greater, lies, as it were, in the middle between Europe and Asia. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of Pliny and Pomponius Mela. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

This country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by ancient writers, chiefly by the Romans who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the scents, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by Tully to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby, the Latin poets distinguisht this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may cally judge of from the immense sums that some of the Roman governors are said to have extorted from them, namely Mucius Antony, who, as we are told by Plutarch, was squeezed from the inhabitants of Afa Minor in the space of one year the sum of twenty thousand talents.

This country is at present divided into four parts, viz. Naxalis, properly so called, the western part; Carmania the southern part; Medulia the easter, and Amea the northmost part. By the Turks the whole country, called by them Naxalis, is divided into five parts under the government of five Beklerbegs, who reside at Coesarea, Tacat, Trebizond, Marofel, and Iomnian. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to return to the particular histories of the various kingdoms, anciently comprehended under the common name of Afa Minor.


(F) The word diocese, in the dialekt of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the Notitia Imperii, which was compiled in the reign of Theodosius the younger, the Asiatic diocese is said to consist of ten provinces only, the first and chief province of all, viz. Afa itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, Ulfilas Mercurius reckons twelve provinces belonging to this diocese, and among them Galatia, which was without all doubt a province of the diocese of Pontus (22).

The History of the Phrygians.

Sect. II.

The Description of Phrygia.

As we can scarce offer anything touching Phrygia, but what we have either at second hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we shall not dwell long on so dark and perplexed a subject, nor pretend to supply the defect of better authorities with such precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the most ordinary usually do, vent on such occasions (G).

Whence the small country before us borrowed the name of Phrygia is not determined. Some derive it from the river Phryx (now Sarabat), which divides Phrygia from Caria and empty itself into the Hermus, others from Phrygia the daughter of Aegus and Europa. The Greek writers tell us, that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of Bregynum in Macedonim, from whence they first pafled into Asia and gave the name of Phrygia or Brigia to the country which they settled in; but we shall have occasion to examine this opinion hereafter. Boechar is of opinion, that this tract was called Phrygia from a Greek verb, signifying to burn or dry, which according to him is a translation of its Hebrew name, derived from a verb of the same significations (H).

No less varies the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave rise to the proverb related by Strabo, viz. that the Phrygians and Lycians had distinct boundaries, but that it was scarce possible to ascertain them. The same writer adds, that the Trojans, Mysians, and Lydians, are by the poets all blended under the common name of Phrygians, which Claudian extends to the Pisidians, Bithynians, and Ionians. Again, Pliny places Acania in Phrygia, which together with Dardania is reckoned by Strabo among the provinces of Mysia. Phrygia Proper, according to Ptolomy whom we chuse to follow, was bounded on the north by Pontus and Bithynia, on the west by Mysia, Troas, the Igean sea, Lydia, Mieania, and Caria; on the south by Lycia; on the east by Pamphylia and Galatia. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north-latitude, extending northwards.

The names of the authors that have wrote the Phrygian history are Demetrius, Hermogenes, Timoleus, Arion, and Cornelius Alexander (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to some of the most material points of that history.

The Greek word Phrygia seems to be derived from the verb Φρυγία, to burn or parch; and hence that place on mount Oeta where Hercules was burnt took the name of Φρυγία, ώς το βλε φρυγίας πάντοτε ερατοι. Now as that part of Phrygia which was washed by the rivers Cayster and Macander was distinguished by the epithet of Καλλακακαλίς, as Strabo and Diodorus witness, it is not improbable, but that the name of Phrygia, which was at first peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Καλλακακαλίς, burnt, is variously reported. Diodorus (25) speaks of a fiery monster called Aigis, which appearing there consumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by Pallas. Others recur to the fable of Σφίπων (26), who, say they, was in that place thunder-struck by Jupiter. But without having recourse to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but consider, that this part of Phrygia we are speaking of is described both by Diodorus and Strabo (27) as a dry soil, impregnated with sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible substances, which in all likelihood gave rise to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are speaking of is by some of the ancients reckoned a province of Mysia, by others of Mieania; but Hesychius (28), Diodorus (29), and most of the other historians and geographers place it in Phrygia. Boechar is of opinion (30), that by Gomer in scripture is meant Phrygia, and that the Greek word Phrygia is a translation of the Hebrew גומר, which he derives from the verb רגומר GAMAR, importing, among other significations, to burn or consume, in which significations he swears it to have been frequently used both by the Chaldæans and Syrians.
extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country, mentioned by Ptolem. are the Iazanans and Antinemuseni towards Lyca, the Mae bei-delis or Maeceadine, the Cyddefes or Cydylles towards Bitbunya, and between these the Peltini or Speltini, the Moxiani, Phylacinus, and Hiopoulitae. To these we may add the Bercynes and Cerbois mentioned by Strabo. Phrygia is commonly divided into the Greater, and Lesser Phrygia called also Troas. But this division did not take place till Troas was subdued by the Phrygians; and hence it is no more considered by some Roman writers as a part of Phrygia, than Bitbunya, Cappadocia, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of Constantine the Great, the Greater Phrygia was divided into two districts or governments, the one called Phrygia Pacatiana, from Pacatianus who under Constantine bore the great office of the Prefectus Praetorio of the east; the other Phrygia Salutaris, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel Michael.

This country, and indeed all Afa Minor, as lying in the fifth and sixth northern climates, was in ancient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grains, being for the most part a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumna and other combustible substances. It was well fenced with cattle, having large plains and pasture-grounds. The air was, in ancient times, most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the Mobsamedan yoke. In short, whatever defirable things nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries, were found in this, while well manured, as in their original fertility.

The cities of note in Phrygia Major were, 1. Apamea or Apamie, a famous met and the metropolis of all Phrygia, till the abovementioned division of Constantine took place. It was, in ancient times, a great city, situated at the foot of the hill Sigina, surrounded by the rivers Maraja, Obrimo, and Orgia, which emptied themselves into the Meander; wherein it seems to confound the situation of the ancient Celene with that of the new city called Apamea. Celene indeed stood at the foot of the hill on which the Maraja has its spring; but Antiochus Soter, son to Antiochus Seleucus, who built Apamea of Syria, carried the inhabitants to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the Maraja and Meander begin to flow in one channel; this city he named Apamna from his mother Apamea wife to Seleucus Nicanor*. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called Apamna Cibotos; but a to the original of this appellation there is a great discrepancy among authors (1). Laodicen, now Efkebifar, feared on the banks of the river Lycus, not far from Apamna. It was first called Diospolis, afterwards Rheds, and at last Dioscoerus and Laodicen. We are told by Stephanus, that Jupiter appearing to Antiochus the son of Stratonice in his sleep commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it Diospolis from Jupiter, and Laodicen from his wife Laodic. It was afterwards greatly increased by Hiero, by Zeno the Rhetorician, and his son Poleman, who, being honoured by Cesar Augustus with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaisance to that prince add his name to that of Jupiter, calling the city Dioscoerus, the city of Jupiter and Cesar. However, the name of Laodicen, which Strabo derives from the river Lycus, prevailed. This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred on account of its softness, as the same author witnesseth, even

* STRAB. b. xii. 1 PIM. b. v. c. 30. STRAB. b. xii. Liv. lib. xxviii. MARCIANUS, lib. vi. STRAB. lib. xii. 1. Id. ibid. 1. Ibid.

(1) As the word Kibaris signifies Ark or Cifer, some have supposed, that it was so called, because the ark rested on the hill from which the river Maraja springs. But these writers confound the situation of Cibotos with that of Apamea; the former, which never bore the name of Cibotos, was situated at the foot of the hill Sigina, but Apamea Cibotos at ten miles distance. As those who traded from Italy and Greece to Afa Minor used to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general resort (30), Salmasius thinks, it was called Cibotos from its being, as it were, the common treasury of those countries (31). It is worth observing, that there are no fewer than seven cities bearing the same name, cia. Apamna of Bitbunya, Apamna of Media, Apamna on the Tigris, Apamna on the Euphrates, one in Persia, one in Syria, and one in Phrygia; and all situate between two rivers, which made Barchus (32) conclude, that they were so called from the Hebrew word signifying to surround, wherof the import is plainly exprest in Junius (33).

2 to that of Miletos so much cried up by the ancients, and besides was of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all Asia Minor. Ptolemy makes Landoce and Dioscora two different cities, wherein he is certainly mistaken. At Landoce was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Apocalypse, but at present not so much as the ruins of it are anywhere to be seen, that prophetic threat being fully accomplished; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot—because thou art lukewarm—I will spue thee out of my mouth* (K).

Hierapolis famous for its mineral waters, which, according to Strabo's account, when exposed to the air petrified in the space of a year, and yet were ended with such a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them*. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately stifled. *Strabo and Pliny* except the Galli or eunuchs of Cybele, Ammianus and Dio Nicolaus all eunuchs (L) *.

Gordium, the feast of Gordius king of Phrygia, and famous for the Gordian knot which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of Phrygia towards Cappadocia, and not between the two Phrygias, where *'if you places it'.* Not long after the death of Gordius it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as Strabo calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of Augustus, when it was again made a city and called *Julipolis* by one Cleo, a famous robber native of that place (M).

Colosse, now *Coneus*, on the south side of the *Meander*, to the people whereof St. Paul wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

Sipylos, the residence of Tantalus, and therefore called also Tantalius. Some place this city in *Meonia*, supposing Tantalus to have reigned there. 'Tis observable, that four cities, viz. Sipylos, Arcaspolis, Colpe, and Labade, were successively built on the same spot and clefroyed by earthquakes.

Synnada, Synnada, or Synnade, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by Confinente the Great declared the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris, after his division of Phrygia into Pactacina and Salutaris took place (N). Besides thefe and several other

* Revel. c. iv. ver. 15, 16. 1 lib. xiii. 2 Strab. ubi supra. 3 Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3. 4 Ut Pianus leg. prima, lea. xiii. 5 lib. iv. 6 Ammian. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. Dio. Nicem. in vita Trajan. p. 252, ed. H. Steph. 1592. 7 lib. xi. c. 7.

(K) Terrae in his dictionary tells us, that Landoce is still called Landoche, and by the Turks *Loyeche*, that it is one of the archbishopricks of Asia Minor, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers, misled by the fullitude of name, have thought to have seen Landoce in *Argos* for Landoce. At *Ekfrisis*, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four theatres of white marble, as if since as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Tetricus*, which the reader will find in Spn's account of the seven churches (K).

(L) Strabo, an eye-witness (53), says, that in his time this *Plutonium or opening was inclosed with* balusters taking up about half an acre of ground in campagna, that the pestilent steam kept within that inclosure, so that one might approach the balistern without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step farther was immediately stifled. What *Strabo* alarms is vouched by Ammianus, Dio Nicolaus, both eye-witnesses, Apollodorus, and many others (56). The city of Hierapolis is now called *Bathambakad*, and some foot-steps of what it once was are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the field, where it stood; insomuch, that Dr. Smith after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This Cleo having with a band of robbers polled himself of a strong hold on mount *Olympus*, and got himself called *Colchis*, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of Asia from gathering the annual tributes, on which consideration he was by *Marc Antony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Attic war* revolting from *Antony* he felled with *Aegusius*, who added great part of *Morea* to what *Antony* had bestowed on him, created him chief of *Jupiter Abricetius* worshipped by the *Mythian*, and high-priest of *Bellona* adored in *Comuna of Peucis*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Constantinople*, Severus subcribes as bishop of *Symma the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris* (38) and yet Socrates in his eclesiatical history (39), and *Nicerbius*, blindly following him, place this city in Phrygia Pactaciana (40). And here we may observe by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abecrius* subscribes as bishop of *Hierapolis in Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which some have looked upon as a mistake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting that before the more known city of Hierapolis in Phrygia Pactaciana, there was another of like note in Phrygia Salutaris. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one said to be under the jurisdiction of Landoce, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(34) Spn. lib. iii. (35) lib. xiii. (36) ubi supra & Apuleius de Mundo. (37) Strab. lib. xii.


(41) Consult. hist. ad. xii. (42) lib. v. c. 29. & 30.

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The History of the Phrygians.

Book I.

other cities of less note mentioned by the ancients, there were in later times some
of no small account, such as Sappa, the habitation of Erostratos, father of Ottoman the first
king of the Turks, Char-a-chisar, by the Greeks called Melampyrus, or the Black
tower, Cilixyga, Eirigot, &c. taken by the said Ottoman from the cherokee princes
at the first rite of the Ottoman empire.

The rivers of this country which we shall take notice of, are the Meander, now
Madre and Mindre, a river so celebrated by the ancients for its windings and meand
ings, that all obliquities are from thence called Meanders. It rises on the hill
Celeno, the name of Aulacene mentioned by Pliny, * at the foot of which stood
anciently a famous city of the same name. Pliny * and Strabo * derive it from a lake
on the top of the said hill. It falls through Phrygia, divides Caria from Lydia, and
after 600 windings, * by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties
itself into the Archipelago between Priene and Miletus (O).

The river Maritsa, so named from Marisias, a celebrated musician, who, chal
lenging Apollo, was by him overcome, and fled for his presumpum. Most of the
ancients tell us, that this river hath its spring near that of the Meander; but Mus
minus Tyrus 4, who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same fount, and
so does Strabo * . It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks and
precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by Herodetus Cataracta.
It has not only the same spring with the Meander, but flows in the same channel
through the town of Celeno, standing at the foot of the river on which it rises, in
leaving the town the main stream divides itself into two branches, and forms the two
rivers, the one the most winding river in the world, the other without so much as
one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with a incredible rap
acity. Near Apamea, that is after a course of ten miles only, the Marisias is again
received within the banks of the Meander which it left at Celeno; so that in reality
these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream, Q. Curtius gives
us a noble description of it 5, and adds, that it flows within the walls of the
above it is named Marisias, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for
that of Lyca; but, with this authors leave, Marisias and Lyca are quite different
rivers; the Lyca springs from mount Olympus and discharges itself into the Mea
nder not far from Laodicca, which was therefore called Laodicca on the Lyca; this is
a quite different course from that of the Marisias, which we have already described (P).

Sanguarius, Sangarius, or Sangarius, is numbered by Pliny among the rivers of note; it
springs from the hill Dindymus, wathes Phrygia and Bithynia, and empties itself
into the Black-Sea. Phryx, which divides Phrygia from Caria, and diphemogbe into the
Hermus, now Sarabat. Hermione, much celebrated by the poets for its gold
funds, takes its rise near Dorylaim, and falls into the Archipelago near Smyrne. Myrto,
Orgos, Orbinus, &c.

S E C T.

7 [I. xxxviii. 2 ubi supra. 3 STRAB. i. xii. 4 Dio Cassius, lib. i. 5 Serm. xxxviii. 6 lib. vii. 7 BIB. lib. iii. 8 Vid. Sallus: Plut. Exercit. cap. xxviii. p. 382. * Plin. i. 19.]

(O) The Cistern, now Minder fors, bears such a
resemblance to the Meander, that many of our mod
ern travellers, and among them the incomparable
Pietro della Carli, da Lorri, and Moncail, have mix
taken the one for the other (42). The Turks call
the Cistern Canteck minore and Minder fors, that
is, the little Meander, or the black Meander; and
the Meander itself Boujou Minde, the great Mea
nder. Some have observed, that it forms in its course
the following Greek characters, Λ, Β, Ζ, Ω, &c., some
pretend that Dardanus formed his labyrinth in this
plan. Seneca (41) calls it caereturn osmum exercitatio
& ludus; but Quinis description of it (44) is, in
our opinion, an incomparable, and far preferable
to any other.

(P) The poets feign, that Marisias having chal
lenged Apollo, who fled him for his pride and arrog
ance, his death was so bemoaned by the nympths and
turns, that from their tears sprang a river
called after him Marisias. This Marisias is said
to have been the son of Olympus, and one of the most
ingenious men of his age. He was the inventor of

8 [I. xxxviii. 2 ubi supra. 3 STRAB. i. xii. 4 Dio Cassius, lib. i. 5 Serm. xxxviii. 6 lib. vii. 7 BIB. lib. iii. 8 Vid. Sallus: Plut. Exercit. cap. xxviii. p. 382. * Plin. i. 19.]

(42) Spon, Voyage d'Italie, &c. tom. i. p. 244. (43) Epbi. 105. (44) Metamorph. i. viii. (45) Ibid. i. (46) Serm. 32. (47) Vojis de Italie, &c. tom. i. lib. iii. (48) Metamorph. lib. xx.]

the pipe called Syrus, and the first that brought
the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born
put to death, and buried near the spring of the
river that bears his name. Pliny (45) gravely tells
that in his time was ill to be seen the plane-tree
on which this unhappy musician ended his days.
Others say, with the same appearance of truth,
that it was a pine-tree. Maximus Tyrius (46) informs
us, that the rivers Meander and Marisias were both
worshipped by the inhabitants of Celeno; and adds,
that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the
common stream, never failed being carried by the
waters, at their going, into the channel of
that river for which the pins votaries had defiled
them. The river Lyca, which Q. Curtius, and
with him Mr. Scan, mistakes for the Marisias (47),
runs a few miles under-ground, but appears again
before it loses itself in the Meander, which Q. Curtius
seems to have been ignorant of when he said (48).

Ser. ubi terreus Lyca usque biato,
Exulit prael. bisne, aliqua resque offerta.
The History of the Phrygians.

S E C T. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the ancient Phrygians.

The Phrygians deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which their own opinion seems to have prevailed even among the Egyptians, at least in the time of Ptolemy, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told, that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere, those greater boasters of antiquity acknowledged the Phrygians to be more ancient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is, that Apuleius distinguishes them with the epithet of first-born.

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from Togarmab, one of the sons of Gomer, and of this opinion are Josephus and S. Hierome, who adds, that they were known to the Hebrews under the name of Tigranmanes. Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Eusebius, led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the Brigans, a people of Macedonia, who, passing into Asia Minor, were, with a small alteration, called Phrygians, and the country which they settled in named Phrygia. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the Phrygians and Brigans bore anciently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the Brigans passed out of Europe into Asia rather than the Phrygians out of Asia into Europe, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to prove, that the Phrygians were a colony of the Brigans, rather than the Brigans a colony from Phrygia, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the Phrygians had been descended from the Macedonians, it is not likely, they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the Egyptians, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. Bochart is of opinion, that the Phrygians were the offspring of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, the word Phrygia being, as we have observed elsewhere, the Greek transliteration of his name. Josephus makes Gomer the father of the Galatians, but he by the Galatians must necessarily mean the Phrygians, inhabiting that part of Phrygia which the Galatians had made themselves masters of; the descendants of Gomer being placed by Ezekiel northward of Judea near Togarmab, (which Bochart takes to be Cappardesia) long before the Gauls passed over into Asia. Most of the modern writers will have the Cimmerians to be the offspring of Gomer, underlining their country by the country of Gomer mentioned in the Scripture. But as the Cimmerians lay beyond the Euxine sea, at a vast distance from Judea, we can hardly think, that the Jews had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The Chaldean paraphrases place Gomer in Asia, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from Ezekiel, that his country lay northward of Judea. We are therefore willing to let Gomer enjoy the fine country which Bochart is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the Phrygians, since we have no body else to flow it on.

The ancient Phrygians are described as a superfluous, voluptuous, and effeminate nation, without any prudence or foresight, and of such a servile temper, that nothing could make them comply with their duty, which gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are said to have been the first

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[Q.] Phrag. ger. ferci. Ptolemaicus matr. Phrag. con minim. quam Ptolemaicus, &c. which proverbs intimate their servile temper, and show, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their music too was faiued to their effeminate temper. The Doric mood was a kind of grave and solemn music; the Lydian a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the Phrygian chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.
first inventors of divination by the finging, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the Phrygian mood, is alleged by some as an argument of their effeminacy.

Concerning their government thus much may be said, that it was monarchical, and that all Phrygia was, during the reigns of some kings, subject to one prince, Nimnaeus, Midas, Manis, Gordius, and his descendants, were certainly lords of all Phrygia. But some time before the Trojan war we find this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. Apollodoros mentions a king of Phrygia contemporary with Ilias king of Troy. Credens and others speak of one Teuthras king of a small country in Phrygia, whose territories were ravaged by Ajax, himself slain in a single combat, his royal feast laid in ashes, and his daughter, by name Tecmessa, carried away captive by the conqueror. Homer makes mention of Phorays and Ascansius, both princes and leaders of the Phrygian auxiliaries that came to the relief of Troy. Tantalus was king of Sipylos only and its district, a prince no less famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetousness and other detestable vices. Whether Phrygia was ever subdued by Ninus, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, or by the Amazonas, as we read in Suidas, is much questioned by the learned. Most authors, that speak of Gordius, tell us, that the Phrygians, having sent to consult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for answer, that the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing Gordius on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that, some time before his accession to the crown, an aristocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced.

As to their trade, all we can say is, that Apamea was the chief emporium of all Asia Minor. Thither resorted merchants and traders from all parts of Greece, Italy, and the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from Synelius, that the Phrygians were for some time masters of the sea (he says 25 years); and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and well able to afford considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But as most of the Phrygian records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so hard to be ascertained.

We have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told that for some time they enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea, we may, at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowledge of music.

Some have been of opinion, that the Phrygian language bore a great resemblance to the Greek; but the contrary is manifest from the few Phrygian words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by Bochart and Rudbeckius. To this end we may add the authority of Strabo, who, after attempting to derive the name of a Phrygian city from the Greek, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the Phrygian language and the Greek. The Phrygian tongue after the experiment made by Pylammicus king of Egypt, as we have mentioned elsewhere, was looked upon by the Egyptians as the most ancient language of the world. But other nations, namely the Scythians, refused to submit to their language, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, say they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word Bex or Bekkos, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had fuddled them, and happened to be a Phrygian word signifying bread (R). A late writer, after observing that Homer in several passages distinguishes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to shew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the Greek, and by that of men, the Phrygian (S).

As

(R) Corpus Boccatius makes use of the same argument to prove, that the High-Dutch is the original or mother-tongue of the world, because the word Beker in that language signifies a baker.

(S) Gathosfroedus Labmachenius in order to prove this changes the two following verses (49):

(49) Iliad 20, ver. 73.
The History of the Phrygians.

As to the religion of the ancient Phrygians, we have already observed, that they were greatly addicted to superstition. They had many idols, but the goddes Cybele seems to have been their principal deity. She was called Cybele, Bercyntia, Dindymenus, from Cybelus, Bercyntus, Dindymenus, all hills of Phrygia, and Ideus from powerful Ida in Troas, because on these hills she was worshipped in a particular manner (T). She was also named Cabebe, because she preferred, when feasted with their frantic fits, to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a Phrygian verb of that import. Arnoobius gives us the following account of Cybele from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vast rock on the borders of Phrygia, called in the language of that country Aygadas, from whence Deucalion and Pyrrha, by the direction of Themis, took the fountains, which they made use of to reform mankind after the deluge. From one of these springs Cybele the great mother of the gods. The same rock conceived by Jupiter and brought forth Aedephis, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a most outrageous enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till Bacchus by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprang up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in perfect perfection and maturity, which Nana daughter to king Sangarius being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, put it in her bosom. This cost her dear, for soon after proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father put up and condemned to starve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by Cybele, she was in due time delivered of a son, who being exposed by his grandfather’s order, was privately taken up by one Phorus, and nurfed with goats milk; whence he was called Atis, the word Atteges in the Phrygian dialect signifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was on that score greatly favoured both by Cybele and Aedephis; nay Midas king of Phrygia, then reposing at Pessinus, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name Ia. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, Midas, to prevent any disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out the great mother of the gods, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence she was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time came Aedephis, who, insinuating with an enthusiastic frenzy all who affiliated at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury crucifying himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herself accompanied her spouse to the shades. Aedephis and Cybele drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel

where Homer tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named Xanthus and by men Scamander. He flows, as that Xanthus is a Greek word signifying yellow, the above mentioned river had very probably its name from the Greeks, who gave the same name, as Sistrus (56) winnowed, to another river in Egypt on account of its yellow lands. From hence he infers, that Homer, by the language of the gods, means no other than the Greek. As to the word Scamander, he thinks, that this name was comminicated to the river from one Scamander son of Hephaestus king of the Phrygians, whose territories were watered by this river, it being a common custom among the ancients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whose countries they had their course. Now as Scamander, says he, was a Phrygian, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river Scamander is originally Phrygian, and that Homer by the language of men means the Phrygians. This author concludes the same of all other passiges in Homer, where such a distinction is made; the more, because two other words attributed by Homer to men, viz. Baris and Kamnadius are not only Phrygian but the one being of a name of a hill in Phrygia, and the other of a bird mostly frequenting mount Ida in Troas.

(1) Philostratus is of opinion, that the hill Disdymus so called, because it had Disdymus pantes, two tops, but Enosio says in express terms that it has but one. Bockhart (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the Phrygian language called Disdumus, as it is in the Syriac Zidom; and from thence he derives the name of the hill Disdymus; the more because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the Phrygians, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount Disdymus with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

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The cruel death of their beloved Atis, and Jupiter having, at their joint earnest prayers, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in Pessinus, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus fix the

Eusebius gives us a very different account of Cybele and Attis, in which he informs us, from the ancient Phrygian mythologies. According to this, the first king of Phrygia, by the name Meon, was father to Cybele, who being fate, the charms of Atis, procured with child by him; whereas Meon called Atis and put to death, at which Cybele being unpeckably grieved wandered long up and down Phrygia, seeking in the mountains and woods some place to lay her. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat allayed, she admitted Apollo into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the Hyperboreans. By his order the body of Atis was interred, and Cybele after her death ranked among the gods.

From these two accounts of Cybele, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the Phrygians had different genealogies for, and traditions of, this their chief deity (U).

The goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and adorned with a garment festooned with flowers of different colours. The mythological gifts by Cybele mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals; the birds that fly and the fish that swim. To signify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. Eusebius and others are of opinion, that Cybele was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this frail or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

Cybele had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the Phrygian language Cabiri, for the reason we have alluded above. The Greeks and Latinus named them Curetes, Corybantes, which is the Greek translation of the word Cabiri, and Galli, from the river Gallus flowing through Pessinus, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also called Ilei Dei. But it is no matter to account for this appellation. Sehacles quoted by Strabo informs us, that they were called Ilei because they inhabited mount Ida, and Dei from the Greek word Deus, signifying a god, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. Strabo indeed numbers five brothers, viz. Heracleus, Proton, Epimedes, Jolcis, and Ilias, adding, that they had as many fitters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from these Strabo speaks of, viz. Kelinos, Damnaceus, and Senen. Apollonius acknowledges her two, Itea and Cylena. Some derive the name of Corybantes from the word Cera, signifying in the Phrygian language cymbals, and add, that they were the guards of the first kings of Phrygia (W).

(U) The Romans write divers widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. Cybele according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of Saturn, and the same with Ops, Reba, Vesta, and the Roma dea. She was expelled immediately after her birth on mount Cybele, nursed there first by wild hawks, and after by the wife of a shepherd who found her by chance, &c. The Romans having learnt from the books of the Sybils that they would never be able to drive the Carthaginians out of Italy, till the Itea monster was brought to Rome, sent therefore embassadors to king Attalus, who delivered them a stone, which the inhabitants of Pessinus called the great monster of the gods. This happened in the year of Rome 550 (52). 'Tis to be observed, that the Roman made Cybele to be the same with Vesta, but acknowledged two goddesses bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound; Cybele was the Vesta they called the earth and wife to Saturn; she was called Vesta because Sesta ne teram fuit, ut ovibus, et fandis Vesta vocatur. The other was daughter to Saturn, and the goddess of fire, or rather heath, according to that verse of the same poet, nec tu alius Vesta quam annum intellige famam. (W) Diodorus tells us (54), that Cybele was daughter to Meon king of Phrygia, that she married Tefos a Samothracian the brother of Dardanus, and had by him a son called Corybates; that after the death of her husband she went with Dardanus and Cory

The ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were, at first, at stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets dancing and flapping round it, and after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up to the height of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lances, appearing feigned with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief whereof Cybele was transported at the death of her beloved Attis: adly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess; in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of Attis and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of Attis, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the Phrygian goddess were a bull or a he-goat, whence the sacriifice was called Taurobolium or Criobolium. At Rome a few was yearly sacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest and priests for out of Phrygia on that occasion. Her priests, (those at least who were known under the name of Galli) were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of Attis; the waters of the river Gallus, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctance. They were not allowed to drink wine, because Attis, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours with Adonis, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which Cybele kept after the death of the fame Attis. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the Phrygians. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high. Though the Romans professed a great veneration for Cybele, yet we find, that they looked upon her priests as the very refute of mankind; of which we have a signal instance in Valerius Maximus; n, who tells us, that one Cenutius, a Gallus or eunuch of Cybele, having by a decree of the Praetor been admitted to the possession of an eatate that had been bequeathed him, Mannerus

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b kai into Phrygian, and introduced into that country the mysteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddess after her own name Cybele, and her priests Cyborbantes from her son Corythus. Thus Diodorus; but Dionysius (52) informs us, that Dardanus instituted the Samothracian mysteries, that his wife Corythus learnt them in Arcadia, and that Idmus the son of Dardanus introduced them towards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in Phrygia. Hierocles brings the Cretans out of Phoenicia, and Cadmus; and Sir Isaac Newton (59) thinks, that having followed Cadmus out of Phoenicia, some of them settled in Phrygia, where they were called Cyborbantes, from Corythus, in Cret; where they were named Icic: Doci, others in Rhodes, where they were called Telchis: others in Samos, where they were known under the name of Cabei; some in Euboea, where, as they were well skilled in arts and sciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called Chalkis; some in Lemnos, where they added Vulcan; some in Imbros; and a very considerable number of them in Asia, which was thence called the country of the Cretans, till Zoro- sus the son of Endymion, poising himself of it, called it Asia. These Cretans making themselves armour used to dance in it at the sacriifices, with great noise of pipes, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming some kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of music in Greece both by Samius and Iphocrates (57). Clemens Alexandrinus (58) attributes to the Cretans the invention of musical rhymes, and of the letters called Ephesius. And Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion (59), that when the Phenician letters were by Cadmus brought into Greece, they were at the same time introduced into Phrygia and Crete by the Cretans, who called them Ephesius from the city of Ephesus where they were first taught. These Cretans were not less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences. (60). In Phrygia they attended the mysteries of Cybele in Crete and the Terra Curtum, thence of Jupiter, who had been brought upon their care and tuition; in a cave of mount Ida, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noise to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father Saturn who fought his destruction. Exouch (61) brings them from Paestum, and thinks, they had the name of Cretans from a people among the Phthia theso of Cherethia or Cerethia. We must not forget, that Cybele or the Great Mother was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made some think that the was the same with the Syrian goddess Afartas, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. Lucian tells us (62), that she was the Cretan Rhaca, that is, according to sone, Europa the sister of Cadmus; and thus the Phenicians first introduced, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, among the Greeks and Phrygians the practice of defeating their dead and we meet with no indifference of any such practice before the departure of Cadmus and Europa from Sidon.

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The History of the Phrygians.

BOOK I.

At that time confus, being appealed to, revered the decrees of the praetor, adding therunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment Valerius Maximus extolls as a decree worthy of Mamercus, worthy of one that was at the head of the senate, since it put a stop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed presence, under pretence of fixing for justice.

Besides Cybele, who was the peculiar deity of Phrygia, the Phrygians had other idols; namely Bacchus whom they called Sabazius, and his priests and temples Sabai, whence Bochart derives the Hebrew word Sabbath, as that of Levite from Lysis and Eunus. Apollodorus acquaints us, that while Bacchus was travelling through Phrygia, he was purified by Cybele, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used (X). Aegyptus, whom Bochart takes to be Hermaphroditus, the son of Venus and Mercury, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between Aegyptus and Androgynus. Some rank also the Cabiri or Cabires among the Phrygian deities, and add, that they were so called from Cabirus a hill in Phrygia, or, as Steffanotus terms it, in Berecynthia. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the Hebrew word Cabir, signifying great or powerful. Some confine the number of the Cabiri to two, viz. Jupiter and Bacchus; but Manafens enumerates four, Ceres, Proserpine, Plato, and Mercury, whom he distinguishes under the uncouth appellations of Anuros, Anoresia, Anieros, and Kofula; to these Dionysodorus adds a fifth whom he flies Canulus, called by others Camillus, and the fame with Mercury; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the Cabiri, termed the mosst high, the mosst powerful. But these we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the Samothracian deities.

We likewise read of some dances and songs used by the Phrygians in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called Lyriores, from Lyrus, son of Midas, king of Phrygia. Heliodorus mentions certain Phrygian dances called by him Bricinata, without doubt from the word Bricis the ancient name of the Phrygians. Some speak of a dance called Simin, invented, say they, by a Phrygian nymph, and used by the Phrygians in honour of Sabaitus, whom they add to the number of the other Phrygian gods. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the Phrygian kings.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Phrygia.

The succeions and reigns of the kings of Phrygia are overcast with such an impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit.

The first king of Phrygia we find mentioned in history is Nannacus, Annaeus, or Aneus, for he bore all these appellations. Suidas says, that he reigned before the flood of Deucalion, and that from thence things exceeding ancient were proverbially said, to be from the time of Nannacus. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he lent to enquire of all the oracles as were in any repute how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon repairing


(3) Stephanius says, that when Bacchus was born, Jupiter committed the care of him to one of Cybele’s female attendants, by name Mn, who being asked by Janus, where child the mother, answered, that it was the child of Mars, whereupon Bacchus in the Cappadocian dialect was called Majus or Majaron, that is, the Mars of Mars.

(3) Vercio Mass.
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repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence to sweep like Nannacus, became a twice expiation to signify any extraordinary grief or sorrow. Nor long after Nannacus died, and the flood of Denedocul engulfed, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

Midas appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he resided at Pessinus, and designed to dispossess of his daughter, by name Sa, in marriage to Attis or Ayles, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the Midas who built, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, a magnificent temple at Pessinus, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. Regillus seems to make him the son of Cybele.

The next king we read of is Manes, a prince, as Plutarch informs us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word Manic, derived from his name, became synonymous with Great, whence Manic achievements were among the Phrygians the same as great, glorious, heroic achievements.

After these reigned Gordius, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus: While he was one day ploughing an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. Gordius, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of Telmifius, a city in Lydia, about this extraordinary event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the Telmifians.

At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was prefixed by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the Phrygians, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this the Phrygians having lent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their embassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of Jupiter, was by the gods designed for their king. The embassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when Gordius appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of Phrygia. Gordius, acknowledging the crown from Jupiter, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to regal majesty, which not by the Phrygians only, but other nations, was adored as a godhead. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot, woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarch of the world was promised by the oracles to him who unloped it, which Alexander the Great having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of Gordius, but that he built the city of Gordium, which was his reference, and that of all the princes of the Gordian family. Plutarch writes, that his son Midas was born of the godheads worshipped by the Romans under the name of Benus Dec.; but whether she was wife to Gordius is much questioned by the mythologists.
The History of the Phrygians.

**Book I.**

Gordius was succeeded by his son Midas, of whom it is recorded, that when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their flores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned an answer, that immense riches were prefayed by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the ancients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned. Strabo 4 says, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount Berysium. He is greatly commended by some writers for the complaisance of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by Orpheus in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled Phrygia with new deities, temples, priefts, ceremonies, and sacrificies. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother brought the Phrygians by degrees to worship her as a goddess. He built the town of Ancyla, where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of Jupiter, when Pausanius travelled through Greece. He is said to have reigned not over Phrygia only, but also Dardania. Cleobulus, Lydius, one of the seven sages of Greece, honoured his monument with an epitaph, which is falsely ascribed by Proclus to Homer. His wife, by name Hermodicis, is celebrated by Heracleides in regard of her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of Cyne to coin money. By her Midas had three sons, Gordius, Abarus, and Otres; his fourth son Lityerses was a bauard (Z).

After Midas reigned his eldest son Gordius, but all we can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of Gordium with a wall. His brother Abarus is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus 5; during the reign of his father Midas the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city Celous, whereupon Midas, having recourse to his oracles, understood, that the opening would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were shown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was gladly sacrificed to the common safety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with prelent destruction, when Abarus, considering with himself that nothing in the world was of such value as a human soul, embraced his life.

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(2) Nothing has rendered the name of Midas more famous than the great proverb Midas, Sive, 69, that is Midas had his After ears; but what gave rise to that saying is variously reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of skill between Pan and Apollo, both famous musickers and rivals in that art, Midas gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon Apollo clapt a pair of after ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber and made public. Others say, that Midas having offered an affront to Bacchus, was by the incensed deity metamorphosed into an as. Cuvae in his first narration (66) tells us, that Midas, having found a treasure, became very rich; that being incensed by Orpheus on mount Pleris, he got himself by various artifacts proclaimed king of the Britons; that in his reign Silenus appeared on mount Brix, that whatever Midas touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making use of this prodigy, he perfused his subjects to remove out of Europe into that country which lies on the Hellepont; that he settled in Myria, and there changed the name of his subjects, calling them no more Britons, but Phrygians. He adds, that Midas had a great many spies differed up and down the country, by whose informations he knew what ever his subjects did or said, whence he reigned in peace and tranquility to a great extent; none of his subjects daring to enter into any plot or conspiracy against him. His knowing by this means whatever his subjects spake of him occasioned the saying, that Midas had long ears; and as spies are said to he endowed with the sense of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was also said to have after ears; but in process of time, what was taken in a metaphorical sense began to run current in the world for truth. Tullus (67) relates, that Silenus, being taken prisoner by Midas, instead of paying gold for his ransom, taught the king, that the greatest happiness was not to be born, and next to that to die. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining Bacchus he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by some, as if he had been extremely covetous, flattering by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).
The History of the Phrygians.

Midas II. was king of all Phrygia, but whose son he was, or whom he succeeded, Midas II. is what we find nowhere recorded. He was an Usurper, and feigned on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of Gordium, attended with a numerous band of Phrygians, playing on all sorts of musical instruments; but at the same time, as they were privy to their master’s design, with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity and not supposing any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conspirators, all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, feigned the city, and, in that terror and confusion no body daring to oppose them, proclaimed Midas king of Phrygia.

Midas II. was succeeded by Gordius III. perhaps his son. He is mentioned by Gordius III. Herodotus as father to Midas, and that is all we can say of him. Herodotus does not fill his name, but as his son reigned, it is not unlikely, that he held the crown before him.

Midas III. son of Gordius, was the first among foreign princes that sent dona. Midas III. cessions to the oracle at Delphi; he presented that deity with the royal feast or tribunal, from whence he used to administer justice. Herodotus, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship: at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which Gyges king of Lydia had presented the same oracle; for after Midas Gyges was the first of the Barbarians, as Herodotus informs us, who first presents to Delphi. Perhaps this Midas was succeeded by another Gordius, for we find that the kings of Phrygia took alternatively the names of Gordius and Midas.

Midas IV. lived in most calamitous times, when the Cimmerians, being driven Midas IV. out of Europe by the Scythians, invaded Asia Minor, poisseth themselves of Sardis, and made a most dreadful havoc of the Lydians, Paphlagonians, and Phrygians. Gordius, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull’s blood. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by Ptolemy the king of Egypt, and Themistocles the Athenian. Plutarch says, that Midas thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these in all likelihood were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in, at the approach of so dreadful and merciless an enemy. Midas had two sons, Adratus, and another whose name is not mentioned in history. Adratus, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father’s life-time, and being thereupon banished Phrygia, repaired to the court of Cestrus king of Lydia, who not only purified him, but according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed,

5 Homer, Πολλ. 6 Atheneus, f. 8 p. 7 Strabo, l.f. 8 Eustathius in Od. 9 Plutarch, in Q. Flaminio.
but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, affuring him, he should want for nothing that Cœrus could give him. Aдрасиус complied with his request, and being entrusted with the education of the king’s favourite son by name Aïs, he unfortunately killed him too at a chase; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though Cœrus had generously forgiven him. In him ended the royal family of Phrygia, which became a province of the Lydian monarchy, and continued in that state till Cœrus was conquered and all Lydia reduced by Cyrus, as we shall relate in the history of Lydia.

* Herodot, ubi supra.

**S E C T. V.**

The history of Phrygia Minor.

The tract we commonly call Phrygia Minor was anciently styled Troas, Tucia, and Dardania, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also named Idaea from mount Ida, and Phrygia from the Phrygians, who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others after, the destruction of Troy; the epithet of Minor was added to distinguish it from the other Phrygia where Midas reigned, as Eustathius expresses himself. In the reign of king Priam the name of Troas generally prevailed.

This country was divided into two parts, the maritime called Hellepontica and the Mediterranean termed Epitistus. The former borrowed its name from the Hellepont, and extended along the coast from the town of Perseus to the promontory Leheat or Lebaan, opposite to the north side of the island of Lesbos. This part was properly called Troas or Troia, though the Trojan kingdom extended from the river Asopus to the banks of the Causus, including not only Troas but also the Greater and Lesser Mysea. Epitistus, or the inland part of Phrygia Minor, extended to the neighbourhood of mount Olympus in the Greater Mysea. This part at first belonged to Phrygian king of Bithynia, who yielded it, by agreement, to Eumenes king of Pergamus, whence it was called Epitistus, that is, acquired. However, these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all Phrygia Minor (A).

Phrygia Minor, as precisely as we can gather, lay between the forty and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, the Phrygia Minor, as comprehending both the Hellepontica and Epitistus, was bounded by the Propontis on the north, by the Ægean sea on the south, by Mysea Minor on the east, and the Hellepont on the west.

On the coast were the cities of Pereseus, Phrygia Minor.

Abydos, Abria, Dardanus, Rhœum, Siecum, Troy, or Ilissus, Larissa, Colone, Alexandria, Træs, &c. Perose is often mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Homer, who mentions one Meropes and his two sons as being of this city. Abydos was built by the Milevans on the Hellepont, and became famous for the poetical story of Hero and Leander. Here it was that Xerxes began his bridge so much talked of, over which in seven days and seven nights he marched, according to Herodotus, one hundred and seven thousand feet, and four hundred and thousand horse, exclusive of the carriages and horses. Here all Alexander’s cavalry and most of his infantry landed, under the command of Parmenius, on their passing out of Europe into Asia. The geographers are generally of opinion that the castles of the Dardanelles were built on the ruins of Sestos and Abydos, but


(A) Strabo sometimes distinguishes Troes Hellepontica from Epitistus, and sometimes confounds them; may, he often makes Epitistus part of Phrygia Major (B), wherein he agrees with Ptolemy. Eustathius distinguishes three Phrygias, viz. the Greater, where Midas reigned, extending as far as Pindus; the Lesser lying on the Hellepont, and from thence reaching to Mount Olympus; the third he calls Epitistus, and places it near Doryleum.

(by) Strab. i. xiiii. p. 374. 388. 393.
The History of the Phrygians.

a but the distance was manifestly mistaken, for the cattles are directly opposite to each other, whereas Siphnos was a great way nearer the Propontis than Abidos; and Strabo reckons 3,730 stades from the port of Abidos to that of Siphnos. Besides, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the cattles, but very remarkable ones three miles further, where the channel is considerably narrower (B). Arisba, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of Alexander's army, after he had passed the Hellespont. Dardania, built by king Dardanus, near a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was the residence of Dardanus and his successor Eriboetius. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all Tros. Some think, that the Dardanellas borrowed their name from this city. Here Mithridates and Sulla concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that Dardanus was the patrimony of Eneas. Rhodense, memorable for the tomb of Ajax, who was said to have been interred there. Sigean, feared on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the Sigean sea (a). On this promontory was the tomb of Achilles, which Alexander honoured with a visit, and in ancient times a statue of the same Abbas (b) with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which Tertullian (c) interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

Troy or Ilion, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of Homer and Virgil, was built by Tros king of that country, who called it Troy from his own name, and Ilion from that of his son Iulus. It was seated on a rising ground near mount Ida, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in Strabo's time, and most of the ancient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new Ilion. All (d) Strabo says of its situation is, that

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(B) The Hellespont, every one knows, signifies the sea of Helle; for the ancients tell us, that a daughter of Athamas king of Thessal, whose name was Helle, was drowned in that channel as she was carrying the golden fleece to Cekhos with her brother Phrixus (76). The name of Dardanellas is probably derived from Dardanus, an ancient city not far from the cattles bearing that name. This fact was annually called the Hellespont and the river of Abidos; but now it goes under the following names, the strait of Gallipoli, the channel of the Dardanelles, the arm of St. George, from a famous church of St. George a village called Portofissa not far from Gallipoli; it is known to the ancients by the name of Phicos, or bra of the white sea. The mouth of the channel is defended by two new castles, which Montienna built in 1569, to secure his fleet against the fleets of the Venetians, who used to attack it from the old castles. The waters, that pass through this strait from out of the Propontis, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows it is impossible to enter, but when 'tis south, the current is perceivable. Tournefort (77) tells us, that the mouth of the Hellespont is four miles and a half broad, but Le Brun (78) says, that it is only a mile and a quarter. Tournefort (77) informs us, that where old cattles stood the Hellespont is near two miles broad, and that the very name of Abhodos or Abydos is given to the inhabitants of the place. But Le Brun affirms us (79), that the strait at the old cattles is only half a mile over, and that of one of them still called Siphnos, and the other Abhodos or Abydos; adds, that this sea, where broad, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrows; among the ancients, Strabo (75) allows it about a mile in the narrowest place; Pliny (76) and Herodotus (77), seven furlongs or little, and Polybius about a mile. Of Abhodos was Lomard, who used to man the boat to ferry to and from the ships to visit his mistresses.

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One night that the sea was very rough, and he near being drowned, Martial makes him address the waves thus: Partitum propra, mergere dum redas. He is represented on the medals of Lucanella and Alexander Severus, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous resistance against Philip of Macedon, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, chose rather to destroy themselves than submit to the conqueror. Abhodos was taken by the Turks through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1350. It will not be amiss to observe here, that what Herodotus (79) relates of Xerxes, viz. that he ordered three-hundred lathes to be given to the sea, and a pair of fellers to be thrown into it for having broke down the first bridge he built here, is looked upon by some as quite fabulous. Gilles (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was first laid to his charge by the Greek poets, and that Herodotus took the thing too seriously; the 330 lathes, says this writer, intimate 330 anchors, that were thrown into the sea to fix the slips that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fellers is meant the two iron chains that followed them together at both ends and on each side.

(C) Pliny (81) places not far from hence the tomb of Protesilus with trees set round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from sea, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up and drying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of Protesilus, who in the Trojan expedition was the first among the Greeks that set foot in Asia, and the first that was slain.

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that the new Ilium or Troy was 59 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of Alexander the Great, remarkable for nothing but a temple of Minerva, which that prince visited after defeating Darius on the banks of the Granicus, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embellished, which was performed by Lyknachus, one of his generals, who surrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almost reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the Romans first entered Asia. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the ancient Trojans, no cost nor pains was spared to restore it to its ancient lustre, especially in the time of the Cæsar. Cæsar Augustus sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many statley buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this Ilium are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be seen at present. Bellonius tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he spent four hours in compassing them, partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. Two of these were still remaining when Mr. Spon visited those places, who informs us, that they were in the site of the ancient Roman, and not unlike those that are to be seen at Arles; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that Troy which was rebuilt by the Romans. Bellonius likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large columns to receive the rain-water. As to the so much celebrated rivers Xanthus and Simois, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer-time they are quite dry. But Sandy thinks they are not so contemptible as Bellonius makes them, who perhaps mistook others for them. Spon observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the briers, of which two were entire, and each of one single piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. Le Brun speaks of great remains of a most noble structure which he visited at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thicknesses with fourteen gates of a competent size; the vestiges of this magnificent structure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth. Our author thinks, that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of Troy, so much spoke of by the ancients, is now quite choked up with sand; however, there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and galleys, and as there were placed round it, Spon thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to ancient Ilium, we shall have occasion to speak of it more at length in the reign of king Priam, when it was taken and laid in ashes by the Greeks after a ten years siege.

Tros Alexandria was situated between the promontories of Leuthum and Sigeum, and is named by Stephanus in the second place among the eighteen cities, which were so called from Alexander. It is sometimes named Alexandria without the appellation of Tros, and sometimes Tros without that of Alexandria or Alexander, which has made some think, that Alexandria and Tros were two different cities. Its first name was Antigonia from its founder Antigonus, which was afterwards changed by Lyknachus into that of Alexandria in honour of Alexander. This is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle Acts xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the Turks Eski-Stamboul. There are the chief cities on the coast, the others are but of small account, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on this subject.

Of the rivers that watered Tros or Phrygia Minor, we shall only mention the Scamander and Simois, rivers, as Mela writes, greatest by fame than by nature. The Scamander rives from mount Ida, and, having received within its banks, not far from Troy, the Simois, discharges itself into the Ægean sea, over-against the island of Tenedos. It
Chap. 13.

The History of the Phrygians.

a It is said by Herodotus to have been drunk up by the army of Xerxes. Pliny calls it a navigable river, and distinguishes it from the Xanthus, though it is certain that there are but two different appellations of one and the same river. Its original name was Scamander; but it was afterwards called also Xanthus, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the fish that drank its waters. Homer tells us, that it was named Scamander by the gods and Xanthus by men, where according to his custom he aphisres the most ancient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river was honoured by Hesiod with the title of divine Scamander. It was a custom among the Phrygian brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, Receive, O Scamander, my virginity. Which opportunity one Cimon an Athenian taking hold of, under the disguise of a river-god deflowered Callirhoe, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating of that superstitious ceremony.

b The Simois springs likewise out of mount Ida, falls into the Scamander near Ilimn, and discharges itself into the Ægean sea, as we said already. Whatever these rivers were in ancient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

Ida is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a single one; for it extends from the city of Zeleia, near the borders of Mysea Minor, to the promontory Lection. We are told by the poets, that Paris, on this hill being chosen judge by the three contesting goddesses, decided the controversy in favour of Venus, which say they, occasioned the destruction of Troy.

c The soil of this country was anciently reckoned among the most fertile soil and climate.

d Over-against Troy lay Tenedos about two leagues from the shore, and formed the Trojan harbour. As all the splendor and magnificence of this island stood and fell with Troy, it will not be improper to infer here a succinct account of it. All ancient writers agree, that this Island was first called Leucephryne, and afterwards Tenedos from one Tenes or Tennes, who brought a colony thither from the continent. Tennes was son to Cucus king of Colone in Troas, and is described by Diodorus Siculus as a man of great probity and justice, having been greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The ancient inhabitants of Tenedos gave the following account of him, which Diodorus Siculus looks upon as fabulous, but Suidas and Paulytianus seem to credit. Tennes, say they, was son of Cyrus and Proclea, sister to Callenor, who was killed by Ajax in attempting to burn the ships of Proteus. Cucus, after the death of his wife Proclea, married Philomeone, who falling in love with her step-son Tennes, and finding that he could by no means make him comply with her incestuous desires, complained of him to his husband, as if he had offered violence to her. Stephanus adds, that the evidence produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. Cucus giving more credit to his wife than his son, cauied him to be shut up in a chest and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where Tennes was received as sent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister by name Hemitheus, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own request with him locked up in the chest. Some time after Cucus, being convinced of his son’s innocence, failed to Tenedos to crave his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But Tennes instead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which fastened his father’s ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by Peridos, a citizen of Tenedos, to Delphos, and there lodged in the temple of Apollo. The Tenedians caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and size,
fize, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the ancients (D).

(D) The one is Tenedos nothos, that is, the Troianian slave on the flute, a saying used by the ancients to reproach a false evidence. The other is Tenetos aethex, that is, the Troianian Aethex, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (E). Aristides, cited by Stephanus, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a King of Tenedos having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. Stephanus adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of Tenedos and his father Hanithos, others of Jupiter and some Amazon, who might have founded a city in Tenedos. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. So the Emperor Constantine, when he was seated on the throne of Tenedos ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an ax in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence Tenedos aethex, Tenedos aethex, that is, A son of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (F). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of Troy. It was within sight of that powerful city, as Virgil observes (G); he supposes, that the Greeks concealed themselves behind this island when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of Troy, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as Pausanias observes. Tenedos was one of the first conquests of the Persians after the overthrow of the Leonians at the isle of Lada (H). It was reduced by the Athenians, or at least fired with them against the Leonians, hence Nicholas the admiral of Leonians ravaged this island, and called contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the Athenian generals. The Romans enjoyed Tenedos in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by F一面s, who, as Tally informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the fame of Tenedos founder of the city (H). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two towns, and a temple dedicated to Apollo Smythius, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be seen at Tenedos except those of the granaries, which Follinian caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from Alexandria to Constantine, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the Dardanelles. These magazines, as Fossipios informs us, were two-hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (I). The mufete wine of this island is the most delicious of all the Levant, and though it is not celebrated by the ancients as that of Scis and Lesbos, yet it may be proved from several medals, that Tenedos has all times produced great plenty of good wine, face on the reverse of some medals of that island is to be seen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in ancient times famed for this production.


SECT. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the Trojans.

The inhabitants of Lesser Phrygia or Trojans, so called from Troy the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very ancient people; but as to their original there is a great disagreement among authors. Some make them Sandwichians by descent, others Greeks, and tell us, that Tucer, according to them the first king of Troy, was by birth an Athenian, and lord of a village named Aesynus. Some derive them from the island of Crete, from whence they suppute Phrygia Minor to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on Tucer, others on Dardanus. Some will have them descended from the Arcadians, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from Italy, which opinion, though definite of all probability, was embraced by Virgil, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the Romans in his days. Baburis' thinks, that Lesser Phrygia was planted by Abhuzes Gomer's eldest son, there being the footsteps of his name in the Arabian lake, and a river called Aegian with a bay of the same name in Bithynia, and likewise in a city named Aegian in Lesser Phrygia, with villages on the coast named the Aegian islands: he also observes, that, besides Aegianus the son of Aegianus, Homer mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of Troy. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by Abhuzes out...
out of Greater Phrygia, where his Father had settled, into Troas or Lesser Phrygia, and that by this colony and their descendents that tract of country was peopled, which from the Ægean sea extends along the coast of Hellepont and the Propontis, to the Pontus Euxinus or Axios, as it was first called by the Greeks, which he supposes to be a corruption for the sea of A吸入. He observes, that the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the Medes under Cyrus to destroy Babylon, mentions Ararat, Minni, and A吸入. And to prove, that the A吸入 mentioned in scripture were the people of those parts, he shews out of Ξεφοφον, that Υψασਪες having conquered Phrygia that lies on the Hellepont, brought from thence many of the horse and other soldiers, which Cyrus carried with him to the siege of Babylon. But whoever was the progenitor of the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in process of time their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of Myeans, Samothracians, Greeks, and Cretians, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors.

As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from Government. Dardanus to Priam we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty Kingdoms; for we read of Cyenus, Pandarum, Euryphylus, and other princes of small territories within the limits of Lesser Phrygia. But all these were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the Trojan kings; infomuch, that Strabo enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to Troy, besides the island of Lebos. And this is what drew out the Trojan war to such a length, for all these countries were to be subdued before Troy could be invested. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Trojans were subdued by Ninus; but Phlegates tells us in express terms, that they were allies, and no ways vassals or tributaries to the A Phrygians. The Trojan kings seem to have been absolute and no ways controllable by the subject. But we shall have occasion to refuse this subject when we come to their history.

We have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their re-

digion. As to the religion of the Trojans, it was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been Cybele, or, as they called her, the great mother of the Gods, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into Troas from Crete by Tucer, lord of that island and the progenitor of the Trojans. She was chiefly worshipped on the hills of Ida, Dindymus, Berezynus, and Cybele, whence she borrowed her name. Apollo, who had a temple in the citadel of Troy called Per- gamus. In this temple, and by this god, Homer feigns, that Æneas was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with Diomedes were cured by Latona and Dion. Apollo's mother and sister. Minerva or Pallas, from whose temple Virgil pathetically describes Caietana dragged by the victorious Greeks, while the city was in flames. The famous Palladio was a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and at the same time roll her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the Trojans were erecting a temple to Pallas in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being con-
sulted returned answer, that the city of Troy could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the Greeks, Diomedes and Ulysses got privately into the castle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the Trojans of their main defence enabled the Greeks to take the city. All the Roman writers assure us, that this Palladium was brought into Italy by Æneas, and lodged first at Locinum, afterwards at Alba, and last removed to Rome, and deposited there in the temple of Vesta under the care of the Vestals and the Neuvian family. The Romans were so strongly poStife with the false notion, that the city, which was built with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that Metellus, seeing the temple of Vesta all in flames, ventured his life without the least hesitation to rescue this sacred depositum, and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of Rome, as if he had saved the republic. The Romans universally believed themselves matters of the true Palladium, but could never shew how they came by it.
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Book I.

it. For to say, that it was in Try when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the Greeks before they entered Try, how could Aeneas bring it into Italy (E)?

Venus also is counted among the Trojan deities, but as to Vesta, whom Evianus said by the poets to have carried into Italy, with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at Try. She was indeed worshipped all over Greece, where there was not one city, but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made some think, that the rites and ceremonies of Vesta were introduced into Italy by the Greeks, and not by the Trojans.

Among the other Trojan deities we find mention made of Apollo Smintibius, from the Pitygrian word Smintibas signifying a field-mouse. We are told, that this fort of vermin made such a devastation in the fields of Try, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessfull, had recourse to the oracle of Delphos, which answered, that they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to Smintibin Apollo, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in Amuxio a city of Try they to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of Smintibin Apollo. Others relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of Try worshipped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thereby secured a complete victory to the Pitygrians. The worship of Apollo Smintibius was introduced into Mytra, the isle of Tenedos, and other countries; for Strabo tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of Apollo's statue in a temple of Chytra, a city of Mytra, to unfold the reason of its being furred Smintibin; he adds, that the statue was done by Scopas a celebrated sculptor of P insane. The said author, in speaking of the isle of Tenedos, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to Smintibin Apollo. As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the Trojans we are almost quite in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of Pitygria Major.

The character we have of the Trojans is, that they were a brave and warlike people; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king Priam, when they were in force for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all Greece. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not find

6 PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. 1. ii. seft. viii. apud Clem. Protrept.

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the ancients as to the Trojan Palladium. Some tell us (88), that the king of Pitygria Major presented Ilios with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down; that His followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name Ilion. They add, that Ilia, having defined Jupiter to signify his approach by some visible token, found the Palladium next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that Chrysa, daughter of Pallis, marrying Dardanus, brought him the Palladium as part of her fortune; that Dardanus, first erected a temple in Samothrace to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into Pitygria on the Hellespont. Others seem to fancy, that the Palladium was a Pitygrian goddes, for he calls Ullios Delphiades, Polia, Phoissia, Theoi. (90) Johannes Apostolico, Eustathius, and others say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91). Julius Firmicus (92), Clemens (93), and Theodorus (94), tell us, that the Gods believed it to have been made of the bones of Pelops. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the city of Try by Diomedes and Ullios; but some tell us, that the true Palladium never fell into the hands of the Greeks, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration; this, they say, was carried off by Diomedes and Ullios; but the true Palladium remained in Try till Xanas removed it from there to Laestium. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true Palladium, said putting it, as it were, upon the same level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, implicate, that the Greeks returned the Palladium to the Trojans, or rather to Xanas, being warned to do so by the oracle. But we shall have occasion to examine in the course of this history the truth of Homer's voyage to Italy, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe, that there was another Palladium of great fame worshipped at Athens, which Nicias placed in the castle of that city.

(F) Transfort (95) mentions two medals of Teutus, the one with Apollo's head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverse the fame ax with two mice.

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in their history any kind of intestine broils, or plots, or conspiracies against the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the Trojans, their civil customs, laws, concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the ancients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of arts and industry. Their language was in all likelihood the same as that spoken by the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia, and perhaps in all that tract which was afterwards known by the name of Asia Minor, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue with some variation of dialect.

Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things necessary for life, since it could support for many years together two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in Thrace, in Peloponnesus, in Sicily, in Italy, in Egypt, and in Africa, are a convincing proof, that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood, were the sources of the riches, splendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the others round them.

*Pausanias, 1. ii. & 5. 1 Strabo, vi. = Diodorus Siculus, 1. i. c. 1. 2 Herodot, i. iv.

S C E T. VII.

The reigns of the Trojan kings.

TROAS or Phrygia Minor was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of Teucer and Dardanus; for Servius names out of Nero's Troia one Cyntius king of Troas long before Teucer. But as the Trojan history of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it was left to posterity to make a narrow search into it. It is no less uncertain which of the two above-mentioned kings was the first, some writers giving the precedence to Teucer, others to Dardanus; and truly this is so dark and obscure a subject, that every one may say what he likes. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with Teucer, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed a cause.

Teucer, the son of Scamander and Ida, that is, born in Phrygia near the river Teucer.

Scamander and mount Ida, ruled over all Troas or Phrygia Minor. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where specified. Having no issue-male he married his only daughter, by some called Batia, by others Aia, by others Arisba, to Dardanus, settling thereupon the crown of Phrygia on him and his descendants. Those who make Teucer a Phrygian by birth suppose him to have come to the crown by a lawful descent, and place Cyntius, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that, according to these writers, Teucer was not the founder of the Trojan kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the Dardanian family sprung from Dardanus and Batia. From Teucer the country was called Teucaria and the inhabitants Teuci (G).

Teucer.

Teucer then, according to those who follow Virgil's opinion, which is approved by Pausanias, was the son of one Scamander a native of Crete, from which island Teucer, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants in quest

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Tecer was succeeded by Dardanus the son of Corythus or Corythus, by Eletra the daughter of Atlas. Corythus was king of Samothrace, and had by Eletra two sons, Jafus and Dardanus, and one daughter by name Harmonia. Dardanus succeeded his father in the kingdom of Samothrace, where he erected a temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of Pallas and the other gods, whose statues his first wife Olympe had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince. Infomuch, the Teucers, who were frickens in years and had no issue—male, invited him over into Phrygia, gave him in marriage his only daughter Battis, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of Phrygia, which, after the death of Teucer, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of Samothrace. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the Paphlagonians, and, as he was always attended with succours, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built up cities, the one he honoured with his own name, calling it Dardana or Dardania, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called Thymbris from Thymoebrocus one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice, which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The Palatidum, or, as others will have it, the Palatidum (I), were by his orders brought over into Phrygia; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in Samothrace till the death of his brother Jafus, who governed that island in the absence of Dardanus (I). Dardanus had such sleep of new sects, and arrived at that part of Phrygia which lies on the Hellespont. Here he landed not far from the ancient promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to build there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked by an enemy from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to Apollo Smithrhotus, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the Cretan or Phrygian language Smithrhotus. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one Isda from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other Scamander, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called Elanus; whence Homer says, that it was called Xanthus by the gods and Scamander by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more ancient. He likewise introduced the worship of Cybele according to the rites that were practised in Crete, and there goldsmiths was fabled to have brought forth and mortified Jupiter. Some think the authority of Virgil, with regard to Tecer, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerning Augusus whether Tecer was of Crete, or not. (II) Some writers tell us, that Dardanus had with Jafus two Pallatius or statues of Pallas, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised, that the city in which either of them was kept should never be liable to any disaster. Dianthus Helianthus gives us the words which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following:

Fata dabunt uram, pateris quis condere fatare,
Celticoque illic sitis utere et atque etare.
Moenum namque de laevibus arcis regina
Palladiis, hae quinque optat regia auxilior
Scutumque tamen dutes prius demis animis uram.

One of these, they say, was stolen out of the citadel of Troy by Diomedes and Ulysses; but the other was brought by Ariadne into Italy (37). But Varro (98) tells us, that the Palladiun was brought to Rome by one Nautae, and adds, that the priesthood of Minerva was hereditary in his family. Others say, the Diomedes, after the destruction of Troy, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Italy, and there ordered by an oracle to return the Palladium to the Trojans, sent it to Nautae, one of Nautae’s kindred and companions. (I) In what has been said of Dardanus we have followed Homer, Manetho, Didymus, Dionysius Halicarnassenus, Eusebius, Cyril, Cedrenus, Isagoras, and other authors, but Virgil and the poets to Mars Agusus make Dardanus son of Eletra not of Creteus, but by Jupiter. And as to Coritus, they will have him to have been king of Hetruria, and not of Samothrace. Virgil tells us, that Dardanus put out of Hetruria into Samothrace, and from thence into Phrygia. He expresses himself thus (99): Ego locum, Heperiam Graei cognosens diumit: Terra antiqua, patres arnis atque ubera. Orendo dicem: amnes. Nam dixit, minores Italiani dicti, dac, dominique, genet. He nobis propriis fidem, hinc Dardanus oratu, Taurusque pater, genus a quo primum nato. And otherfly (100). Arque equidem memini (fama e defecit eam) Augustus ita ferre sese: his arsus ut apris Dardanus Iliac Phrygica panegyricus ad urbem, Thericiamque Samum, quam nunc Samothrace fert. Hinc illam, Corii Tyrreniis ob adderentur, Aurea nunc fidei flabellis regia cari Accipit, &c.

Virgil does not tell us on what occasion Dardanus quitted Troy: But Augustus informs us, that after the death of Coritus, the two brothers Dardanus and Jafus falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he gave himself by flight from the Troyans, and from Siculus king of Spain and brother to Elecras, who was come to compete their differences. The same Augustus gives the name of Cimbodas to the father of Dardanus and Jafus, and adds, that the word Cortus was a title of dignity. Apollodorus, in his fabulous history of the Greeks, tells us, that

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had two wives, the first named Crysye an Arcadian, by whom he had two sons, Idâs and Dimas, the other Batta, who likewise bore him two sons, Zacynthus and Erichthônios. Idâs and Dimas, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in Arcadia, whence they led colonies into Aphi, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. Zacynthus planted a colony of Phrygians in an island of the Ionian sea, which from himself he called Zacynthus? Erichthônios succeeded his father in the kingdom of Phrygia, as we shall see anon. As to his sister Harmonia, the married Cadmus, founder of the Theban kingdom, whom her brother Jefus had initiated in the mysteries of religion. We shall have occasion to speak of her and her husband Cadmus, when we come to treat of the Theban kingdom. Dardanos reigned in Phrygia 64 or 65 years, and was succeeded by his son.

Erichthônios, who treading in the footsteps of his father was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which Homer takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife Aphiabe he had one son named Tros. He reigned, according to some, forty-five, according to others seventy-five years, and dying left the kingdom of Phrygia in a most flourishing condition (K).

On the death of Erichthônios Tros ascended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became soon the most famous of all Aphi. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except Tantalus king of Sipilis, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why Tantalus was omitted we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and soon after had a fair opportunity of thrusting his renunciation. For Ganyomedes, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father Tros, being lent by him with a splendid retinue to carry presents of great value to Jupiter Europus, in pawning through the territories of Tantalus was not only detained, but abjured by that vixious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous youth took to heart, that he died soon after Tros.

\( * \) Dionys. Halicar. i. 1.

that Jupit, as he flatters him, and Dardanos were sons of Elether, the daughter of Atlas and Jupiter, that the former, being passionately in love with Ceres, and attempting to ravish her, was thunderstruck, and that Dardanos was so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning Samothrace his native country, he retired to the opposite continent, where he was kindly received by Teucer king of Phrygia. Isaeus Patrem (9) thinks, that Dardanos was forced by an inundation to leave Samothrace. As to Atlas the father of Elether, some say, that he was king of Mauritania, others of Samothrace, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to Ceneus, who had by her Crysye first wife to Dardanos. But Cas (10) is of opinion, that Atlas was neither an African, nor a Samothracian, but an Italian. The want of good authorities in this point of ancient history has given every one leave to say what he pleased.

\( ** \) Apollodorus tells us, that Erichthônios had an elder brother, by name Ileus, who died before his father, and a sister called Idâs, who married PhŒnius II. king of the Thracian Thygi, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the history of Thrace. As the name of Erichthônios is entirely Greek, come have concluded from thence, that the Greek tongue began very early to prevail in Phrygia; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove, that Erichthônios was that prince's original or Phrygian name, and not a Greek transliteration thereof: for the Greeks, as Plato observes (11), used to transliterate foreign names into their own language, as the Egyptians did all Greek names into their. Some finding a king of Athens bearing the same name, infer from thence, that the Trojans were originally Athenians. An opinion built on so flight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

\( <> \) The fable of Ganyomedes's being taken up into heaven by Jupiter is variously interpreted; but Natura Comes (12) is of opinion, that this story was invented by the Greeks to give a kind of foundation to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly Jupiter, as Arnothinus observes (13), seems to have been set up for no other purpose, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great measure their own guilt. Thus Theocritus the poet, in celebrating the incestuous marriage of Polyphemus Philoctetes with his sister Deione, produces the example of Jupiter and Juno; and Seneca the tragedian had recourse to the same topic to find something commendable in the marriage of Oceania and Nero: Soror fratris is nomen humilius est, says he, speaking of Oceania (14). Others tell us, that Ganyomedes was killed in a battle between Tantalus and Ilius; for Ilius pursued the war with Tantalus which his father had begun. They add, that the body of Ganyomedes not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occasion from these events, that he had been taken up into heaven by Jupiter. Suidas charges Minos with the rape of Ganyomedes, and says, that Minos being kindly received and entertained by Tros, on that occasion fell in love with Ganyomedes, and required the favours he had received.

\( \text{9} \) In Apollonius. \( \text{10} \) De gen. d. v. i. c. 8. \( \text{11} \) In Atlant. \( \text{12} \) i. i. c. 13. \( \text{13} \) i. i. c. 13. \( \text{14} \) contra gentes. \( \text{14} \) c. 334. \( \text{Vol. II.} \) 313.
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after of pure grief. Neither did his father Tros long outlive him; for the war, which he made upon Tantalus to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife Acalide, or, as Apollodorus calls her, Callirrho, three sons, Iulus, Ganymedes, and Affaracus, and one daughter by name Cleomefris, or, as Apollodorus will have it, Cleopatra. Iphigenia, by mistake, makes Ganymedes son to Erichthonius. From this king Phrygia Minor borrowed the name of Tros, as its metropolis did that of Troy.

As the chief commanders of the Trojan troops, whose names are of great renown in ancient history, and from whom most of our European nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from Tros, before we proceed in the history of the Trojan kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. Tros, as we have already observed, had by his wife Acalide, or, as others call her, Callirrho, three sons, Iulus, Ganymedes, and Affaracus, and one daughter by name Cleomefris. Of Iulus, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of Phrygia, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. Ganymedes died without issue. Affaracus had by his wife Hieronyma, or, according to others, Clytoda, one son named Capus, of whom we know nothing else but that the city of Cyprus called Apollo in Arcadia, according to Stephanus, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one Themis, by whom he had Anchises, who was famous for the cornelians of his perfumery, which gave rise to the fable of his amours with Venus. He had the misfortune to see the city of Troy twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of Laomedon, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being worn out with age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdnesses and dissoluteness of his youth, to which his blindness was also ascribed. He is supposed to have been faved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son Ilus, and to have accompanied him to Sicily, where he died. He had two sons, Aeneas, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and Elymus, and one daughter named Hippodamia. Elymus, according to Suidas, imparted his name to the Elymians a people of Sicily, and Apollodorus calls him Lycus. Hippodamia married Alcaethus, who fell in a battle by the hand of Idomeneus.

Cleomefris had but one son, by name Lyrrus, father to Antenor. As to Lyrrus ancient history is quite silent; but Antenor is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king Priam embassador into Greece to demand his sister Hecuba, whom Hercules after taking Troy had carried captive into Greece, and bestowed on Telamon, as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of the city. The Greeks treated him more like a spy than an embassador; whereupon, returning to Asia, he inflamed Priam and his sons against that nation. However, some time after he not only entertained in his house the Greek embassadors that were sent to demand Helen, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of Priam's sons, and found means to convey them safe out of Troy. This having gained him the good will of the Greeks, he was sent into Greece on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the truth reposed in him, and some years after the city itself, seeing that Priam would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which Antenor showed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the Greeks, entering Troy in word in hand, shewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for Antenor, having even caused the kin of a panther to be hung up before his door, left, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or perfumery by the greedy and incensed folder.

Some add, that having known Ulysses, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the Trojans, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindnotes of the father by abusing, and forcibly conveying away the son, who was the only delight of his old age. Cicero (15) seems to make Ganymede the son of Laomedon, which is a mistake. Orosius (16) and Eugubius (17) inform us, that the war which Tros made upon Tantalus was described by one Pausanias a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

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kindness shewn him by the Greeks, saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which in those days were deemed sacred even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is Livy; and Virgil also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying, that he escaped falling into the hands of the Greeks. But be that as it will, the Trojans, that remained in the country after the destruction of Troy, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from Troas. At the same time the Hecatae, being driven out of Paphlagonia and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in room of their king Pyritis, who had been killed in the siege of Troy. With these and a few Trojans he put to see, and steering his course up the Adriatic gulf, landed in the country of the Evagonti, lying between the sea and the Alps. Here he resolved to settle, and having driven out the ancient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of Hecatae and Trojans under the common name of Veneti, he gave rise to a new nation. He built a small town in the place where he landed and called it Troy. He is supposed to have built the city of Padua. Antenor had by his wife Theone, sister to Heeuba and daughter to Cileos king of Thrace, Iphidamus, Coon, Helicoen, Laodamas, Arcas, Archelochus, Polybus, Agenor, Laodamas, Demoleon, Glaucon, and Crino. Iphidamus was brought up in Thrace under the care of his grand-father, and came to succour Priam and his country with twelve ships, which he left at Percope, marching by land to Troy, where he was slain by Agamemnon, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered, had he not been left fortunate than brave. Coon, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, sinned out and dangerously wounded the same Agamemnon, but at last fell likewise by his hand. Helicoen married Laodice daughter to king Priam. Archelochus and Arcas commanded, in conjunction with Xenas, the troops of Dardania. Agenor was a warrior of great prowess, attended Heitor in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter Achilles himself. The others are named by Homer, Pausanias, Calaber, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. Pindar tells us, that the sons of Antenor, after the destruction of Troy, joined Menelaus and Helena, and with them settled in Libya. But Euhides says, that they reigned in Phrygia till the return of Heitor's sons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in Phrygia, and some accompanied Menelaus and Helena; among the latter were, according to Symmachus, Glaucon, Arcas, and Hippolochus or Archelochus. As to Theone Antenor's wife, Suidas and Cedrunus inform us, that she was the chief priestess of Pallas, and that she betrayed the Palladium to Diomedes and Ulysses, who were sent into Troy under the pretence of an embassage to king Priam. Let us now return to the succession of the Trojans.

Troy was succeeded by his son Ilus, who, pursuiving with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many signal victories drove Tantalus out of Asia and poiessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of Phrygia. Before the Christian era, Pelops the son of Tantalus, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last entirely routed, and forced to quit Asia and follow his father into Greece. By his king of the Bibryces, who had espoused the quarrel of Tantalus and his son Pelops, was likewise defeated, and some few, killed in the engagement. Ilus having thus revenged the affront offered to his father, applied himself entirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many stately buildings the city of Ilus or Troy. Pindar informs us, that in his time the temple of Pallas being set on fire by lightning, he saved the Palladium out of the flames, but on that occasion lost his fight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. Herodanus informs us, that he called the place, where he defeated Tantalus, Peithus, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife Leucippe two sons, Tribus and Laomedon. Tribus, whom Iomene believe to have been the son, and not the brother, of Laomedon, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise having acquired a strong and robust constitution, and inured himself to hardships, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the Assyrians, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage
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courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the Titans or chief lords of the Assyrian monarchy, and made governor of Perga. Hearing that Phrygia was invaded by the Greeks, he obtained leave of Teuthanus king of Alcyon, who had a great value for him, to send his fon Memnon at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to affright his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the fon; for Memnon being slain by the Thessalians, Tithonus, already worn out with old age, was so grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comelins of his posterity, his rising early in the morning as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fabes which the poets relate of him; but for these and their explanation we must refer the reader to Athenaeus, Teuctzes, Natales Comes, and other mythologists.

Tithonus had by his wife Cifisa, or, as Diodorus calls her, Ida, two fons, Memnon and Emation, and one daughter named Hemera. Memnon, being brought up under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wise, and experienced commander. He served with great success in Egypt against the Egyptians, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the Egyptians, for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the Egyptians, who out of gratitude transferred it to Memnon, appointing him king over the country which he had subdued. In Ethiopia he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of Abydos. Having thus distinguished himself in Egypt and Ethiopia he returned to his father in Alcyon, where he was set over a part of Phrygia in quality of satrapy or chief governor, and is said to have built in his part of Phrygia in quality of satrapy or chief governor, and is said to have built in his own city of Sufa, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20,000 Ethiopians and the like number of Persians, to the afflance of king Pigmies. On this occasion he behaved with his Persians, to the afflance of king Pigmies. On this occasion he behaved with

Pliny and Aelian say, that he was buried at Sufa (M). Every body has heard of the vocal statue of Memnon near Thebes in Egypt. This, according to Pausanius, is a statue of a lyre, and Lucian, was broke in pieces by order of Cambyses, but ever after the statues of the singing of a lyre or lyre, when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. Euselius seems to have credited this story, for he says, that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of Christ. Pausanius informs us, that Memnon's sword was kept at Nicomedes, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arm of the ancients were of brass. Articles, quoted by Pliny, says, that Memnon invented letters fifteen years before the reign of Phoroneus first king of Argos. Heliodorus

makes him the progenitor of the kings of Ethiopia.

Emathion, the other fon of Tithonus, remained at home with his uncle Laomedon, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and Hercules. Probus the grammian is of opinion, that Macedonia was from him named Emathia, and John mentions an ancient king of Macedonia bearing his name. Romus, descended from one of the sons of Tithonus, was reckoned by some, as Plutarch informs us, among the founders of Rome. As to Hemera, we know nothing of her but what is related by the iparious Diorys now extant, whole history deferves no manner of credit.

* Athen. lib. xii. c. 26.  Isaac Teuctzes in Capharn. Lyc.  Natales Comes, i. vii. 4 in Atticis. 5 in Dionys. 6 in Teuctzes. 7 in Atticis. 8 in Ethiop. i. x. c. 4. 9 Justin. l. viii.

(M) Pausanius (18) tells us, that a cenotaphium or empty tomb was raised to him in the country of Teos, not far from the river Riphus, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly visited by strange birds known to them under the name of Memnonian birds. These on flated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it stood, of all rubbish, and afterwards dipping their wings in the Riphus sprinkled it with the water of the river.

(18) In Phocis.
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Chap. 13.

Ilus Laomedon was placed on the throne, his elder brother Tithon Laomedon being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the city of Troy, being afflicted therein by Apollo and Neptune, that is, he carried on the work with the treasurers that were consecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These were looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated the Ionians and the other Argonauts, who had landed on the coasts of Troas, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships and quit the country. To revenge this affront, Hercules, who was one of the Argonauts, returned some time after with twelve galleys to Troy, which he besieged, took, and plundered. In this war Laomedon killed Oilus, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by Hercules, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). Laomedon had five sons, Titon, Lampoon, Clytus, Iteaton, and Priam; his daughters were Hephse, Cilla, Alysche, Antigone, Procles, and Eubria. All his sons, except Priam, were killed in the war with Hercules. As to the daughters, Hephse, as we have said, being taken by Hercules, was bestowed in marriage on Telamon, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which Priam, who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent Antenor into Greece to expostulate with Telamon, and to demand his sister Hephse. In the council of the princes of Greece this embassay was heard with contempt, and the embassadors used in a manner no ways suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the Trojan war. Cilla and Alysche are only named by Apollodorus. Antigone is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and infa lent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with Juno, and being transformed into a corydus by that incensed goddess. Procles married Cyanus, by whom she had Teneus and Hemithea. Eubria, being taken by the Greeks and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the Trojan women, who were captives with board the Greek fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the Greeks being gone ashore near Pallene to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the Greeks to settle there, having no other ships to pursue their voyage. Apollodorus mentions one Bucolion, a natural son of Laomedon’s by Calybe, who was slain with his father and brothers by Hercules. Laomedon reigned, according to some, thirty-six, according to others, forty-four years.

Laomedon being slain by Hercules, as we have said above, Pedarchus, the only Priam surviving son, who had been carried away captive with his sister Hephse, was with great sum of money ransomed and placed on the throne of his ancestors, and hence came the surname of Priam, which is derived from a Greek verb signifying to redeem or ransom. His first care after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of Troy with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father’s reign. There being discovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near Mytilus, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is said to have embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, cistyle, aqueducts, &c. He maintained in constant pay a considerable army, reduced most of the neighbouring states, and was rather considered as sovereign of all Asia Minor, than king of Troas. He married to his first wife Aries, or, as others call her, Alysche, by whom he had but one son named Euctus; but by his second wife Hecuba, daughter

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1) Apollod. l. iii. 2) Servius in l. i. Ænedic. 3) Isaac Tzetzes in Caffandr. Lycoph. p. 118. 4) Polyandrus l. vii.

(N) Others tell us, that Apollo and Neptune were hired by Laomedon to build the walls of Troy; and that, upon his refusing to pay them their wages, Apollo sent a plague, and Neptune drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expel his daughter Hephse to a sea-monster, and stone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by Hercules, say they, but Laomedon refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon Hercules besieged and took Troy, killed the king, and gave Hephse in marriage to Telamon.

19) Enof. in Chron.

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daughter to Cissus, king of Thrace, he had Hector, Alexander or Paris, Deiphobus, a Helenus, Polites, Antiphus, Hipponous, Polydorus, and Troilus; and daughters, Creusa, Laodice, Polyxena, and Caunonara. Besides these he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers say, that being abroad when Troy was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by Hercules, notwithstanding some of his elder brothers were then alive.

The cause of the Trojan war.

The name of this king will be ever memorable in history for the war that happened in his reign between the Greeks and Trojans, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great powers and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of that great city, and the endless colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquerors as well as the conquerors. As to the cause of this fatal and destructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of Helen first kindled it; but what encouraged Paris to such an attempt, and induced his father Priam to stand by him at the expense of so much blood and treasure, is not determined by ancient writers. Herodotus gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the Phenicians having ravished Io, the daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, and carried her with other Greek women into Egypt, the Greeks making use of reprisals, first carried off Europa, the king of Tyre’s daughter, and afterwards Medea daughter to the king of Colchis, refusing to restore either till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of Io. Paris, adds Herodotus, in the next succeeding age hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish Helen, persuading himself, that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpose. For how could the Greeks ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of Colchis, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the Phenicians, whom the king of Colchis, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from Thucydides, that the distinction of Greeks and Barbarians was not introduced even in Homer’s time, and consequently highly improbable, that the Greeks should long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look on them all as their enemies by reason of an injury done by one. Other facts that king Priam, hearing that his sister Hesione was ill-used by Telenon, to whom Hercules had given her in marriage, sent first Antenor, and afterwards Paris to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for Telenon in history bears the character of a furious, cruel, and ill-natured prince, infomuch, that his own son Teseus chose rather to rove on the seas in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother Ajax had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in Teseus’ power to prevent. Paris, add these authors, coming into Greece upon this embassy, was hospitably entertained by Menelaus king of Sparta, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into Crete, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that Hesione was ill-used by Telenon, yet no body can imagine, that Priam would on that score lend a solemn embassy into Greece, or think of taking his sister from her husband with whom she had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is most natural to think, that Paris, in ravishing Helen, never thought of Europa, Medea, or Hesione; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in Greece, was prompted by his own perverted inclinations to do what in those days was commonly practised both by Greeks and Barbarians. Thus Helen herself had been stolen before by Thetis, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as Thucydides informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same Thucydides tells us, that as Helen was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father Tyndarus, after recovering her from Thetis, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of Greece, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to relieve her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred Menelaus to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to Tyndarus, was what drew them together, and armed them against
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The best and most rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from Homer, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most ancient history of Greece. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the Trojan war, and the taking of that city by the Greeks, yet we could not question the truth of the facts. But most of the historical events related by Homer are attested and confirmed by the most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely, by the Arundelian marbles. We must therefore carefully distinguish what Homer's works are historical from what is merely fictitious. He describes the state of Greece at that time, and informs us, that it was cut out into a great many dialects; that Agamemnon, king of Mycene, Sicyon, and Corinth, was the most powerful prince of all Greece, that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the Trojans; he gives us an infight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the Greeks; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely historical; so that Homer's poems may be deservedly be considered as the most ancient history of the Greeks, whose earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of such a writer to transmit their actions to posterity (O).

The number of ships employed by the Greeks in this expedition, according to Euripides, Lucanopen, and Virgil, amounted to 1000; Homer enumerates 1186; but Thucydides raises the number to 1200. The Boeotian ships, that were the largest, carried 120 men each; those of the Philistae were the smallest, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that supposing the fleet to have been of 1200 sail, as Thucydides affirms, and the ships to have carried one with another 85 men, we shall find the Greek army to have been 102,000 men strong, no great force, considering, that all the powers of Greece, except the Aetolians alone, were engaged in this war. The Greeks, as Thucydides observes, could have raised a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being diffused for provisions in a foreign country. Against this army the city of Troy held out ten years; but the Trojans, as Homer makes Agamemnon say, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the Greeks had to contend with; for all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Asia Minor sided with the Trojans. Bheus, king of Thrace, marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance, and Mennan, as we have said, joined them with 20,000 Persians and the like number of Ethiopians. Wherefore the Greeks, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities, sent Menelaus and Ulysses embassadors to Troy, to demand Helen and the treasures which Paris had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vast preparations which they had made might frighten the Trojans into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned to

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(O) Dion Chrysostome (19), in an oration addressed to the Trojans, attempts to prove the siege and reduction of Troy by the Greeks to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty effort, since the author elsewhere (20) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of Troy are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question.

(19) Orat. sac. (20) Hid στρατιά, p. 255. d.
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to the embassadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without Helena, and highly disatisfied with their reception at Troy.

Herodotus', upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of Egypt, seems inclined to believe, that Helen was taken from Paris before he could reach Troy. The tradition, as Herodotus, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this: Paris on his return with Helen was by storms of weather driven on the coast of Egypt, and forced to put in at Tarichia on the Canopean mouth of the Nile. Here some slaves of Paris's retinue, taking sanctuary in a temple of Hercules which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name Thonis, the injury which he had done to Menelaus. Thonis laid the whole matter before Proteus, at that time king of Egypt, who, finding, upon an examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained Helen and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to Menelaus; but commanded Paris, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The Egyptian priests add, that when the Greeks sent embassadors to demand Helen and her riches, the Trojans protested, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of Proteus, king of Egypt, which the Greeks looking upon as a mere shift to put them off, began the war; but at last, after taking the town, as Helen nowhere appeared, and the Trojans perished in their former protoeolations, the Greeks began to believe them, and sent Menelaus into Egypt, where he was kindly entertained by Proteus, and had his wife restored to him without any injury done to her person or goods. These things the Egyptian priests ascribed Herodotus that they knew for certain, as they had happened in Egypt, and had been handed down to them from those who had conversed with Menelaus himself. Herodotus produces one argument of no small weight to prove the truth of this tradition, viz. that if it had been in king Priam's power to restore Helen, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befell his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great forever his tenderness to Paris might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. Homer seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the Egyptian priests, for he mentions Paris and Helen's arrival in Egypt, and says, that Menelaus went thither before he returned home to Sparta, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless Homer, and with him all the Greek poets (after whom the Latin have copied) except Euripides, supposes the circumstance of Helen's not being in Troy, as too favourable to the Trojan cause. But whether the Trojans would not, or could not, restore her, the embassadors in their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved without further delay to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemies country (P). They steered to the coast of Troas, where on their landing they met with to warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprise. In the first encounter they lost Protomelas, who was slain by Hettor, and many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced, could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the Thracian Chersonesus, and part to rouse about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree, that the Greeks employed the first eight or nine years in fowering the seas, pilaging the

(P) Calchas, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the Greeks during the war, declared, that the goddesses Diana opposed their passage with contrary winds, and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than Iphigenia daughter to Agamemnon. The goddesses, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her flags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented him from sacrificing a daughter in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (21), that the fact of the sacrifice of Iphigenia had its birth from Thetis sacrificing his daughter.

(21) p. 751. O.
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Araf after the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the Trojans had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Infomuch, that when the Greeks first invested the town, Hector attacked them at the head of an army farce inferior to theirs in number. The Greeks had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which Homer says was sent by Apollo, because Agamemnon refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but Heracles on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilential vapours raised by the sun, the Greeks being encamped among grass and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, for Agamemnon being obliged by the soothsayer Calchas to return his fair captive to her father a priest of Apollo, to appease that revengeful deity, took Briseis in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to Achilles. This affront Achilles revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retreating with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the Trojans. In one of these Patroclus was slain by Hector; but his death was not long unrewarded, for Achilles returning to the camp put the Trojans to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing Hector himself. Achilles did not long outlive him, being slain by Paris. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the Greeks at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some say, that Eneas and Antenor, who commanded the Dardanians, seeing, that Priam would hear ask to no terms, after the death of Hector and Paris, concluded a separate peace with the Greeks, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the Greeks entering the city by the Scaean gate, over which was the picture or statuette of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called a horse, and in the nature of that which the Romans in later ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a Ram. Be that as it will, the Greeks, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of Troy, after having stood, from Teucer to Priam, 296 years, according to the most exact Tironian computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month Thargelion, or Year of the fire, 1219, After Christ.

The Greeks, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to flight in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. Menestheus king of Aetolias died at Midas. Teucer the son of Telamon settled in Cyprus, where he built a city calling it Salamis, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. Agaemenor, who commanded the Arcadians, built in Pyrros the son of Achilles settled in Epirus, and there built Ephyrus. Agis the son of Oileus

(Q. Ovid says, that from the first year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and Herodotus tells us, that the Greeks did not sit down before Troy till the tenth year, contenting themselves with having walled in their enemies' country, and blocking up the city. Homer (21) introduces king Priam sitting on a high tower, and there learning of Helen the names of the Greek commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the Greeks been encamped under the walls of Troy for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that some, with Thucydides (22), say, that the whole army was employed in fulminating the Trojan allies, while others, with Herodotus, tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before Troy.)

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Osianus was left. Some of the Locrsians were driven on the coasts of Afric, others to Italy, whereas all the east part was called Magna Graecia by reason of the many towns built there by the Greeks. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as Teucydides informs us ", in quest of new seas, others having hazed their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some failing with Menelaus to the island of Tenedos, and others remaining with Agamemnon on the coasts of Troas. Thofc, who followed Menelaus, not agreeing among themselves, parted, each holding his own course homewards. Agamemnon arrived safe at Mycenae, where he was soon after his arrival murdered by his wife Clytemnestra; but his son Orestes revenged his death by the murder of Clytemnestra, of Agamemnon's gallant, and of Helen their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the Areopagus. The adventures of Ulysses are related by Homer in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history is, that some years passed before he got home. The adventures of the other Greeks are left known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the Trojans, those who escaped the general slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. Antenor, as we have said before, established himself in Italy, and founded the nation of the Helenis. Helenus, one of Priam's sons settled in Macedonia, where he built the city of Ilium. Some say, that during the siege he went over to the Greeks, and showed them in what manner they might easily mutter the city.

As to Aeneas, all the Roman writers assure us, that he settled in Italy, and there founded the kingdom of Alba. From him the Campanians affected to derive their pedigree, as the other Romans did theirs from the Trojans who accompanied him. Livy alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, infinimating, with great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithstanding the unanimous consent of the Latins, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned Bochart has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to be a mere fable (R).

(R) In the first place this opinion is directly opposite to that of Homer (23), who supposes Aeneas to have remained in Phrygia; for he introduces Neptune, whom he represents favourable to Aeneas on all occasions, and averse from Priam and his whole race, afflicting him, that he and his posterity should reign over the Trojans, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that Aeneas and his posterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the custom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that such things will happen as the poets knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter such things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be Homer's case if Aeneas had not reigned in Phrygia. To this argument some answer, that Aeneas, after settling a colony in Italy, returned to Phrygia and reigned over the few Phrygians that outlived the destruction of their country. As this answer has no manner of foundation in history, it is scarce worth refuting. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (24) is of opinion, that Neptune, or rather Homer, meant only, that Aeneas was to reign over such Phrygians as accompanied him, or over a Phrygian colony. But this is no more than what happened to Antenor, Aetheus, G dys, Helenus, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make Neptune distinguish Aeneas from the other Argonauts by some particular marks of his favour. Besides, the words of Venus in the hymn which is generally ascribed to Homer is Tupisu adise are capable of no other sense, but that Aeneas shall reign in the country of the Trojans; and in this sense they are understood by Strabo (25), who tells us in express terms, that Aeneas remained in the country of the Trojans, that the family of Priam being extinct, the crown fell on him, and was by him transmitted to his posterity. Eusebius thinks (26), that when Homer introduces Neptune promising to Aeneas, that he and his posterity should reign over the Trojans, the poet by the Trojans meant the Romans, and because he might be objected, that Homer could have no knowledge of the Romans, being dead long before the foundation of Rome, he adds, that Homer either had seen the oracles of the Sibyls, or he might have heard the Roman princes from Aeneas, or had himself foreseen, as most poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the Romans were to descend from Aeneas and be masters of the world. But as to the Books of the Sibyls, Homer certainly never did, nor could, see them; for they were forged, as several writers have demonstrated, above a thousand years after Homer's time; and as to the spirit of prophecy, which Eusebius is pleased to base upon poets, every one sees that it is not the lot of the poet to deliver the appearance of truth. To the authority of Homer we may add that of Agathode Cursus, quoted by Frits (27), who cites many authors affirming Aeneas to have been buried in the city of Beneventum by the river Neda (or, as others read, Gallus) not far from Troy. Stephano informs us, that the city of Achania in Phrygia was built by Aeneas the son of Aeneas, wherein he agrees with Nicias Lamanestor. Metus tells us, that the city of Achania was so called, because Achanians who resided there, being taken by the Pelasgi, yielded their
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The city of Troy being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of Troas put to the sword, some writers tell us, that the neighbouring Phrygians and Lydians, pos-
fessing themselves of that country, settled there, and that Troas from that time began to be called Phrygia; others are of opinion, that Aeneas, having gathered together the scattered remains of the Trojans, rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of Hector reigned there till the country was subdued by the Lydians, who became so powerful as to over-run all Asia Minor. If the Trojans had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the Greeks, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

to them for his ransom. Hellenicus in his Troia in his Troica makes Aeneas fly into Thrace, and from thence to Pallene; but as to Aelianus, he says, that he remained in Troas and reigned there. Strabo affirms us, that the city of Seophon, in former times situate near Troy, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by Scamander the son of Hector and Alcmena the son of Aeneas; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were deserved from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities Beckhart (28) adds two argu-
ments of no small weight, namely, that the chief deities of the ancient Trojans, viz. Venus, Apollo, Cybele, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the Romans, and that there is not the least famil-
itude imaginable between the ancient Phrygian and Roman language, which he proves by producing the few Phrygian words that have been transmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to Virgil's divine and inimitable Aeneid; for he advances nothing but what was vouched for all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

=C H A P. XIV.

The History of the Mysians.

SEC. II.

The description of the country, the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

The small country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the Name.
Lydan word Mythos signifying a beech-tree, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the Greater and Lesser Mytica. Mytia Minor or the Lesser Mytica lay on the Propontis, and from thence extended to mount Olympus, being bounded by Bithynia and the Propontis on the north and west, by Phrygia Minor on the south, and by Phrygia Major on the east. Mytica Major or the Greater Mys: was bounded on the north by Phrygia Minor, on the south by Aolia, on the east by Phrygia Major, and on the west by the Aegean sea. What Strabo, whom we have followed, calls Mysia Minor, Ptolemy calls Mysia Major; the former is also named Olympus from mount Olympus, and Hellepontica because some towns anciently belonging to it were feated on the Hellepont. That part of Mytica which lay between Antioch of Phrygia and the river Rhindacus is called by Strabo Abrettana, and the remaining part Morena. The former denomination is often given to all Mytica.

In that part of Mysia Minor which lay on the Propontis were the following cities: Cyanus or Cyzicus, situated on an island of the Propontis bearing the same name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by Alexander the Great. It borrowed its name from Cyanus king of that island and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by Ajax the Argonaut. This city, when first known to the Romans, was one of the greatest and richest of all Asia, and hence was filled by
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by Florus, the Rome of Asia, and celebrated by him and all the other Latin writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the ancients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of Jupiter, which flood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against Mithridates, who loft under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the ancient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; infomuch, that when any behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a Cyprian. Fully represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plotts or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatsoever theycott. The current coin of this island, called Stater and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by Jupiter to Proserpine for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to Appian. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to Constantinople to embellish that city. Under the Romans it was the metropolis of the Confederate Hellespont, but is at present little better than a village, and known under the names of Chizico, Spiga, and Palermi. Perium, so called, as some writers inform us, from Parus the son of Iapet. Some think, that Archelochus, the famous writer of Iambics, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked Cupid much celebrated by the ancients, and deemed so ways inferior to the famous Venus of Cnidus. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the Ophiogenes mentioned by Pliny, who are said to have had the gift of curing the bites of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence flood a stately temple of Apollo Atheneus and Diana, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at Perium, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of Asia. The ancient Parians were a colony of Mithradates, and the more modern of the Romans, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely Perium and Troad. Homer makes Perium and Aethra one and the same city; but Strabo distinguishes them. Perium is now reduced to a village, but retains its ancient name. Lamphaces or Lampascum was seated at the entrance of the Propontis over-against Callipolis in the Thracian Chersonese. It was built, according to some, by the Phocaeans, according to others by Priamus, who was a native of this city and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named Lampaces. It had a capacious and safe harbour and a noble temple consecrated to Cybele. It was in ancient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by Artaxerxes to Themistocles in his exile. Alexander the Great conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if possible their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before Alexander, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed that he would deny their request. Whereupon Anaximenes, who was the head of that embassay, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of Lampaces, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and defining to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg, that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punith-

*Florus*, lib. iii. c. v. *Xiphilinus in Dion. Plin. i. xxxvi. c. 15.* *He Schuvi.* *Erasm. Chilid.* *Ad. iii. in Ver.* *Appian.* *Erasm. in Mithridatico.* *lib. vii. c. 2.*

(S) This gave birth to the Greek proverb Κακως ξηραν, an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving, as if the Cyprian statues were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side Cibele the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the above-mentioned proverb to be a taunt on those who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (19).

a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which Alexander, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation. Priapus was worshiped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect fink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lusts. *Fully* represents the inhabitants of Lampacus as a quiet and indolent sort of people, and more fit to relish the ease of peace, than suffer the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The Greeks call it Lampasso, and the Turks Lepjek. These were the chief cities of *Mysha Minor* seated on the coast. But we will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Mysha*, which, according to Strabo, lay between the river Rhynacus and mount Ida. Here Stephanus places the city of Apollonia on the banks of the Rhynacus, which rises from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake now the lake of Abounilla, is five-and-twenty miles in compass, and eight miles wide, being interpersed with several islands and peninsulas, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called Abounilla. As the village Sitata in this island bears the same name, some modern travellers take it to be the ancient city of Apollonia (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its ancient luster to the reign of the emperor Alexis Comnenus, when it was taken and pillaged by the Turks, as his daughter Anna Comnena informs us. Apollo was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for, besides that he bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this city.

The chief rivers of *Mysha Minor* are the Rhynacus and the Granius. The Rhynacus, called by Pliny Lykus, and by the modern Larntaco, has its source in the lake of Apollonia, or Artyneia, as Pliny names it, and falls into the Propontis near Cyzicus. This river is memorable in the Roman history for the overthrow of Mitridates, who, designing to surprize Lucullus, was himself surprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The Granius rises on mount Ida, and discharges itself into the Propontis between Perinus and Cyzicus. This river Alexander crossed at the head of 30,000 Macedonians in face of the Persian army 60,000 strong. Travellers observe, that its banks are very high and steep on the west side; so that the forces of Darius had a considerable advantage, had they known how to use it. This river at present is called the Soufonghiri, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Mysha* stands mount Olympus, called by the ancients *Olympus* Mytserum to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest mountains in Asia, and great part of the year covered with snow.

The city of greatest note in *Mysha Major* was Pergamus, seated in a spacious plain on the banks of the Alps. It was the royal seat of the Attic kings and of Lydians, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the Latin Chara Pergama. Ptolemy king of Egypt gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the Egyptian papyrus, in order to defeat the design of Eunomes king of Pergamus, which was to caufe all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with Ptolemy's famous library at Alexandria. In Pergamus were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call Tapestry, and the Romans named Antea from Antia signifying a bed, because the hall of Attalus, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. Galen the famous Physician was born in this city. Here *Euscetipius* is said to have practiced physic. We

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1. *Ad. c. iii. in Verr.*
2. *TOURNFORT, voyage, au Levant, &c.*
3. *TOURNFORT,ubi supra.*

(U) Plutarch, who visited those places, describes *Lysipolis* as seated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the Rhynacus; but this learned traveller mistake the city of Lysipolis, or as the Turks call it, Usbat, for the ancient Apollonia, not being aware, that the inhabitants of Apollonia for the convenience of their commerce removed from Apollonia to Lysipolis, giving the name of the city they had forsaken to this their new habitation; it being manifest from Anna Comnena, that in her time Lysipolis bore also the name of Apollonia.

(W) *Span* mistake the Fortifior, as it is now called, for the Granius. The Fortifior is a small brook rising on mount Peires, which bears, their mistake, thank to the Gallic of the ancients.
We must not forget that Pergamus was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Revelation. It is now an inconsiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the Attalic kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

On the coasts of the Greater Mycia were seated the following cities, Antandrus, Selepsi, Afis, Amarysium, Pitane, &c.

The soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of Asia, and as such celebrated by the ancients 1. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for pasturing them. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount Ida and mount Olimpus. In short, the Mycians, as Philostratus informs us, with respect to their country, b were the happiest of all the Ajetacis.

As to the origin of the Mycians, Herodotus 2 informs us, that they were Lydia by descent. According to his account, Manes, the first king of Lydia, was father to Cotys, and Cotys to Arys, who had three sons, Lydus, Mycias, and Cares. From Lydus the Lydians, formerly called Meones from Mean the father of Cybele, borrowed their name. Mycias and Cares planted Lydian colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named Mycia and Caria. Others derive them from the Phrygians, and tell us that Mycus, was not a Lydian but a Phrygian. Strabo derives the Ajetac Mycians from thole of Europe, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount Hermus and the Danube, and is now known under the names of Bosnia, Strba, and Bulgaria. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on difftored and far-fetched etymologies.

As to the character of the ancient Mycians, it must be considered at different times, for they seem to have been once a warlike people. Herodotus 3 and Pliny 4 speak of a very powerful army of Mycians and Trojans, which before the Trojan war, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, subdued all Thrace, and advancing to the Ionian sea penetrated as far as the river Pison. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, so that they were looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on the earth; infomuch, that the Greeks 5 had no expreasion to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him the last of the Mycians. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the Greeks 6 to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the Phrygian and Trojan, with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts, and sciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth; for Philostoratus informs us, that in ancient times they were the most wealthy nation of all Asia.

Their religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring Phrygian, to whom they did not fall short of superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, which has made some believe them to be originally Phrygians. Cybele had a flately rich temple at Cyzicus, and Apollo Aetneus near Parium. Nemesis also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king Adractus not far from the city of Parium, whence both the country and the goddess were named Adrakia. Priapus was worshipped by the more modern Mycians, but unknown to them even in Hesiod's time. The Mycian priests abstained from flees, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horfe, and eat its entrails, before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Concerning their government, thus much appears, that it was monarchial. We find no mention made of their kings till the Argonautic expedition; but authors are of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. Diodorus 7 tells us, that they lived in subjection to Nikus, by whom they had been conquered, and to the Assyrian kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of Troy and dispersion of the Trojans, the Mycians possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by Croesus king of Lydia.

1 Virgil, Georg. i. i. ver 103. 2 Lib. i. & vii. 3 Lib. vii. 4 Lib. vii. c. 6. 5 Geor. lib. ii. cap. 1. 6 Cic. pro Flacco. 7 Eclog. in Persis. Eras. Claud. a Lib. ii. cap. 1. 8 Strab. Lib.
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a The first king of Mysia we find mentioned is called Olympus: He is said to have married Nipae, the daughter of Jasius or Jasion, brother to Dardanus king of Troy. Teuthras appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned 20 years over the Myrians, Cilicians, and Ceteans. He married Auge, daughter to Aeues the king of Arcadia’s son. As he had no issue, he gave his daughter Agriope, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to Telephus his second wife’s son by Hercules (X). He built a city calling it Teubronia, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in course of time to all Mysia. He had another daughter by name Teumessa, who, in the division of the booty, which the Greeks had got in plundering Mysia, fell to Ajax the son of Telamon.

Teuthras was succeeded by Telephus a natural son of Hercules by Auge. Telephus, being exproyed by his grand-father’s order on mount Parthenius, was nurshed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one Corythus, who brought him up as his own child. Being deified, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to flee his course towards Mysia, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king Teuthras her husband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the Trojan war he first sided with king Priam, and was dangerously wounded by Achilles; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Greeks to stand neutral. Pausanias and Strabo tell us, that he planted a colony of Arcadians in the neighbourhood of Pergamus. Jornandes makes him king of the Goths, wherein he confounds the European with the Asiatic Myrians; for those of Europe, whom Pliny calls Meursians, are thought to be descended from the Myrians of Asia. Telephus had two sons, Euryalus and Latinus: Euryalus, according to some, was killed in the Trojan war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the Cilicians. Latinus is said to have led a colony of Ceteans into Italy.

Euryalus left one son by name Arios, who succeeded his father or grand-father, Arios: and was slain in a single combat by Amphialius the son of Neoptolemus, who possessed himself of the kingdom of Mysia. We read of no other kings of Mysia till many ages after, when the Attalic family reigned at Pergamus, which we shall speak of in its proper place.


(X) Eupitides, quoted by Strabo (30), informs us, that Telephus was a natural son of Hercules by Auge; and adds, that her father Aeues cauhted both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of Pallas guided to the mouth of the river Cucus, and that Teuthras, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with Auge, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son Telephus, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

(30) Strab. l. xiii.

C H A P. XV.
The History of the Lydians.

S E C T. I.
The description of Lydia.

WHENCE this country borrowed the name of Lydia is not determined. Name.
Some, led by the affinity of words, derive it from Lud, Shen’s fourth son, whom they pretend to have settled here. But this opinion we shall examine, when we
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Book I.

we come to enquire into the origin of the Lydians. All the ancient writers tell us, that Lydia was first called Meonia or Meonia from Meon king of Phrygia and Lydia, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of Alyattes, when it began to be called Lydia from his son Apollodorus. Bochart, finding in his learned collection of Phoenician words the verb Ludsignifying to wind, and observing that the country was speaking of is watered by the Meander so famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named Lydia or Ludia. As to Meon and Lydus, he adds, that it was then called Lydia or Ludia. The Meander itself. Now as these two countries, lying on the two most winding rivers of the Nile, as Herodotus observes, has as many windings and windings as the Meander itself. As to the ancient name of Meonia, he takes it to be a Greek translation of the Phoenician word Lud, wherein he agrees, in some measure, with Strabo, and other ancient writers. In after ages, when the Ionians, who had planted a colony on the coast of the Agean sea, began to make some figure, that part was called Tonia, and the name of Lydia given to the ancient Meonia.

Lydia, according to Pliny, Ptolemy, and other ancient geographers, was bounded by Mytra Major on the north, by Caria on the south, by Phrygia Major on the east, and Tonia on the west, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the ancients file the kingdom of Lydia was not confined within the narrow boundaries, chiefly under the later kings, but extended from the river Halys to the Agean sea. Pliny's description includes Bolia, lying between the Halys and the Cilicia, but that tract we shall consider apart.

The chief cities of Lydia were Sardis, the metropolis of that kingdom and the seat of king Croesus. This city stood on the banks of the Pausilus at the foot of Mount Memelus. The Persians thought Sardis of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that Xerxes, hearing it was taken by the Greeks, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner: "The Greeks have taken Sardis," which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly burned by an earthquake and rebuilt by Tiberius. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and columns of marble. Not far from Sardis stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that Sardis which is mentioned in the Revelations, and was one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen in Herodotus's time ② the sepulchre of Hyacin, father of Croesus, whereof the foundation was of stone but the whole superstructure of earth, being fix furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thousand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the second city of Lydia, and so called from Attalus Philadelphus brother to Eumenes, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of Mount Memelus. In this city were anciently celebrated the common feasts of ③ Aphi, as appears from an inscription quoted by Spon. ④ It was one of the seven churches, and continued to make a good figure under the Greek emperors. It was the lair in Aphi Minor that submited to the Turks, and that upon very honourable terms after six years siege. Among the Greeks it retains its ancient name, but is known to the Turks by the name of Attaloschi. Part of the ancient wall is still

① Phaleg, i. c. 12. ② lib. ii. c. 29. ③ Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, ver. 259. ④ Heerodot. i. i. ⑤ Voyage d'Italie, &c.

" 29. ② Herodot. 1. ⑤ See Voyage d'Italie, &c.
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remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and some sepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an ancient tradition among the inhabitants, were transported by the Christians into Europe.

Theatira, a colony of the Macedonians, as Strabo informs us, was situated in a pleasant plain not far from the river Hermus. This city was another of the seven churches, and its present ruins testify its former grandeur. The Greeks call it Thyra, and the Turks Askifar. It is a place of some trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 Turks.

Magnesia, by the Turks called Guzethisfar, seated on the Meander, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many stately buildings demonstrate. Here Thessaloes died, this being one of the three towns that Xerxes allotted to him for his subsistence during his exile. It is still a large, handsome, and well-built city. Another city of the same name stood at the foot of mount Sypilus on a rising ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in history for many battles fought there, but especially for that between Antiochus and the Romans under the command of Scipio, which decided the fate of Asia. This city was for some time the seat of the Ottoman empire, and is still the capital of Carea.

Mount Sypilus is the only one in Lydia of any note. The goddes Sypilene took her name from this mountain; or rather Cybele was called Sypilene, because she was worshipped in a particular manner on mount Sypilus. And hence on the reverse of almost all the ancient medals of Magnesia this goddes is represented, sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. Plutarch informs us, that mount Sypilus was likewise named the Thunder Mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of Asia; and hence we find on the reverse of several medals stamped at Magnesia Jupiter armed with thunder-bolts. Mount Timus, and in more ancient times Timus, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

The rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of, are the Paelus, which running from mount Timus waters the city of Sardis, and then discharges itself into the Hermus or Sarabat. It was called by the ancients Cbryforbaas, from the colour of its sands which shine like gold. The Cayster, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in Phrygia Major, bathes Lydia, and empties itself into the Aegean sea near Ephesus. It has almost as many windings, if Susp is to be believed, as the Meander itself, but neither have near so many, according to Tournefort, as the Seine beneath Paris.

As to the origin of the Lydians, Josephus and after him all the ecclesiastic writers derive them from Lud, Shem's fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, viz. that the Lydians were first called Meoenes, as also the ancients agree, and Lydians from Lydia the son of Asia, except we suppose the Greeks were deceived, and that, the name of Meoenes ceasing, they returned their old name of Lydians, which often has happened. But even in that case, we ought perhaps to consider Lydia as posteriorly than Sir Walter Raleigh, why Lud should survive far from his friends as Lydia, according to what we have said elsewhere. Some of the ancients will have the Lydians to be a mixt colony of Phrygians, Myrians, and Carians. Others, finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the Egyptians and Thracians who were a Lydian colony, content them, without any further evidence, to be originally Egyptians. The very sameness of names, which on like occasions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged some writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the Lydians were a very ancient nation, as is manifest from their very fables, for Attis, Tantalus, Pelops, Niobe, and Arachne, are all said to have been the children of Lydia. And Xanthus in his Lydiana, quoted by Stephanus, informs us, that the ancient city of AlcaLon, one of the five capitals of the Philistines mentioned in the books of Joshua and the Judges, was built by one AlcaLon a Lydian, whom Aeliusamus king of Lydia had appointed to command a body of troops which he left, we know not on what occasion, into Syria. The Heraclides, or kings of Lydia descended from Hercules, began to reign before the Trojan war, and had been preceded from B.C. I, cap. viii. sect. 15. p. 165. d.
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BOOK I.

preceded by a long series of kings sprung from Alytus, and hence titled Alytide, which is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Government.

The Lydians began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over Lydia, viz. the Alytide, the Heraclide, and the Mermnade. The Alytides were so called from Alytus, the son of Catys and grand-son of Manes. Manes, the son of Jupiter and Tellus and first king of Mermnade, had by Callirhoe, the daughter of Oceanus, one son by name Catys; Catys by Halia the daughter of Tullus had two sons, Alytus and Aysis; from Aysis Lydia borrowed the name of Aisia, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. Alytus married Callirhoe the daughter of Choruses, and had by her Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Lydus succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mermnade, which in his reign began to be called Lydia. Tyrrhenus led a colony into Italy, and settled in Heturia now Tuscania. This is the account Disseius Hellenofusis gives us of the kings sprung of Alytus, or the first race of the Lydian kings.

The Alytides were succeeded by the Heraclides or the descendants of Hercules. For Hercules, being by the directions of the oracle first as a flame to Omphale queen of Lydia, to expiate thereby the murder of Iphitus, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named Cleopas, whose grand-son by name Argenis was the first of the Heraclides that ascended the throne of Lydia. This race reigned from Argenis to Candaules the last 505 years, the father succeeded the son for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the Trojan war.

The third race called Mermnade, as from one of the family named Mermnus (for the ancients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the Medes took off the Assyrian yoke. The Mermnades were also, properly speaking, Heraclides, being descended from one Leumus, or, as Apollodorus calls him, Ageus, the son of Hercules by Omphale. The first king of this race was Gyges, and Croesus the last. As to their character, it must be considered at different times: under Croesus and of some of his predecessors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terror of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the Persians, and enjoyed by Cyrus, according to the advice given him by Croesus (Y), to wear long veils and apply themselves to such arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to define their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleness, pleasures, and diversions. The soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence Croesus is said to have drawn his immense wealth.

As to the religion of the Lydians, it seems to have been much the same with that of the Phrygians, which we have already spoken of; they worshipped Diana, Jupiter, and Cybele at Magnesia under the name of Sypilene; for in the alliance concluded between those of Suryre and Magnesia on the Meander in favour of king Seleucus Callinicus both parties swore, as appears from the Arundelian marble, by the goddess Sypilene. She borrowed this name from mount Sypilus, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as Strabo informs us, was ruined by an earthquake.

(Y) The Lydians, not long after they were conquered by Cyrus, rebelled at the instigation of one Padyas a Lydian, whom Cyrus had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of Cragusant Sardis. With this gold Padyas putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to Sardis, where he was received with adulation, and threw himself at the feet of Cyrus, who appointed him governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to Cyrus, as he was leading his army against the Babylonians, Asarians, and Egyptians, he resolved to march back into Lydia, fell all the Lydians for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king Croesus at that time his prisoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earnestly interested him to forgive the Lydians, and wreak his just anger on Padyas alone by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the Lydians the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cauce their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of obliterating their minds and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by Cyrus, and in a short time the Lydians became the most lawless and debauched nation under the Sun (31).

(31) Herodot. lib. i.
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In the same city of Magnesia stood a temple of Diana Leucophryna, no ways inferior to the so much celebrated temple of Diana Ephesina.

The custom of the Lydians was, as Herodotus informs us, much the same with that of the Greeks, except that they used to prostitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by prostitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleased. They punished idlers as a crime, and insured their children from their very infancy to hardships. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as some have pretended to argue from Jeremiah, but long spears, such as were anciently used by the horse; and in horsemanship, if Herodotus is to be credited, the Lydians far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver to facilitate trade; the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented publick sports and feasts, which were therefore called Ludii by the Romans, who borrowed them from the Tuscians, descended, as we shall see anon, from the Lydians. Herodotus informs us, on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of Agesilaus the son of Maenestor, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of Lydia, which the inhabitants endured for several years with an astonishing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in ancient times used among the Greeks, chefs only excepted, whereof the Lydians, as we are told by Herodotus, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without amusing themselves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately fasting and feasting, as the scarcity of their provisions could well allow, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determinate by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new feasts, since their native country could not afford their maintenance at home. The king appointed his son Tyrrenhus to command those who should be obliged to remove, he himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those who by lot were constrained to abandon their country marched to Smyrna, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of Italy which was then called Umbria, and now Tuscia. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called Lydians, but Tyrrenians from their leader Tyrrhenus.

The trade of the ancient Lydians is nowhere mentioned, but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when Lydia was in the meridian of its glory; whosoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, could not doubt, but commerce must have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immense riches not only of the Lydian princes, but of several private persons. Herodotus mentions one, by name Pythius, who not only entertained Xerxes and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade Greece, but made him a profiter of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety-five thousand pieces of gold bearing the stamp of Dariskos, whereby to defray the expenses of that war. The name Pythius had presaged Dariss, father to Xerxes, with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the King ofPersia, the richest man in the then known world.

S E C T.

1 Herodot. 1. 2 Jerem. xxxvi. 9. 3 Herodot. ubi supra. 4 Herodot. ubi supra.
The History of the Lydians.

BOOK I.

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of Lydia.

Maenæs.

The first king of Lydia we find mentioned in history is Maenæs, or Manes, as Herodatus calls him. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which in the language of the ancients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. Heracleides mentions an anonymous king of Lydia, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright living at Cyme, was raised to the throne of Lydia, a citizen of Cyme, for whom the slave was at that time making a cart, infested on his finishing what he had in hand before he was set at liberty, protesting that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of Lydia, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate slave may have been Maenæs, since he in regard of his mean descent is called by the ancients son of the earth. Heracleides does not tell us what induced the Lydians to place a slave on the throne; but we may suppose this to have been brought about by the advice of some oracle, as it happened in the case of Gordius king of Phrygia; for Heracleides informs us, that the Lydians chose a slave for their king, in hopes of being rescued by his means from the oppressions they groaned under.

Cotys.

Maenæs was succeeded by his son Cotys, and Cotys by his son Atys, in whose reign, as the country was overstocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the space of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements, under the conduct of his younger son Tyrphemus.

Lydus.

Atys was succeeded by his son Lydus, from whom the country had the name of Lydia, having been called to that time Maonia.

Alcymus.

Alcymus appears next: It is uncertain whom he succeeded: He is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as of new settlements, under the conduct of his younger son Tyrphemus.

Adrætus.

Adrætus or Adramytis is mentioned by Athenæus, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministrations as other kings had done eunuchs.

Camblicedes.

Camblicedes, Camblicitas, or Camblices, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. Athenæus says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death.

Timæus.

Timæus put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as Plutarch acquaints us, by Diana for ravishing one of her followers by name Arriphne.

Theoclymenus.

Theoclymenus succeeded his father Timæus, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount Timobule, which from him had its name.

Marthas.

After Theoclymenus Marthas reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, coming into Italy, built there, as we are told by Solinus, in the city of Archippena.

Jardanes.

Jardanes succeeded Marthas, and in his reign all manner of levies prevailed in the kingdom of Lydia to such a degree, that Omphale, the king’s only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lufts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince.

On the death of Jardanes his daughter Omphale was by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father’s life-time, and by cauting the flames all over the kingdom.

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a kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with Hercules she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named Alecous.

Omphale was succeeded by her son Alecous, according to some authors, who will Alecous have him to have been the first king of Lydia of the race of Hercules. After Alecous reigned Belus, and after Belus his son Ninus, of whom we know Ninus nothing but their bare names.

Argon succeeded his father Ninus, and is said to have transferred the royal seat Argon to Sardis. Herodotus will have Argon to have been the first of the descendants of Hercules that reigned in Lydia.

Argon was succeeded by his son Leon, Leon by Abydrus, who reigned thirty-six Leon, &c. years; Abydrus by Abydrus who reigned fourteen; and Abydrus by Melos, who reigned twelve.

Candaules the son of Myriss was the last king of this second race, and left by his Candaules, imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by Herodotus: He had a wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful of her sex. Before Christ,

He enticed her charms above measure to Gyges, his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, resolved to shew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to undress when she went to bed, ordering him to retire after seeing her, and take all possible care not to be observed. But notwithstanding all the caution he could use, she plainly discovered him going out, and though she did not doubt but it was her husband's contrivance, yet she passed that night in a seeming tranquillity, suppressing her resentment to the next morning, when the sent for Gyges, and resolutely told him, that he must either, with his death alone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death Candaules the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of Lydia for his reward. Gyges, at first earnestly begged of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his matter, or die himself, he chose the former, and being led by the queen to the same place, where her husband had placed him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, and at the same time married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the Delphic oracle. For the Lydians having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of Gyges, that if the oracle should declare him to be lawful king of Lydia, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the Heraclidae. The answer of the oracle proved favourable to Gyges, whereupon he was universally acknowledged for lawful king of Lydia. Candaules is said to have purchased a picture, done by one Balaribaos, and representing a battle of the Magnes, its weight in gold, which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for Candaules was contemporary with Romulus.

Gyges, having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of Lydia, sent many rich and Gyges, valuable presents to the oracle of Delphos, among the others fix cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of Miletus and Smyrna, took the city of Colophon, and subdued the whole country of Tras. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of Abydos was built by the Miletans. Plutarch and other writers relate his accession to the crown of Lydia in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that Gyges rebelled against Candaules and flew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by Plato, and Tully, we refer the reader to Tzetzes, Suidas, Philostratus, &c. Gyges reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Ardys or Ardyx carried on the war against the Miletans which his father had begun, Ardys, and possessed himself of Priene, in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the Cimmerians invaded and over-run all Asia Minor; but what battles were fought between the Lydians and these invaders, and with what success, we find no-where mentioned. Herodotus only informs us that in the time of Ardys they posseeded...
proffered themselves of Sardis the metropolis of Lydia, but could never win the cattle. Alyattes reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son, Sardiates, who reigned twelve years, andوارت port of his reign with the Milesians.

After him came his son Alyattes, who for the space of six years waged a bloody war with Cyaxares king of the Medes. The occasion of this war is thus related by Herodotus. Certain Scyths being driven out of their country on occasion of a feitidian war with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be instructed in the use of the bow, and in the Scythian tongue. The strangers were great sportsmen, and used daily to supply the king's table with game, which they drest after their own manner. But returning one day empty, Cyaxares, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with most opprobrious language, which the Scyths relented, agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and serve his flesh up to the king's table drest like venison. This they effected, and then made their escape into Lydia, where they were kindly entertained by Alyattes, which, according to Herodotus, gave occasion to a war that lasted six years, Cyaxares demanding the Scyths, and Alyattes refusing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various success, the Medes sometimes defeating the Lydians and the Lydians sometimes the Medes. In the fifth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a sudden turned into night, which so frightened both the Lydians and Medes, that they gave over fighting, and they were then in a strong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediation of Cyrus king of Cilicia and Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon. The peace was ratified by a marriage between Argeis the daughter of Alyattes and Alydges the son of Cyaxares (A). A peace being thus concluded between the Lydians and Medes, Alyattes employed all his forces against the Scyths, and, after a war, which lasted several years, had the good luck to take his kingdom of so troublesome a guest. He was attended with the like success in the war he undertook against the Smyrneans, whom he fought in several battles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole country. He continued for the space of five years the war, which his father had begun against the Milesians, ravaging their country, and about harvest time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of provisions to surrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce in any other way, the Milesians being at that time masters of the sea. In the 12th year of this war the Lydians having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of Minerva at Assis, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after Alyattes falling sick sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, which refused to return any answer, till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of Minerva at Assis. Having Alyattes dispatched ambassadors to Miletus, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the Milesians till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the embassadors Tarsus, then king of Miletus, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This Tarsus did to the end, that the embassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people everywhere diverting themselves, might acquaint their master therewith, and divert him from purifying the war. As Tarsus had designed, so it happened; for Alyattes, who believed the Milesians greatly distressed for provisions, receiving a quite different account from his embassadors, changed the truce into a lasting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendship with Tarsus and the Milesians. Alyattes had two sons, Croesus and Astyages, for the treacherly he had shown in mischief to their countrymen he was hated in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that Alyattes, being jealous of the too great power of Cyaxares (who had died), after the conquest of Nysseus, the regions belonging to the Affians as far as to the river Hula, entered into an alliance with the Scyths against the Medes, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the Lydians and Scyths.
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a Carian, and Pantaleon by an Ionian. Croesus succeeded his father after he had reigned fifty-seven years.

Croesus, succeeding his father at the age of thirty-five years, enlarged his dominions so as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchs, viz. of Media, of Babylon, and of Egypt. Croesus, being sixty years old, was the first that made war on the Ephesians, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their confratricating it to Diana, and fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven fathoms distant from the city. After the reduction of Ephesos he attacked under various pretences the Ionians and Aeolians, obliging them, and all the other Greek states of Asia, to pay him a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the islands, but was diverted from this thought by Bias of Priene, or, as others say, by Pittacus of Mytilene. (B.) Not long after he subdued the Phrygians, Myrians, Maryandini, Chalybes, Paplagonians, Thracians, Thyrians, Bithyrians, Carians, Doriens, Aeolians, Pamphylians, and all the nations that lay between Lydia and the river Halys. Athenaeus out of Berosus mentions a signal victory of his over the Saceans, a Scythian nation, in memory whereof the Babylonians his allies yearly celebrated a feast, which they called Sacean. Croesus having by these victories acquired great fame and renown, many wise men of that age went to Sardis on purpose to see him, and among others Solon, who, after publishing his laws at Athens, had abdicated himself from his country, under pretence of travelling for the space of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the Athenians could make no alteration of themelves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at Sardis he was with great humanity entertained by Croesus in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, Croesus asked him, who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But Solon, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that Tellus the Athenian was the happiest man he had ever seen. (C.) Croesus again asked him who was a happier man after Tellus; not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to Croesus and Biston two Argives. (D.) Croesus shewing himself highly disatisfied with Solon, for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Whereupon he was dismissed by Croesus as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of Solon, Croesus lost his favourite son Alyss, who was unfortunately killed at the chase of a wild boar by 

Adrastos, son of Gordius and grandson of Midas kings of Phrygia, who had fled to Sardis.

(B) Bias arriving at Sardis from Greece told Croesus, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the infidels had bought ten-thousand horses with a design to attack him by land, which Croesus believing thanked the gods for inspiring them with such a resolution, as knowing, that the main strength of his army consisted in cavalry. Then Bias acquainted him, that the infidels had no such design, but were so few pleased in hearing that he designed to attack them by sea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon Croesus, being fully apprised of the schemes of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the Greeks that inhabited the islands.

(C) Tellus was an Athenian, had many virtuous children who all survived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the afflailence of his countrymen in a battle fought at Eleusis against the neighboring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the Athenians at the expense of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two Greeks proved victorious in the Olympic games and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of Juno, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whether the ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess, that she would reward her children with what the thought would prove most advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices, banqueted, and with her sons, they both fell asleep and died in the temple. Upon which the Argians, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at Delphi (31.)

(31) Herod. ib. i.
Sardis for refuge. This loss was no small allay to his happiness, for he continued to confoundulate the space of two whole years and in a state of inaction, till the conquests of Cyrus and growing power of the Persians roused up his martial spirits, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good success, which attended Cyrus in all his undertakings, might at last prove dangerous to himself, and therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to his conquests. To this end he confided all the oracles of any fame either in Greece or Africa (E), he strengthened himself with alliances, and, having raised what forces he could, marched into Cappadocia, then belonging to the Persians, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea, took the city of Pleria, and laid waste all the adjacent country. Cyrus, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marching into Cappadocia encamped in sight of the Lydian army. Here after several skirmishes the two armies came at last to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both sides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But Croesus fearing to venture a second battle, as his forces were not near so numerous as those of Cyrus, retired in the night-time, and marched with all possible expedition to Sardis, where he disbanded his troops, and, enlisting them to re-assemble at the end of five months, for he did not in the least apprehend, that Cyrus, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. Croesus, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, resolved to pursue him to Sardis, and oblige him to venture a second battle before his allies could join him. This resolution was executed, with such expedition, that Cyrus at the head of his army appeared in the plains of Sardis, before Croesus had any intelligence of his design. The Lydians were strangely alarmed at to bold an attempt, which they had neither foreseen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were still remaining, marched out against the Persians, by whom, after a sharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to that himself up in Sardis, which was soon after taken by assault, and Croesus himself made prisoner. In the taking of the town Croesus himself had been killed, had not his second son, who, in that time had been speeches, cried out to the Persians, who was ready to strike, Spare Croesus. Whereupon he was with his, and carried to Cyrus, who commanded him to be put in feters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a defign to burn him and fourteen young Lydians in honour of the gods, as a sacrificial and the fruits of his victory. Then Croesus recollecting the words of Solon, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philosopher's name, which Cyrus hearing,
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The oracle answered, that the god himself could not reverse the decrees of fate, and that Cyrus in the fifth generation suffered for a crime of one, who, at the infliction of a woman, had murdered her mother, and polled himself of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain; for Apollo only foretold, that by making war on the Persians he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he deferred to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of Cyrus, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of seeking for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfall was entirely owing to himself. Cyrus, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle from all suspicion of falsehood.

CHAP. XVI.

The History of the Lycians.

The country before us was at first called Milias or Tremile from the Milis, and afterwards Lycia from Lycus, the son of Pandion king of Athens. The proper Lycia, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty-sixth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by Caria on the west, by Pamphylia on the east, by Phrygia Major and part of Pamphylia on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the south. This country was divided into two parts, the Maritime and the Mediterranean, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were Telyphesius or Telmessus, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. Patara, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of Apollo no ways inferior to that of Delphos. At Patara Apollo was said to reside the fix winter months, and the fix summer months at Delos, whence the epithets of Pataraeus Apollo and Sortes Lyciae. This city was greatly embellished by Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, and called Arvinae from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. Myra, built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the Acts. This city was the metropolis of Lycia when a Roman province, and of consequence in the Christian times an archbishop's see. Olympos, a famous city with a mountain of the same name. Phaselis, on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, and therefore by some placed in Pamphylia, by others more accurately in Lycia. This city in the time of the Romans was a famous nest of pyrates, but was at last reduced by Servilius, while Pompey scourged the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pyrates of this town former ages were indebted for thefe swift vessels, which the Romans from the place called Phaselis, and we Brigantines. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland Lycia. Strabo reckons it in the following towns, Pinara, Croesus, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, Tlos, Simena, &c. Pylemsy adds to the Mediterranean part of Lycia two small counties, viz. Milias on the west bordering on Caria, and Cabilia on the east bordering on Lycia Proper. But Strabo places Milias

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References:

1. Herodot. i. & vii.
4. Aes. sax. 5.
5. Vol. II.
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Boo\textit{k} 1.

Mili\textit{as} on the borders of \textit{P}hido\textit{a} and \textit{P}am\textit{ph}o\textit{lia}. The inland part of \textit{L}yci\textit{a} was divided by the river \textit{X}ant\textit{hus}, which, rising in two springs from the foot of mount \textit{C}ad\textit{mus}, and waf\textit{f}ing the walls of \textit{X}ant\textit{hus}, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the \textit{M}edit\textit{err}e\textit{n}oe\textit{an}. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of \textit{L}yci\textit{a}, were called \textit{P}an\textit{thi\textit{ans}}. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all \textit{A}\textit{f}o\textit{a}, is mount \textit{T}a\textit{u}r\textit{s}, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great \textit{O}ri\textit{ental} \textit{Ocean}. In \textit{L}yci\textit{a} was also the famous mountain \textit{Chim\textit{era}} which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted and rendered habitable by \textit{B}el\textit{le\textit{ropol\textit{yon}}, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

The soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very \textit{v}el\textit{oth\textit{em}}. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount \textit{T}a\textit{u}r\textit{s}, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin.

As to the origin of the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans}, \textit{Herodotus} and others \textit{in}form us, that they were descended from the \textit{C}ret\textit{ans}; for \textit{S}ar\textit{pedon}, being driven out of the \textit{I}land by his brother \textit{Mi\textit{nos}}, and landing in \textit{A}\textit{f}o\textit{a} with those \textit{C}ret\textit{ans} who had fied with him, settled in \textit{Mili\textit{as}}, and there founded a new \textit{k}ingdom, after having conquered and driven out the ancient proprietors, whom \textit{Herodotus} calls \textit{Mi\textit{ly\textit{ans}} and \textit{S}oly\textit{me}}. During the reign of \textit{S}ar\textit{pedon they continued to be called \textit{C}ret\textit{ans}, but after his death took the name of \textit{L}yci\textit{ans from \textit{L}yci\textit{a}, the part of \textit{P}and\textit{ion} king of \textit{At}ben, who, being forced by his brother \textit{A}ge\textit{us to quit his native country, had fled to \textit{S}ar\textit{pedon}. Hence the poets, and with them \textit{Str}abo, seem to confound the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans with the \textit{Car}i\textit{ans, who were undoubtedly descended from the \textit{C}ret\textit{ans. But \textit{Diodoros Secul\textit{us}, and \textit{Plato} before him, counts the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans among the \textit{G}reek nations of \textit{A}\textit{f}o\textit{a, as being descended from the \textit{A}rgi\textit{ei. But not to dwell on such uncertainties, the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to \textit{Str}abo, three and twenty, according to \textit{Pliny} \textit{ix} and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their \textit{p}ower on the \textit{sea as far as possible.}

Their manner, government, &c.

The \textit{L}yci\textit{ans are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety, and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty-three consideracle cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general \textit{as}sembly or \textit{d}ict, the great cities three, the lesser two, and the least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no way absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the \textit{R}omans, as \textit{Str}abo informs us, but with this difference, that the consent of the \textit{R}oman governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had paffed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of \textit{Belle\textit{ropolis, Sar\textit{pedon, Lyci\textit{a, Tele\textit{polis, and Pant\textit{ar}a\textit{nus reigning in \textit{L}yci\textit{a} at one and the same time, if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest \textit{f}ray in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all \textit{L}yci\textit{a became subject to one prince; for \textit{Herodotus, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of \textit{Xerxes} fleet, mentions but one king of \textit{L}yci\textit{a, by name Cyl\textit{erniceus. This nation, as most of the other nations of \textit{A}\textit{f}o\textit{a, was first subdued by \textit{Cret}a or the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans, and after the downfall of the \textit{L}yci\textit{an kingdom by \textit{Cy\textit{rus. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity, with which the \textit{L}yci\textit{ans of \textit{X}an\textit{thus opposed \textit{H}arpag\textit{us the \textit{P}er\textit{fian} general, descrives particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the \textit{P}er\textit{fian yoke, they attacked with a handful of men \textit{H}arpag\textit{us} numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being overpowered

The History of the Cilicians.

Chap. 16.

The Cilicians, power'd with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches, and then, engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The Lycians continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the Persians, but paid an annual tribute to the king of Persia. They fell with the Persians under the power of the Macedonians, and after the death of Alexander were governed by the Seleucids. Of these Antiochus the Great being confined by the Romans beyond mount Taurus, Lycia was granted to the Rhodians; but these disfiguring the Romans in the war with Persia, Lycia was declared a free country, and continued to be so till the reign of Claudius, who, provoked at their interceptive defensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

Their customs were much the same with those of the Cretans and Carians, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked, who he was, or of what family he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of Crete, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the Greek islands.

The succession of the kings of Lycia and the years of their respective reigns are their kings, overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chauses, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all Lycia that we are sure of.

Amiodarbus, who is said to have nourished the monster Chimera.

Jobates, who married his daughter Sthenobade, or, as others call her, Antea, to Prethus king of the Argives. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the Tyrrenians in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter Sthenobade falling in love with Bellerophon, the son of Glaucus king of Ephrya, and having solicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon Prethus, being unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by putting a stranger to death in his own kingdom, sent him into Lycia with letters to Jobates his father-in-law, requesting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. Jobates, thinking it a bolder thing to embrace his hands in the blood of a stranger, sent him with a small body of troops against the Salyms, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he should there find his doom. But Bellerophon returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only safe, but victorious; whereupon Jobates, being reconciled to him and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

Many years after reigned Cyrenius, who was one of Xerxes' admirals in his expedition against Greece. And this is all we find upon record concerning the ancient kings of Lycia.

1 Herodot. i. i. 2 Herodot. l. vii.

The History of the ancient CILICIANS.

Cilikia, according to the Greek writers, borrowed its name from Cilius, the son of Agenor and brother of Cadmus, who is said by them to have settled in this district, as we have observed elsewhere. "Josephus" tells us, that it was anciently called Toris from Torphis the son of Jocan, who first peopled this part of Asia; and of the same opinion are Stephanus, Zonaras, and Hieron; but the latter by Toris in scripture sometimes understands Carthage, sometimes a province in India, and

1 Vol. i. 409, b. 2 Joseph. Antiq. 1. c. 7. 3 See Vol. i. p. 168. 4 Steph. verbo Tarxis. 5 Zonar. tom. i. 6 Hieronym in quart. Hebr. 7 Idem, in cap. 23. Esa. 8 Idem, ad Marcell.
and sometimes the sea." Bochart derives the name of Cilicia from the Phoenician word Challekrim or Challukim signifying a stone, that part of Cilicia, which the Greeks called Cilicia Trachea, being very stony, and to this day called by the Turks Taš Wileeth, that is, the stony province.

Cilicia, properly so called, lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by Syria on the east, or rather by mount Amanus which separates it from that kingdom, by Pamphylia on the west, by Ionia, Cappadocia, and Armenia Minor on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the south. It is now called Caramania, having been the last province of the Caramanian kingdom that held out against the Ottoman race. This province is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the Taurus and Amanus, that it may be defended by a handful of resolute men against a whole army how numerous soever, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called Pyle Cilicie or the gates of Cilicia, one on the side of Cappadocia called the pass of mount Taurus, and the other two, called the pass of mount Amanus, and the pass of Cilicia, leading from Syria. The Persian army marched through the straits of mount Amanus, while that of Alexander was encamped at Iphis not far from the straits of Syria, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of Macedonians under the command of Parmenio; the straits of mount Taurus Alexander had passed in entering Cilicia, the Persians who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the Macedonians.

The whole country was divided by the ancients into Cilicia Cilicia Aelia and Cilicia Campania; the former, called by the Greeks Trachea or stone, is bounded by Ionia on the north, Pamphylia on the west, Cilicia Campania on the east, and the Mediterranean on the south. The cities in this part of Cilicia, mentioned by the ancients, are Smyrna, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Syedra, Nigidius a Samian colony, Aegaeum, Abydus, Celendris or Celenderis, Abrodias, so called from Venus who was worshipped there in a fluted temple, Holonus, or, as Pliny calls it, Holoma, Sarpedon, famous for a noble temple consecrated to Apollo and Diana, Lysiphron, according to Ptolemy, the chief city of Cilicia Aelia, which Strabo extends to Seleucia, Pliny, Mela, and Strabo make no distinction between the two Ciliaces. Near Lysiphron was a grove much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by Pliny: "Sebae, which Archelaus the Cappadocian chose for his residence, after he was by Augustus appointed king of Cilicia Aelius; this city was situated on a small island called Eleusis, and not on the continent, where Pliny and Ptolemy have placed it. Thence were the towns of most note on the coast of Cilicia Aelis; the inland cities were, Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator on the banks of the Calycadnus, and peopled by the inhabitants of Holonus; it was a free city under the Romans, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the emperor Gordian. Domitianopolis, Philadelphia, Lamus, and in latter times Scander, on the confines of Pamphylia, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the Carmanian kings.

The chief cities of Cilicia properly so called, or Cilicia Campania, were, according to Strabo, Sali or Salus, built by the Rhodians and Aeacids. This city was destroyed by Tigranes king of Armenia in his wars with the Romans, and rebuilt by Pompey; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of Pompeipolis. Lattini tells us, that this city was built by Solon on his return from the court of Croesus, and peopled by a colony from Athens; and adds, that these Athenians, having in proof of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the Barbarians, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a Solon. But this is contradicted by others, who derive the word Solon from the Solenses in Cilicia, but from the Soloi in Cyprus. Tarbus, which produced the great apostle of the Gentiles, and was, if we believe Strabo, in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to Athens or Alexandria. We are told, that it was built by Tarbus in Thesprotia the son of Javan, whom or by his descendants it was built, but Strabo out of Aristobulus acquaints us, that it was built by Sardeus, and proves his assertion from an ancient monument found in those parts with this

Chap. 16. The History of the Cilicians.

a this insurrection, Sardanapalus the son of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchialae and Tarus in one day. Tarus was at first the metropolis of all Cilicia, and after Con-stantine's division of Cilicia Prima. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, which St. Paul thought fit to make use of according to the Portian law. The Tarthus, to ingratiate themselves with Julius Caesar, exchanged the ancient name of their city for that of Juliuspolis; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the Greeks Tarsia or Tarlassa; the Turks, as Bellenius and other more modern travellers inform us, call it Hamsha. Anchialae, built by Sardanapalus, as we hinted above, or, if we believe Athenodorus, by Anchiale the daughter of Japhet. Anazarbarn, situated on the river Pyramus, and in the Roman times the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. Suidas tells us, that it was first called Gyinda, and afterwards Anazarbarn from one Anazarbus, who was sent by the emperor Nero to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since Pline, who died long before the reign of Nero, calls the inhabitants of this city Anazarbeni; and Stephanus derives its name from mount Anazarbus at a small distance from the place where this city stood. Anazarbus was the birth-place of Dioscorides, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the partition of the empire. Epiphania, which gave birth to George the famous Arian bishop of Alexandria. Mopsuestia, the see of Theodorus Mopsuesthenus, a great patron of the Neophytes hereof in the time of Chrysostom. Iphus, situated on a gulf to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between Alexander and Darius; this town is now called Ayatza, and the great gulf on which it stands the gulf of Ayetza. Alexandria built by Alexander the Great between Iphus and the straits which lead from Cilicia into Syria. Ptolemy places this city in Syria, but Strabo more rightly on the bay of Iphus. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. Alexander in building it employed Democrates, who had rebuilt the temple of Diana at Ephesus burnt by Erasistratus, and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from Judea, allowing the Jews the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted the Macedonians. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the Mediterranean, the Red-Sea, and the Nile, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at present called by the Turks Scandaroon, by the Italians Alexandria, remarkable for nothing else but some ruins, which shew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the ancients, but as they were no ways considerable, and are at present quite unknown, we shall not dwell any longer on this subject.

The rivers of any note in Cilicia are, the Pyramus, which rics on the north side Rivers of mount Taurus, and empties itself into the Mediterranean between Ifus and Mersin; the Cydnus, which springs from the Antitaurus, passes through Tarbus, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean near the city of Anchialae; it is famous for the rapidity of its stream, and coldness of its waters, which proved very dangerous to Alexander; the Caykandos, the Lamus, the Sarus, the Pinarus, and several others of less note, water this province, and discharge themselves into that part of the Mediterranean, which the ancients called the lea of Cilicia, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from east to west.

That part of Cilicia, which the ancients called Cilicia Campefraria, was, if we believe Ammiianus Marcellinus, one of the most fruitful countries of all Asia; but the climate of it is neither equal nor barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horses, of which 600 are yearly sent to Constantinople for the special use of the Grand Signior. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholesome, but equally dangerous to the coast, especially to such as are not accustomed to it.

This country, according to Josephus, was first peopled by Tarbus the son of their origin, Jason and his descendants, whence the whole country was called Tarbus, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of Tarbus, as some have wrote. The ancient inhabitants were in process of time driven out by a colony of Phoenicians, who under the conduct of Cyllus first settled in the island of Cyprus, and from thence passed into

a Ad. xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii. b Plin. i. v. c. 10. c Joseph. contra Apion. i. ii. d Joseph.
into the country which from their leader they called Cilicia. Strabo tells us, that this Phoenician colony passed from Cyprus into Phrygia, where they lived in subjection to the kings of Trez, and after the Trojan war posseffed themselves of that country which was afterwards called Cilicia. In tract of time several colonies from other countries settled in this kingdom, namely from Syria and Greece, whence the Cilicians in some places used the Greek tongue, in others the Syriac, but the former greatly corrupted by the Persian, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

The Cilicians, if we believe the Greek and Latin writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the Roman times entirely addicted to piracy. They first began together with the Pamphylians in the time of the Mithridatic war to infest the neighbouring coasts, and being emboldened with successes soon ventured as far as the coasts of Greece and Italy itself, where they took innumerable slaves, whom they sold to the Cypriots, and to the kings of Egypt and Syria. Publius Servilius was first employed against them, who gave them a great overthrow in a sea-engagement, took Phaselis and several other strong-holds, whether they used to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But fear was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the Ionian, Mediterranean, and Archipelago, with their vessels, so as to entirely obstruct the navigation. Whereupon Pompey himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land, with 500 ships and 130,000 men.

In ancient times the Cilicians, before they settled in that country which we call Cilicia, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, viz. the Theban and the Lyrenean; in the former ruled the family of Eteion, in the latter that of Evennes. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of Thebes and Lyreneia, two cities in the famous plain called the plain of Thebes, often mentioned both by the Greek and Latin writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the Lydians and Phrygians, and in the Roman times between the neighbouring princes of Asia Minor. After the settling of the Cilicians in that country from which them was called Cilicia, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of Cyrus, to whom they voluntarily submitted, continuing subject to the Persians till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon by kings of their own nation. Herodotus indeed counts Cilicia among the Persian Satrapies; but from other writers it is manifest, that the Cilicians were governed by kings of their own in the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Mnemon. After the downfall of the Persian empire Cilicia became a Macedonian province, and on the death of Alexander fell to the share of Seleucus, and continued under his descendants till it was by Pompey reduced to a Roman province. As a proconsular province it was first governed by Appius Claudius Pulcher, and after him by Cicero, who reduced several strong-holds on mount Amanus, in which some Cilicians had fortified themselves and held out against his predecessor, for which he was hated by the army with the title of Imperator or General. All Cilicia being thus brought under subjection, it was first divided into Cilicia Campestris and Trachea; the former became a Roman province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the Romans till the reign of Vespasian, when the family of Tredecemviri being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into Cilicia Prima, Cilicia Secunda, and Ifauria; the first took in all Cilicia Campestris, the second the coast of Cilicia Trachea, and the last the inland parts of the same division; and in this state it continued till the division of the empire.

As to the succession of the Cilician kings we are almost quite in the dark. Those we find mentioned by the ancients, are Eteion, who reigned before their migration into Cilicia and assisted Priam against the Greeks. He was king of Thebes only, in the

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b Strab. i. xvii. p. 342. 1 Herodot. i. iii. b Vid. Xenoph. Cyroped. i. vii. Diodor. i. xvi. Curt. i. ii.

(G) Which gave rise to the proverb, Cilix haud Cilicium; that is, A Cilician fears not flacks the falsce verum dicit; Cilicium exiit; and to the saying of Pherecydes, Dit semper nobis imponunt, more always deceive us, (32)

The History of the fabulous and heroic Times.

The fabulous and heroic times; Containing the history of the ancient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Boeotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, of Sparta to Lycurgus, and some others of less note, to their severally becoming common-wealths.

S E C T. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

I T being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of Greece, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves, from the lowest beginnings, to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies; we cannot reasonably expect, that our readers will be sated with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epoch, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the Grecian writers, have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whole ancient monuments, though disillusioned under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet, when divested from the fable, afford at least so much light on examination, appear to flow from some, if not all, of the following reasons.

1. From the genius of those languages in which those ancient monuments were written, which was altogether
light to those dark times, that an history of this country would be justly thought

The limits of Greece, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual

Geography of
Greece.

sending out of colonies, or by conquests which still carried their name with them,

which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present
epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains,

which divided it from Macedoniana, and from the river Strymon, by which it was

parted from Tracia, to the promontory of Tenaros, the utmost southern extent of

Peloponnesus, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is,

from the Agean to the Ionian sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained

the following kingdoms: In Peloponnesus, Sicyon, Argos, and Messenia, Corinth, Achaia

Propria, Arcadia, and Laconia. Out of it, or in Graecia Propria, those of Attica,

Megara, Boeotia, Locris, Epidaurus, Doris, Phocis, Locris, Oenoea, and Etolia.

In Epirus, the Molossi, Amphipolis, Cassopei, Doropei, Chaorae, Thessapii, Almou,

and Acrarnania. In Thessaly, it contained the countries of Thessallitii, Eteoclii, Phegi,

ois, Magnesia, and Pthia. All these have at one time or other been severally

governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned

in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and

Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war. The fuller description

and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest

we must content ourselves with a bare mention, because we know very little except

their names.

For this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry

into the names and original of those various inhabitants of ancient Greece. The general

names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers,

were those of Graeci and Graeci (B). These they quickly changed for those of

Achaei and Hellenes (C), by which they are generally called in ancient authors (C).

Another name by which they were known in several parts of Greece was that of

Pelopids, which the Arcadians, who are generally reckoned the ancientest people of

the

tests of mankind. They could not, it seems, look upon the arduous, and yet successful, labors

of a Minos, Hercules, or a Theseus in this beneficial a province, without supposing them to have

been more than mortal men, or at least without an ambition to make them past in future ages for

the offspring of some of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo, the ancient Hebrew heroes, both in their

extraction and in their wonderful exploits, we find a great part of the character of Hercules to be

a mere compound of those of a Samson, Gideon, Jephthah, and other Jewish worthies. The same

may be said of several others (1).

(B) From Greece the father, or, according to others, the son of Thetis, who gave name to

Theseus (2). But by a modern critic (3) derived from Rega the name with Reu the son of Pelor

by the transposition of a letter to form the sound.

(C) The first supponed from Achaeus the son of

Xuthus, the son of Helen and father of Ion; or, according to the fable, the son of Jupiter (3) the

other from Helen abovementioned, the son of Deucalion, from whom the

Dorians, afterwards a famous nation in Greece.

Thucydides observes rightly, however, that the name of Hellenes did not universally obtain over

Greece, since Homer, who wrote so long after the siege of Troy, doth only call them so who followed

Achilles from Phthia (2).

The History of the fabulous and heroic Times.

It is true indeed, that among the Greeks themselves, only the original Athe. Ion of Themistocles and such colonies as sprung from them were called Iones, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of Greece by that name; witness the testimony of Hesychius, and the ichnolith on Aristophanes, and those passages of holy writ mentioned in the last note. We omit the names of several other people among the ancient Greeks, which were supposed to have been the oldest of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the first people of that country; such were the Aethes, Hyantes, Lages, Dryops, Caucones, Jeunes, and others mentioned by Strabo, but which may be better supposed to have been relics of the old Carians, who, Thucydides tells us, made frequent incursions into Greece. The manners of the people were, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued of the ancient Greeks.

If we look upon this infant state of Greece with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued of the ancient Greeks.

The fourth is Iones, from the son of Ion, whom they suppose to have been the father of the Scythians, were the first who peopled Greece; and that they only formed the name of | Peges, or according to the Spartan and vulgar Peges, their progenitor, and called themselves Pegases. The last of those authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the Hebrew and ancient Greek, from the various dialects and pronunciation of the latter, which in the Doric comes nearest to the eastern tongues; and from the resemblance of those tongues, especially in those places where the Pelasgians have been, which Bochart thought of Pelasgian origin, but our author will rather have of Hebrew, extrahum.

At this is further confirmed by a passage in Ephesians, who says (8), that from the age of Theraeth down to the destruction of Troy, the Scythians and Pelasgians removed to the west, some of the Scythians and joined to the other nations from which the Thracians came.

This last passage, wherever Ephephusus is quoted, has been sufficiently confuted by Bochart (9), who shows, that both Pelasgians and Rages, and their descendants, continued still in the confines of Media and Armenia. And we have elsewhere shown 4, 4 that the Scythians were the descendants of Medes, and not of Pelasgians or Rages. They were the followers of Japhet and not of Medes, who divided the nations of the gentiles (10). We shall therefore leave the Pelasgians to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the ancient Greeks in the following note.

(5) First from the authority of Japhet referred to the patriarch, to the Delth, without the points, founding more properly Japhet than Javon. 3. From the authority of Moses, who says (11), that by the son of Japhet is created the name of the Gentiles divided, which, according to the genius of the Hebrew, means, not islands properly so called, but all maritime countries, at any distance from Pelasgia, especially those which are along the Mediterranean. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call Gentiles by the name of 12, 12 Japeth, or Japheth, 12, or Japhet. According to which the Javanese have all along to this day called the Greek tongue Javan, or Javane.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of Elis, in the Javan's eldest son (13), which was full to be found in that of Elys, one of the ancient kingdoms of Peloponnesus.

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The History of the fabulous and heroic Times. Book I.

On the contrary, they, who had no occasion to fight for anything but a hole to sleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of their new acquisitions. This in time put them under a necessity of joining themselves into companies, and forming head, that they might either more safely plunder their neighbours, or prefer the what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the strongest arm; if they only lived faith and most quietly, who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, whilst those, who were more pleasantly or fruitfully laid, were continually liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was, that Greece for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength, if we may believe Pindar, added so much to their influence and cruelty, that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

The cafe did not alter much for the better after they came to form themselves into regular societies, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. After items the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was deficient of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worst which were situated on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infect all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the ancient cities of Greece were built at some distance from the shore; but even in these, all their affairs and confisated in the reliance they could make against an invader, to their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

Another mischief arising from those continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and tilled as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea.

Hence it is also, that whilst other ancient nations, as the Jews, the Egyptians, Medes, and Phoenicians, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have seen in their several histories, the Greeks alone seem to have been the only strangers to them; insomuch, that one may reasonably question, by Homer's making even the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. One art, however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they seemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverse may be inferred from what the same poet tells us, of some of his heroes putting whole fleets of ships to flight.

We shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, that they had no letters till Cadmus brought them thither out of Phoenicia, whose alphabet, consisting only of fifteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewise, that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other sciences, they continued much longer strangers to them; and it was not till some of their great men began to travel into Egypt and other kingdoms, and the Celts made their frequent incursions into Greece, that they began to have some knowledge and relish for them. We are indeed told, that Orpheus, Muses, and some others, who went into the first of those countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the Egyptian divinity, and religious rites from thence. But as for astronomy, geometry, philosophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the first from Babylon, the next from Egypt, and the last from Persia; so ignorant we found them of the first of these sciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of sleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of fowling and reaping.

Their government was still more rude and barbarous; every city, and almost every village or obscure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheles they gave the name of king. Hence that vast number of small inconsiderable kingdoms, with which this country is armed, and of the greatest part of which we know little else than their names, and that of one or sometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occasionally mentioned in the history of those of more note,
Chap. 17. The History of the fabulous and heroic Times.

It will doubtless be expected, that we should, as far as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, describe these oracles; but as they were esteemed of such concern, that scarcely any public affairs were transacted (or hardly any private ones, if the persons were in circumstances to pay for it) without consulting some of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we shall content ourselves with a short description of that of Delphi, as it was the most celebrated and frequented of any, either in Greece or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, containing even with that of Dodona, but because Apollo was supposed more peculiarly to preside over, and to inspire men with, the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account all who were esteemed to consult all others in the clearness and certainty of its answers; and by the great concourse of people who resorted to and armed it with pretexts, it did likewiseenthuse all that was splendid and rich with the sacred line; but more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, past, present, and future. They had more than one of these Triads. The most ancient of them was that which the people of that country caulifor be set over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had thrown out its propitiatory power. The next is said to have been wrought by Pythia, and presented to Apollo by Pelops, King of the Eleans. The most famous one was that which the fishermen drew up with their nets, and being adjacently by the oracle to the worthless of the seven wise men who flourished then in Greece, and through medially re- fusd by him, was dedicated to this Delphic Apollo. The two first appear to have been of birds, and the last of gold: Fust think all, there were likewise more than one Pythia at this time, but without any good foundation (3); however, the one, who consulted as such, had received the divine affinities in her belly, from whence she was called Pythia, that is, one in the strongest phrenzy, at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the gods; for it has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priest as well as the consulted, and one of them is said to have died by the violence of it (4). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has often been sent to return the answer from under the Tri- ad, and that the Pythia was once killed by him.

The answer was resounded etc. case, and in hemorrhage or heroic verse. Pythianus attributes this form of answering to the famed Phœnomen the first Delphic Pythia. But the hymn of Been, a Delphic Hymn, attributes it to Oen, who with his Hyperbo- rean intimated this oracle, and changed their rude prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the cleanliness and truth of its answers, infallibly, that it was often applied to instead of the more intricate one of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguity; so as to be easily applicable to the event, lest it fall which way it would. Herodotus gives us some instances of this kind of amphifrous answer given to were, of which he borrows, of which he borrows, a tributary song to the Delphic oracle, as the following:

Textual errors and OCR issues have been corrected for a natural reading experience.
complains, as having more than once or twice milled him to his ruin (6). The reader may for a number of other instances of the same nature in Plutarch (7), besides those which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, and which, though, fulminated contrary to the meaning and expectation of the constructio, are seem to be directed by some forehearing being, because they still answered the prediction, though in a different sense. Of this nature was that which forewarned Eumelius (8) to beware of what the Greeks called the ἄργαρος by which he understood it to mean the fex which they called ἀργαρία, Geburs to go into any ship or galley, whereas it was the Mantinian wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the same nature is the Carchesium, central lake in Epirus, where it was told by another oracle that he should be buried in Libonis; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the Romans he should return and die in his own country; whereas the oracle meant the mountain of Libonis in Ponthus, but according to our author called by the Niconiades Libonis, in which he died.

It was for this reason, that those predictions, attributed by the Hebræi to Moses and the Apostles, by the primitive Fathers, and the devil, who, though unapt to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater proof into it than any mortal; but we leave the disposition of such proofs to divine, as well as the times and causes of these oracles rising in the heathen world, though this last we perhaps touch upon, when we come to relate the sequel of the Jewish history. But as we do not tell our readers, that this theology is far enough from being ungodly, we who have read Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, may easily agree with him, that the effects of the several kings of Israel, ages, &c. are confined to an unnatural length, theyAmounting not another to thirty-five and forty years space, which is almost double the time that thofe of Judah and Israel reigned.

It is also not unlikely, that the foundation of the Olympiad is vastly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between Apis and Ephialtes or Euphrates, whom our author thinks to have been two and twenty, for the same time, were only reigned, and after the same, the several kings of Israel, ages, &c. are confined to an unnatural length, theyAmounting not another to thirty-five and forty years space, which is almost double the time that thofe of Judah and Israel reigned. The same fault may be supposed to run through the whole chronology of the other kings, belonging to this epoch, since their foundation is previous to the Olympiad, before which all compunction of time is dark, precarious, and in the instances, no doubt, true.
Chap. 17.

The History of Sicyon.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Sicyon.

Sicyon has the first place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the rest, and because it boasts a sucession of twenty-six kings, whose several reigns make up an epoch of nine-hundred and sixty years and upwards. Its original name was Agiala, given to it by Agilaus, the supposed founder and first monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of Apis, from Apis the 4th king from Agilaus, and in process of time it had that of Sicyon given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its supposed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninsula of Peloponnese, was called Sicily, until its dissolution, and even beyond it.

This little kingdom was situate on the north part of Peloponnese, since called the bay of Corinth. It had the province of Achaia on the west, and the Illyrians which joins the peninsula to the continent of Greece on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is supposed to have been situate upon the river Achius in about thirty-eight degrees and a half of north latitude and twenty three degrees and a half of east longitude, having the bay of Corinthus on the north, the reft of the Peloponnese on the other three points.

Its territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other common Natural and artificial commodities, besides some iron mines. It was in process of time very much adorned, by Sicyon and his successors, with temples, altars, monuments, and statues of all their gods and ancient monarchs. It would be unjustly esteemed the ancientest monarchy in the world, not excepting even those of Egypt and Assyria, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 2000 years before Nebuchadnezzar’s death, as som have computed it from Ezra 4:6, which affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the first olympiad. But that mistake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with Terah Abraham’s father, and to have begun his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about A. M. 2236, which brings it somewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; besides it is not improbable, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, that chronologers have split Apis Ezechias (the 4th in descent from Agilaus) into two kings, and between them have inferred eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder Agilaus 300 years older than his brother Phoroneus, the son of Ioacus and founder of Phoroneion, since called Argos. The truth is, we know nothing of these princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The same indeed may be said of the greatest part of their successors. We meet with no memorable action or conquest performed by any of them during the long space of 960 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprizing exploits in most other contemporary kingdoms. However, we shall here subjoin a list of these twenty-six monarchs with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us.

Kings


Vol. II.
The fabulous and heroic Times.

BOOK I.

Reigned Years. | Reigned Years. | Reigned Year.
---|---|---
5. Thelison or Teleison | 13. Marathon | 30 | 22. Phlebus | 8

In all years 962

There is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs, besides what we have hinted above. Those that are the most remarkable in the list are: 1. Aegialus the founder; 2. Apis, from whom the country was called Apia; 3. Agrus, the supposed founder of the ancient city of Aegira, situated on a high and almost inaccessible hill; once the capital of Achaia properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of Hylecefros; 4. Marathon, of whom the famous fields of Marathon had probably their name; 5. Epopeus, who built a sacred temple to Minerva and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. Sicyon from whom the whole country and peninsula took the name of Sicyonia. He is likewise supposed to have either built, or at least enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

After the death of Zuniuss, the last king in the list, that latter is said to have been governed by the priests of Apollo Carneus, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which Amphiplen held it nine years successively, and Charidamus the last of them continued in it eighteen years. After this hierarchy lasted thirty-two years the Heraclids, who were by that time returned into Peloponnesus, became masters of it, or, according to Pausanias, the kingdom was incorporated with the Doric, and became subject to that of Argos, the next ancient kingdom to that of Sicyon.

EUSEB. CHRON. *In Corinth.

SECTION III.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Argos.

We have already hinted in the last fiction, that not the kingdom only of Sicyon, but the whole Peloponnesus, was called Aegial and Apia from the first and fourth kings of it. There were likewise two kings of the same name in Argos; one the elder of Sicyon, and the other the son of Persus, the elder brother of Aegialus. Hence these two have been confounded with those of Sicyon, and their kingdom thought to have been of as ancient, if not of older, date than the Sicilian, and the country to have received their name not from the Sicyonians, but from the Argive monarch. In so dark a dispute we can only say, that the Argive Aegialus being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all, being his brother Perus left the kingdom to his own son, it is not likely, that the country should receive its name from him as from that of Sicyon. However, the kingdom soon changed its name for that of Argolis from Argos, the son of Jupiter by Niece, who was father to Apis, upon whom the kingdom devolved, because Apis died without issue. It was also called Hippium and Hippobeton from the neighbouring pastures, in which Neptune is said to have fed his horseth, or rather from an excellent breed of horses which that country was famed for.
Chap. 17. The History of Argos.

This kingdom is situate on the north-east side of Peloponnesus, surrounded on the east by the two bays of Sarus, now Golfo de Neapol, and of Argos, and has the kingdome of Sicyn or Achata Prepira and Arcadia on the north and west, and that of Locrina on the south. What its ancient limits were is hard to say; but it was very much enlarged by some of its monarchs, so that it extended itself east to west from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. east longitude, or about seventy miles, and north and south from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

Its chief river is the Inachus, so called from the founder of this kingdom. It Natural and empties itself into the bay of Argos, now called Golfo de Elogia, near the port Afnea, artificial sea.

On this river was situate the metropolis, called also Inachus from its founder and fourth son, monach, and famous among other things for the death of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who, having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a house. Here was also the brazen tower, in which Oenae, being confined by her father, was deflowered by Jupiter. In is likewise much inrithed by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horses bred about its territory, from which the name of Hippium was given to it. 2. Next to Argus was Mycenae, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by Homer for its riches, and as her rival Argus was for her horses. 3a. Mycenae, once the royal seat of Pittheus the grandfather of Thebans. 4a. Nemea, famous for the Nemean games, supposed to have been instituted there in memory of Hercules's killing a lion which infested that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the son of Lycurgus king of the country about Nemea, who had been killed by a serpent, whilst his nurse Hesymne went to fetch the Argoe to a spring of water. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of this adventure in the fæcal. 5. Epidaurus, in which stood the so famed temple of Asclepius, referred to from most parts of Europe and Asia for the cure of all distempers. 6. Neapolis, so called from its founder Neapolis king of Elea, and for its excellent situation and harbour, whence it had the name of Neaplia Naoula, now Neapolis, from which the gulf on which it is situate hath its modern name. 7.

The government of Argos, and afterwards of Mycenae, continued altogether Government.

monarchical from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. Panthias indeed observes, that the Argives were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long succession of princes; the Heraclidae, who were of the family of Persaeus, recovered the kingdom from that of Pelops, about eighty years after the taking of Troy, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that space that they gained so much ground upon their kings, that they left them little else than the bare name; but by what laws they were were anciently governed, or by whom they were enabled, and how far these monarchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say.

This kingdom, Eurytheus tells us out of Ctesias, was founded 1080 years before Year of the the first olympiad, that is, according to Ctesias, in the year of the world 2148, so that this had been 1153. Inachus the founder of it was contemporary with Abreobane, and with Thesiuscles, 1362. B.C.以前, or 1356.

It continued under the name of the Argolic kingdom till the reign of Acrisius the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to Mycenae and Argus. 7. The chronology of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 1000 of its foundation, from which time it part of it continued to be called the kingdom of Mycenae, till the dissolution which happened about the year 2920, when the Heraclidae made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty-one monarchs. The Argolic kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division until the Heraclidae, whose family had been so far asy by that of Eurytheus, the implacable enemy of the Heraclidae and all his race, above an age before. Thence dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of Argos had not continued above forty years, before Melas their last king, having made a pact to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, left both his kingdom and life, after which the Argolic government was changed into a democracy.

A List

The fabulous and heroic Times.

A List of the Kings of Argos before its Translation to Mycenae.

1. Inachus
2. Phoroneus
3. Apis
4. Argus
5. Pirasus, al. Criasus
6. Phorbas
7. Triophas
8. Cretopus
9. Sthenelus
10. Danaus
11. Lyneus
12. Abas
13. Pratus
14. Acritus
15. Perseus

Kings of Mycenae.

1. Perseus
2. Eurytbeus
3. Arma and Thyestes
4. Agamemnon
5. Agigibus
6. Orestes
7. Tifamenus al. Penthiilus

Kings of the Heraclide at Argos, after they had recovered Peloponnese and divided it into three kingdoms.

1. Temenus
2. Cisus
3. Lacedauns
4. Meltas

Inachus.
1. Inachus, the supposéd son of Oceanus and Tethys (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his sister Melissa, by whom he had two sons, Phoroneus and Aegialus: he is supposéd to be the father of Io, and therefore the Greeks are sometimes called from him Inach.

Phoroneus.
2. Phoroneus succeeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before dispersed about the country into one city, which was called from him Phoroniun; he is said to have had a son, by the nymph Laodice, named Apis; and a daughter named Niobe, who became the first paramour of the fruitful god Jupiter, by whom she had a son named Argos. From Phoroneus, his supposéd father Io is sometimes called Phorónis by the poets.

Apis.
3. Apis succeeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed against him, which was upheld by Thékim or Thelaion king of Sicéon (B), to whose treachery he was sacrificed. Some affirm, that he fled into Egypt, where he taught that the manuring of land, upon which account he was worshipped under the title of Sérapius and in the form of an ox. We have already observed in the history of that kingdom, that Sérapius was worshipped under a human form, bearing a bushel on his head. As for their Apis, though he was indeed worshipped under the form of an ox, yet doth not appear that he was of Argolic extraction. We met with several of the name, one in Sicéon, one in Argos, and this in Egypt; all of them so confounded by Mythologists, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos.
4. Argos, the son of Jupiter and Niobe, succeeded him; he is supposéd to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name. He is said to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by

(A) Or rather because he came thither by sea. We have had occasion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the descendents of those first founders of kingdoms of raising them such fabulous genealogies, in order to disguise the obscurity of their origin, by attributing it to some god, to the sea, rivers, nymphs, and flocks such as extraordinary progenitors. We shall refer the reader to the caution we gave them there concerning their miraculous offsprings.

(B) This shews how little dependence there is in the writings of this epocha, since even this last reigned, according to Eubéius's chronology, near 100 years before Inachus the founder of the Argolic kingdom, unless they have mistook him for Perseus, who flourished about the latter end of Apis's reign.

\[\text{Vid. sup. Vol. II. p. 287. sub. fin. not.}\]

1. \text{Pauzian. in Corinth.}
2. \text{Horat. al.}
3. \text{See before, Vol. I. p. 205. e. 206. c.}
4. \text{Apollos.}

I. ii. c. i.
The History of Argos.

by the Cretans before his reign, who came from that time to be called Argivi from him.

7. Cretan, by others called Petras, the son of Argos.

8. Phorbas, the son of Cretan, supposed to have been contemporary with Atlas and Phorbas.

Presumably.

9. Triopas, the son of Phorbas, whole brother, named also Phorbas, settled himself Triopas.

in the land of Rhodes.

10. Croteus, in whose times the Argives felt the dire effects of Apollo's anger on the Cretans.

following occasion: that God had had a private amours with Pseimna, the king's daughter, and the to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. Apollo, to punish the Argives for this crime, sent the monster, or fury, Pene, who snatched their children from their mothers' bosoms, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by Carethus, Apollo sent them a grievous petition. Carethus, having confuted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to Argos, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god where-ever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

11. Sthenelaus, son of Croteus, reigned sixteen years, after which he, or as others Sthenelaus, died, his son Gelonar, was outed the kingdom by Danaus an Egyptian.

12. Danaus had been driven out of Egypt by his brother Euphran, for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled Egypt, he came to Argos, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from Thyestes the son of Io, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of Inachus. Both he and Sthenelaus agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was grazing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. Sthenelaus was suppos'd to be meant by the bull, and Danaus by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king.

As soon as Egyptus heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances against him. He raised a powerful army, and sent it with his fifty sons at the head of it, against the new king of Argos; and these reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to flay their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named Hypermenes, who privately conveyed her bridegroom Lynceus to Lyncestes, a town not far from the metropolis. Danaus was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he would have put her to death for it, but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane Argives, was again received into favour, and Lynceus declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

13. Lynceus, the son of Egyptus, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, Lynceus, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the Argives having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to Venus, and the Argives instituted a feast in memory of the signal Hypermenes had given to her husband of his being out of danger, and called it the feast of Flanbeaus.

14. Abas was the son of Lynceus and Hypermenes, and father of Proteus and Acis. Abas, by Oenea the daughter of Mantinea. These two sons, who were twins, are said

(C) This fable, some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which Danaus built at Argos, with water, and probably also the rest of the city, which, according to the description an ancient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river Bacchus, yet by reason of its meanders to the gulf, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

1 Strab. Geogr. l. viiii.
The History of the fabulous and heroic Times.  

Book I.

said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a foreboding of that more fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other.

13. Prætos found means to step first upon the throne, and held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that Bellerophon, king of Corinth, having committed manslaughter, came to Argos to be expiated by Prætos, whose queen, Stenobæa, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, solicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his contumacy, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. Prætos, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young Corinthian prince to his father-in-law Jobates, with letters, in which he defined him to make away with the innocent stranger. Jobates sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, Bellerophon came off victorious, as we shall feel when we come to speak of the kings of Corinth. In the mean time Prætos met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother Acrisius, who, proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law Jobates king of Lycaon. These two soon returned into Argos with an army, took the city of Tyrins, and obliged Acrisius to agree to a treaty, by which Prætos had the city of Tyrins, and other maritime, and Acrisius Argos, and the inland towns. Prætos had forty-three daughters by his wife Stenobæa, or, as she is called by Homer, Antea; and they, with the rest of the women of that country, were feized with a delirium which they called the fury of Bacchus; but were cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his skill. Melampus, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother Bias; but Prætos had soon after this partition, a son named Megapenteas, who succeeded him in the other third called Tyrins; but it is likely, that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of Argos after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of Mycenæ, whole part from that time makes the most considerable figure.

14. Acrisius, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife Eurydice called Danaë, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son, by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young prince having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be clofe confined in a strong brazen tower, and under such strict watch, that the might in all likelihood have been out of danger from fulfilling the oracle, had not Jupiter melted himself as the poet feign, into a golden shower, which, sliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D) a.

The fruit of these stolen embraces was Perseus, who was no sooner born, than Acrisius ordered him and his mother to be put into a chest, and thrown into the sea; but Jupiter took care to convey them safe to Seriphus, where Dictys, the brother of Polydeuces' king of that island, brought Perseus up as his own son. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her son prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this opposition, and resolved to be once revenged and rid of him, sent him into Africa to fetch the famous Gorgon, Medusa's head, not doubting, but the attempt would coit him his life. But to his surprise he saw the young prince return with the Gorgon (E), and crowned with a two-fold success, having in that expedition behaved Aegonades,

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(D) This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable tribe to those who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle Prætos, who were means to corrupt them, and to get ad-

ance to her.

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an ancient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, Medusa had succeeded her father Peverac in his kingdom, which was situated along the lake Tri-

teis, and that she was a Phrae, who, for want of other employment, was much used to hunting and
to fight with her African subjects; and that Perseus, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choicest forces of Peloponnesus, surprised and be-
headed her, and carried her head away into Greece, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may see what has been said of it by the judi-
cious author last quoted.

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dromeda, the daughter of Cepheus king of Joppa a maritime town in Phœnicia, from being devoured by a whale (F), in recompence of which service she was given to him in marriage.

At his return into Seriphus, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the luftful and inhospitable king. Here he found, that his mother and Diâys had been forced to run into a sanctuary to fleen themselves from his brutish violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into fishes at the sight of the Gorgon, set up Diâys upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother Danae and his wife Andromeda, into Argos; but Acrisius, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed such noble exploits, had retired into Larisa, a city of Pæstum situate on the river Peneus, whole king Tantalus having soon after caufed some funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceased father, Perseus came thither among a great concourse of Cretan princes, and by an unfortunate caft of the dİk (G) which fell upon Acrisius’ foot, who was there present, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him.

15. Perseus, though next heir to the kingdom of Argos in right of Danae his mother, yet chose to exchange it with his cousin Megapenthes for that small one of Tyrus which had been left to him by his father Pretus, rather than to return to Argos after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm, that Perseus restored his grand-father to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconsistent with their dividing the kingdom by lot. However, after this exchange with Megapenthes, Perseus went and built the city of Mycena, and made it the seat of the kingdom. That of Argos was therefore said to have been translated thither, because this new metropolis became in a short time more populous and opulent than the other. After Acrisius’ death, the kingdom being thus divided into several pieces and among different families, Perseus, having reigned about eighteen years in that of Tyrus, left it to his son Alcestes, and he to Amphytrion, by whose wife Alcmena Jupiter is said to have begot Hercules, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more strength to the child. In the meantime Amphytrion, having unaunred Elektryon, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to Thebes. Here the child Hercules began to give such early proofs of his courage, extraordinary strength, and fierceness, that he was sent to be brought up among some shepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H).

16. Eurytheus the son of Sthenelus, who was come to the crown of Mycena, or, Eurytheus as others have it, succeeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed son of Amphytrion his cousin-german, made him fear, lest he should in time find means to dispossess him of it. His fear and hatred of him soon grew to such a height, that he left no way untried to rid him of it. Hercules, who was not inoffensive of it, because he was ever engaging him upon some desperate expedition, went to consult the oracle, and being answered, that it was the pleasure of the gods that he should serve Eurytheus twelve years, was cast into so deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madness, during which, among other desperate deeds, he put away his wife Megara.

* Pausan. ubi supra. Apollod. ubi supra.
* Apollod. ibid.

(F) This whale is supposed to have been nothing else than a fish so called, into which Phœnix had heaved her in order to carry her away (4).

(G) The dİk was a sound piece of iron, lead, brim, or bone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gamesters used to exercise their strength and skill. He who could throw it farthest won the prize (e).

(H) We have already observed, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. Diodoros and Eustathius mention three: Diodoros ascribes all these fabulous actions to the young man who was the son of Alcmene (6); Servius speaks of four, and Varro of forty-four, but the most remarkable of these are the six mentioned by Tully; as follows (7):

The first, begot by the most ancient Jupiter and Lydea, who contended with Apollo for the tripod.

The second, the son of Nile and an Egyptian, was the inventor of the Phœnian characters.

The third was a native of Crete (and the son of the Celic Jupiter): he was one of the Iadi Daili, or Cretans of mount Ida.

The fourth was the son of the second Jupiter and Aseria sister to Lato, and father of Caribdas; he was worshipped by the Tyrians.

The fifth was the Indian Belus. And the sixth was this Hercules the supposéd son of Amphilochus, but begot by the third Jupiter upon Alcmena.


21.
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Book 1.

Mesara, and murdered all the children he had had by her, which are supposed to have been twenty, because the king imposed the same number of labours upon him, as an expiation for his murders, after he had recovered his flocks. These labours being for the most part dangerous, and some of them, as we have observed more than once, being probably taken from the history of Sisyphus and other Hebrew worthies, we shall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our history of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion.

17. Aresus, the son of Peleus, and grandson of Tantaleus king of Lydia, ascended the throne of Mycena, after the death of Eurystheus, who left no issue. As for the line of Perseus it was only subsisted in Hercules. Aresus is always joined with his brother Thyestes as partner of the kingdom. These two are justly branded, the one for his incest, and the other for his horrid murders.

It was in his reign that the Heraclidae, for so were called the sons and descendants of Hercules, came under the conduct of their champion Hyllus the son of Hercules, and claimed the kingdom of Mycena, from which they had been driven by Eurystheus. The controversy was to be decided by single combat and under these conditions, that if Hyllus killed Euebronus, who had undertook to be champion for Aresus, then this last should renounce his kingdom to the Heraclidae; and if Hyllus was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into Peloponnesus till fifty years were expired. It happened, that Hyllus was killed by his antagonist, so that Aresus obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the Heraclidae went to Tricertisus, and others to Dorus, to whose father Hercules had left the region of Hestiaiotis in trust for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the Dorians. Their grandmother Alcmena, disappearing about this time, as she was returning to Thebes, had divine honours intituled and paid to her. Aresus was soon after their departure killed by Egyptus, and succeeded by his own son.

18. Age...

Diogen. Apollod. ubi supra.

(1) The first labour imposed upon him was the killing of a lyon in Nemea, a wood of Aetia; whose hide was proof against any weapon, so that he was forced to subdue him by the threat and threat him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his skin about his shoulders.

In the second he killed the Hydra, a monster with two heads, one of which was no sooner cut off, than two sprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the Erymanthian boar alive upon his shoulders, at the sight of which the king is said to have been so frightened, that he ran and hid himself in a beaten hogan. It was likewise in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious height.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to clear Amycus's flable in one day, which he did by turning the river Alpheus into it.

In the sixth he chased away the mischievous birds of the lake Symphalii, who are said to have lived upon human flesh, and to have been at length destroyed by Hercules's arrows, or, according to others, to have been only feared away from thence(2).

His seventh was to fetch a famous bull from the isle of Cete, with which Polyphaenos, the son of Minos, is said to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped Jupitor to overcome the Minotaur giants, he reconciled Polyphaenos to him, and looted him from mount Cacus.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of Diomedes out of Thessaly, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the flesh of the strangers that passed by that way. Hercules first threw their inhuman master to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to Eurystheus, who dedicated them to Jove. Their breed is said to have continued till Alexander's time. But twist this and his next talk he is supposed to have gone upon the expedition, of which we shall speak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the Amazons and in the tenth the oxen of Geryon out of Geryon Spain, in the furthest parts of which he erected in two pillars, as the utmost limits of the then-known world. These ten labours he achieved, as the tale says, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewise said to have killed Acestes, a famous giant of a monstrous size, who, when weary with wrestling or labour, was immediately refreshed by touching the earth.

Pausan. Apollod. ubi supra & al.

(2) Vidi. Pauzan. in Arcadiac. c. 22.
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18. Agamemnon, who was reckoned at that time the wealthiest and most powerful potentate in all Greece. His dominion extended not only through a considerable part of Peloponnesus, but also to several neighbouring islands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of sea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his contemporary kings. This was the main reason of his being chosen general of the Trojan expedition for the recovery of Helen, his brother Menelaus's wife.

The facts of that expedition, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and other circumstances relating to this prince, have been seen in a former chapter. After taking of that city, besides several other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the partition of the booty, the disposition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel arose between Agamemnon and his brother. The latter was for killing homewards out of hand, and the other for staying to sacrifice to Minerva. The consequence was, that they parted in great anger. Agamemnon having weathered several storms, which the goddesses Pallas, as the poets feign, had sent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at last at Mycenae, where he was murdered by his cousin-german Egisthus and his wife Clytemnestra, who during his absence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. Egisthus was the son of Thyestes, begot on his daughter Pelopia by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the last note. His mother, to conceal the fouleasts of her pregnancy, exposed him in the woods, where a shepherd finding him, nurtured him with goats milk, from which he was called Egisthus. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with Clytemnestra, during Agamemnon's absence, made them both fear left they should fall a sacrifice to the resentment of that prince, and the oracle had pronounced the him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore seen determined to the fact, and having murdered Agamemnon feigned upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour was at length murdered by Orestes Agamemnon's son.

20. Orestes, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately Orestes was conveyed to Strophius in Thessaly by Electra his father's sister; but as soon as he was come to riper years, he returned to Mycenae, and, having murdered the usurper and his own mother, took possession of the kingdom, and of that of Argos, whose throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of Dionysus into Italy, after the return from the siege of Troy. The occasion of this flight we shall see in the sequel of the remaining kings of Argos, after its being parted from that of Mycenae, Orestes ran hasting mad soon after the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, Orestes ran mad soon after the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was . Being again restored to his senses, and vexed to find, that Hermione, his uncle Menelaus's daughter, whom his grandfather Tyndareus had promised to him in marriage, had been eloped to Pyrrhus the son of Agamemnon, he went and killed him in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and married Hermione, by whom he also killed the kingdom of Sparta.

With Orestes we may mention here his faithful and constant friend Pyrrhus the son of Strophius, with whom he had been brought up. These two are famed for having been so like each other in face, shape, temper, and affection, that they seemed to have had but one soul, and were not to be distinguished from one another. Moreover, that when Thoas king of Thessaly would have put Orestes to death, they both affirming to be the same person, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not possibly find out which was the right person, but admired their extraordinary friendship, which was indeed such, that it passed into a proverb.

21. Penthesilea, or according to others Hippomenes, succeeded his father Orestes in both Pentapolis; but in less than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought against the Achaean, whom he had driven from Argos and Mycenae, and had reduced to the necessity of driving the Ionians out of Asia into Attica. After his death the Heraclidæ, who had already got the greater part of Peloponnesus, made themselves masters of these two kingdoms also, which they held until the conquest of that peninsula by the Macedonians.

After the partition of the kingdoms of Mycenae and Argos, and of the latter Achaean into three parts, as we have seen above; we find Acastus the son of Aithon and Eu-Argos, reigning in Argos, and defending from Perseus. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to Polyneices prince of Thesbes, and the other to Tydias.
upon the following accident. These two princes were come to Argo, the former, to beg the kings assistance against his brother Eteocles, who had deprived him of his yearly share in the government, and the latter was fled thither from Calydonia for man-slaughter. These two happened to have a squabble in some of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed Adrastus, and forced him to come and enquire the occasion of the disturbance. He had formerly been advised by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubting very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it, but at his coming out he found, to his joy and surprize, an agreeable solution of it. Polyxenes bore a lion, and Tydeus a boar upon his shield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters to them, Argia to the former, and Deipyle to the latter, whose son succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

Soon after this, being resolved to affix Polyxenes, he raised a good army, and procured the best commanders he could to accompany him. Among those was one Amphirraeus, a good officer and great foot-fayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till Polyxenes besought himself of the following stratagem. They offered to make his wife Eriphyle assure whether he should go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a softly bracelet, she decided in the affirmative; upon which Amphirraeus, who foretold that none of the chief officers would escape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithless wife, left strict charge with his two sons before he departed, that, as soon as they were come of age, they should kill her, and make war against the king of Thebae.

Adrastus, marching with his army through the wood of Nemae, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of Thebes king of Locris, whom he had saved, when the rest of the Locris women had killed by one consent all the males of that island with an intention to turn Amazons. For her filial pity, they had sold her to pirates, who brought her to Lycurgus king of the country about Nemae, whose son Arcisearus, or as others call him Opheltes, she was married, and had then in her arms. The Argives desired her to direct them to some water, and she laying down the boy went to show them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a serpent, she went and hid herself for fear of her master's anger, and Amphiphrasus sent her son word soon after where their mother was. The Argives killed the serpent, and, in memory of the dead child, they said to have instituted the games called Nemaeian, in which Adrastus won the prize by the swiftness of his horse Arion. Tydeus got the prize at whorl-bats, Polyxenes at wrestling, Amphirraeus at running and quoits, Partenopeus at shooting, and Laodias at darting.

From the Nemaeian woods they went and encamped at the foot of Citharon, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the priests of Eteocles, to whom the hill was consecrated, used to keep there. Here they sent Tydeus to Thebes, to demand of Eteocles the performance of the contract between Polyxenes and him. Upon his refusal, Tydeus, direful partly to show his own courage, and partly to try that of the Thebans, gave several challenges to their most noted champions, in which he fell came off conqueror. The Thebans, envious of his successes, first fifty of their choicest men to way-lay him in his return to Citharon, who were all killed except one, whom he sent back to Thebes to acquaint Eteocles with his courage and successes. The Argives on the other hand hearing what had passed, resolved upon the siege of the city; the ill success of which we shall see in its proper place. All that needs be said here is, that Adrastus owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse, and Amphirraeus is said to have been swallower up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horses, near the river Imae, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewise lose their lives, so that it proved even as Amphirraeus had foreseen, that Adrastus alone should furnish that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the Athenians, and to beg their assistance, that the Argives might at least be enabled to recover the dead bodies of their soldiers and subjects, which the Thebans refused to deliver up. The Athenians readily granted his request, and forced the Thebans into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.
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He was succeeded by his son Aegialus, who, about ten years after the death of Thebes, entered into a confederacy with Diomedes, the son of his brother-in-law Tydus, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the Thebans, and if possible to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called Epigoni. The oracle being consulted promulgated them success, provided they chose Aias as the son of Amphinous their general. They did so, and came off victorious accordingly, as we shall see in the next fiction.

After this Diomedes, the son of Tydus, the son-in-law of Adrobus, who was also Diomedes, king of Aetolia, came to the crown of Argos in right of his wife, and was the last king of it. After his successful enterprise against Thebes, he lifted himself in that against Troy, and was one of that small number of princes which returned safe home. Upon his arrival at Argos, he found that his wife Aegiale, whom Venus had plagued with a fountain of blood, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the siege of Troy, had entertained a criminal familiarity with Cometes, the son of Sthenelus, one of the heroes that went to the siege of Troy. When she found that her husband had discovered her intrigue, she attempted to kill him, but he first retired to the temple of Juno, and thence into Apulia, then a small kingdom in Italy. Here she found Daucus the king of it strictly besieged, who promised him part of his kingdom if he could save his enemies. Diomedes did it with success, and built a city there, which he called Argos Hippis, whence in process of time it changed its name into Argypipa. He was afterwards killed by Daucus, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into swans, or birds very much like them.

In the mean time the Heraclean, since their first expulsion out of Peleponnesus by Eurystheus, king of Argos, had made several fruitless attempts to regain it. The first, as we have seen, was in Ateus's time under Hylus; another under his son Cleodens; a third under his grandson Aristomenes. This last prince left three sons, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, who, when they came of age, consulted the oracle concerning the success of a new invasion, and received this ambiguous answer, that it would succeed if they went by the way of Steygus; but they thinking the narrow passage of the Isthmus to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and Aristomenes lost the battle and his life in the attempt 1.

The Pythones, being upbraided with it by his sons, made answer, that their ancestors had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by mistaking her words. Thus when Hylus was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he mistook it, the third crop; and that now by Steygus was not meant the neck of land, but the deep sea on the right hand of the peninsula. Upon this answer they went to build a navy at Aetolia, since called upon that account Naupactus. During their stay here, Aristodemus the youngest of the three was killed by lightning, and left two twins, Euryphimes and Procles. Soon after this a more severe misfortune befell them, for their fleet was destroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to again, and answered, that Apollo had sent those plagues upon them, because they had murdered his prophet Carus. There had indeed been such a man among them whom Hippes killed, because he took him to be some magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be banished ten years.

The Heraclean were also promised better success, provided they put themselves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find such a one was the difficulty; at length they met an Aetolian named Oxybius, who was returning from Peleponnesus into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horse, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, upon which they chose him for their general, and promised him the country of Elis as a recompense 1. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninsula at the Isthmus, which drew all the Peloponnesian forces thither, and falling up the Steygus, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at Methymnium without any opposition.

1 APOLL. l. iii. c. 5. & seq. PAUSAN. in Boetic. 1 APOLL. ubi supr. c. viii.
The fabulous and heroic Times.  

BOOK I.

Three of the kingdoms of Peloponnesus they challenged as their undoubted right, namely Argos, Mycena, and Lacedemon (I). The first of these they got with some difficulty, and Tifamenes the king of it was either killed or escaped by flight. Mycena they conquered with the sword, and expelled all the Neforian family, who went and settled at Athens, where Alcmeon and Paus became the heads of two considerable families in that city. As for Lacedemon, Sparta being betrayed to them by one Philemonidas, they entered with the sound of the flute, which instrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inspire the soldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks. They also kept their promise with their three-eyed general, who being descended from Aeolus had a right to the country of Elis, from which the latter had been banished by Salomeus king of the Epeis, who were now in possession of it. These agreed with the Heraclidæ, that the pretensions of Ogyius should be decided by single combat, according to the Grecian custom, and the Fidean champion being killed, Elis was restored to its right owner. After these successes the three brothers, having raised three altars to Jupiter Paxnus, resolved to divide their conquest by lot. Cresphontes is supposed by some juggler to have made the kingdom of Mycena, the richest and most fruitful of the three, to fall to his share. Temenus had Argos, and Lacedemon was divided between Eurypheus and Procles the sons of Aristedemus; as shall be seen in its place.

Temenus, now fixed in Argos, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law Deiphontes, who was descended from Cresphontes the son of Hercules by Danae, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the Titans to murder their father. Temenus being dead; our author tells us, the army, abhorring the parricides, set the crown upon Deiphontes and his wife; but Paunias tells us, that it fell to his eldest son Cacus.

However that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to lose ground very fast, as we observed before. To Cacus succeeded Lacedemus, who had little else than the title of a king. His son Metias, impatient of such restraint, endeavored, when it was too late, to restore it to its ancient dignity, but the people were by that time grown so powerful and headstrong, that as soon as they found out his design, they put an effectual stop to it and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death.

The kingdom of Mycena, or Messenia, was not much longer lived. For though these two did outlive that of Sparta by far at first, yet the latter soon grew to such a height of power and splendor, as both to eclipse and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we shall defer the further account of them till we come to speak of Sparta. All that need be added here is, that Cresphontes, who, as we observed before, had juggled himself into Mycena, soon left his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his sons, for his extraordinary largesses to the people. His third son Aegystus, or rather Aegistus, fled to Cypselus king of Arcadia, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age obtained his assistance to regain his kingdom, killed the usurper of it, and by wisely dividing his favours and largesses between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called Heraclidæ, were from thenceforth called Aegyptida in honour of him. But this popular liberality, though now so successful, proved fatal to the royal dignity; the subjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more careless of their prerogative, till it ended in the excision of monarchy and a total change of government.

SECT.

1 Ps. 63. 2 Strab. Geogr. lib. x. 3 Apollod. ubi supra. 4 Pausan. ubi supra. 5 Strab. lib. x. 6 Id. I. viii. 7 Polyb. Stratagem. Vid. Hbn. hist. Græc. lib. ii. 8 Pausan. in Messenia. 9 Apollod. ubi supra. 10 Vid. Pausan. in Megalene.

(1) The first of these was their right, as being the descendants of Perclus; whereas the then king Tithanes, who was of the race of Pelius, had no right to the crown. Mycena and Lacedemon they claimed in right of Hercules, who, having conquered them, had left the first to Nefor, and the last to Tyndareus, in triumph for his own children (3).
The History of Attica.

S E C T. III.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Attica.

Attica was situate along the north coast of the gulph of Saron, bounded on the west by Megara and part of Boeotia, on the north by the Euripic gulph, now Sireto de negro ponte, and on the east by the Aegean sea. It reached in length from north-west to south-east, about sixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. east longitude. Its breadth from north to south, where it was broadest, was about fifty-six miles, and decreasing as it came nearer to the sea.

The soil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the industrious and sagacious industry of the people; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quiet, artificial roads, canals, when other more fruitful countries were exposed to frequent incursions. So that having above all others preferred its ancient inhabitants, gave rise to their extravagant notion, that they, like infected, were the spontaneous product of the soil, and as a badge of it, Thucydides tells us, they wore a golden grapple in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantageously situated for commerce, having several good ports, the chief of which was that of Pyrene, whose haven, distant from Athens the metropolis of Attica about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each side with two strong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the security of the merchandise which went up to the capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ships. There were some other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to Athens was Eleusis, on the same gulf, and near the coasts of Megara, upon which account it had been once so strongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A). 2. Rhamnus, famed for the temple of Amphiaroeus, and the statue of Neoptolemus (B). But the largest and most opulent was the metropolis, called at first Eretria from Eretria the founder of it; but afterwards Athens from the goddess Minerva (C), Athens, whom the Greeks called Athene, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whose honour were instituted the yearly games called Panathenaica. It was chiefly famed, besides for its strength, beauty, and opulence; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence Fides Attice became a common proverb; 2. For being the nursery of the best scholars and orators, choice wits, and greatest philosophers; and 3. For having produced the greatest number of brave generals of any city in the world, Rome not excepted, upon all which accounts it was justly esteemed one of the eyes of Greece.

The chief river in this kingdom is the Aepus, which flowing from the lake Copais, through Boeotia and Attica, and splitting itself into two streams, which divide the famous plains of Marathon, empties itself into the Aegean sea.

The government from its first foundation to the Archontes, continued altogether monarchical, under a succession of seventeen kings. What is most remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a dislike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep respect to the last monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having

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(A) This city is said to have been built by one Eileas, who having entertained Ceres there, when the west in search of her daughter, the taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for his hospitality. Hence that goddess is sometimes called Elea by the poets (1).

(B) The goddess of Justice, called also Rhomnias from this town where her temple stood (2).

(C) The occasion of it, as the story goes, is, that Creusa, having what name to give to her new-built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horse, appeared. The oracle being consulted, answered, that Neptune and Minerva were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of Minerva, and the fountain (or horse) that of Neptune; and that which they esteemed the most beneficial to mankind should judge the prize to the giver. The

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1. V1. STEB. De urb. in loc. 2. Id Plutarch. 3. Apollod. ab} J. Depr. Pausan. in Attica. 4. Z

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generously sacrificed his life to the safety of his subjects, the grateful Athenians resolved, that no man from thenceforth should bear the title of king, and gave that of Arethusa to his fon and successor, which continued during ten succeessions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the Arethunic government was, that the former descended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that these were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

The riches of this kingdom, occasioned by its great commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to 1200 (Attic) talents a year; this vast income gave them a considerable superiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but also as they could make use of it to gain any other states to their side; and as their coin was commonly stamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the Greeks, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen. Hence also came the common proverb, Bebem bebet in lingua, when a man was thought bribed to speak contrary to his own sentiments.

This kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by Cecrops an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony of Saites, a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the Nile called Saiticum, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to Eusebius's chronology, 780 years before the first Olympiad (D). It continued under its monarchs 487 years, according to the same chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the Athenians felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for another. The Arethunic government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, A. M. 3412, there elapsed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from Cecrops to Solon amounts to 960 years.

The ancient Kings of Athens:

1. Cecrops
2. Gramass
3. Amphelikon
4. Erichthonius
5. Pandion
6. Erebeus
7. Cepheus
8. Thyrius
9. 2 Megacles
10. 2 Arechypus
11. Minos
12. Demophon
13. Thrymes
14. Maniades
15. Thermes
16. Phereclus
17. Medon
18. Acruthus
19. Thyphius
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The Names of the thirteen Arethuns who succeeded these kings were:

1. Medon
2. Acrathus
3. Arechypus
4. Thyphius
5. Phorbas
6. Megacles
7. Dianthius
8. Pheres
9. Acrathus
10. Arechypus
11. Acrathus
12. Phorbas
13. Megacles
14. Acrathus
15. Acrathus
16. Acrathus
17. Acrathus

Cecrops built the city of Athens, as we said before, married the daughter of Acrathus, suppos'd to have been king of Attica before him, and in right of her had the foundation of a new monarchy. He is said to have been the first who called Jupiter, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him as the supreme deity. He is like

(D) Some authors, who make Ogyges to have been king of Attica at that time in which it was destroyed by the deluge which bears his name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom still farther off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this Ogyges was, is not easy to guess: Some make him an Egyptian, and some an Arethicus: Some think he reigned in Attica, and others at Thebes. Under this uncertainty we choose to date the foundation of the kingdom from Cecrops, who, if Ogyges had really reigned there, must at least be reckoned the refiner of it, and the person from whom the succession of Attic princes is derived.

We must own, however, that according to this supposition of his being the first founder of the kingdom, those of Thebes and Sparta will stand foremost in point of antiquity, though in no other respect; but this is not worth inverting the order (5), give them at first in our plan of this work. This Cecrops is reigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly serpent or dragon (6), that is, according to Tiphys (6), because he was the first that could male and female in every manner, or, according to Demophanes and the rest of the writers Grecian, because he had the wisdom of a man and the strength of a dragon, or came down out of Egypt and polished himself into a man in Greece; but more probably, either as was the first intitulatur marriage, or because he undertook to flood the Egyptian and Greek tongues. Some writers have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the Red Sea with Phaethon (7) in whole time he lived (6).


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likewise affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices; and instituted marriage among the Grecians, who before his time, it feems, lived pro-

miscuously, and coupled as their fancy led them. Pausanias tells us, that he forbade sacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any sort of offerings; except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the Athenians Palkanos, and in Greek Orak, which signifies likewise an ox. This led Eunubius into the mistake which we find in the first book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that Cecrops was the first who sacrificed an ox to Jupiter; whereas that creature, so esteemed by the Athenians on account of its diversifi-

cables in agriculture, was not sacrificed by them till the time of Erectheus, who offered one to Jupiter Polieus, or protector of the city; and then, Pausanias tells us, that the priest who knocked it down, being feized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of Attica. From Cecrops the Athenians affected to call themselves Cecropides during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of Erechtheus, in honour of Erectheus their sixth monarch. Cecrops reigned fifty years, according to Eusebius and St. Jerome, and left only three daughters, viz. Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos, of whom we shall speak in a following note. As for his son Erechtheus, he died before his father. So that after Cecrops's death, Cranaus, one of the wealthiest citizens of Athens and in the greatest credit, found means to ascend the Attic throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. Cranaus enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having Cranaus, unexpectedly married one of his daughters named Attis to Amphictyon the son of Deucalion, he was by him deposed and forced to retire into the city of Lampreas, where he led a private life to the last, and where the Lampreasfe threw his tomb. From his daughter Attis the country, till then called Alten, took the name of Attica.

3. Amphictyon (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laft quoted Amphictyon: authors, twelve years, was himself deposed, and outed by Eriphonies, who was the reputed fon of Vulcan and Tethys (F). He is laid to have been the first inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years.

4. Pandion, the fon of Eriphonies, and father of Pragne and Philonela, whole Pandion, hard fate, so famous among the poets, is supposed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years. 6. Erebeus, Pandion's son, was reckoned the moft powerful prince of his time; Erebeus, wherefore Boreas king of Thrace, who sought his alliance, demanded his daughter Orthia in marriage, and being denied carried her away by force. Erebeus, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the Elymians. He left several sons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the decision to their brother-in-law Xuthus, who adjudged the kingdom to Cecrops who was the eldelf. For this the other two brothers bore Xuthus such ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from Thessaly by his brethren.

7. Cecrops II. the eldelf son of Erebeus: this prince is generally allowed to have Cecrops II. been the first that gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in huts and cottages, scattered here and there without order or regular distance; but he was, after forty years reign, ousted the kingdom by his two discontented breth-

ren Motion and Pandrosos, and forced to fly into Aeglea, and died there. 8. Pandion II. the fon of Cecrops II. was likewise driven out of Athens by the sons of Pandion II. his uncle Motion who took the administration for some time. Pandion fled into Megara, where Pylas then reigning gave him his daughter Pelia, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, with whom he came into Athens (G), whence

[Note: Not that Amphictyon who was the first initiator of the course of the Amphictyon or common council of Greece, but his uncle.]

[Note: He is reigned by the poets to have forsook to formate Volcani in terrarm delapsis, by the assistance of Minosos who also brought him up. The fable says, that he having one day laid the child in a covered casket, gave it in charge to Cecrops's three daughters, with express orders not to open it upon any account. Pandrosos obeyed the goddes; but her two sisters, more curious than curie, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with such a phasis, or, according to the fabulous phrase, terrifiemed with fear, that they flung themselves down the steeped place of the citadel, and ended their lives.]

[Note: It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into Athens, but that after his sons were grown up, he sent them to recover that kingdom from the Melissians, that having all feared alike the danger, they thought it unreasonable to share alike in the conquest. The space therefore of twenty-five years, allowed by chronologists (7) to their father's reign, seems rather designed to mark the interval of the intervention of the Argives, or of a repetition of Cecrops's expulsion to his grandson Algeus's reign.]
whence he expelled the sons of _Motion_, and, after he had reigned a short time, either left the kingdom among his four sons, or they agreed to divide it among themselves after his death; notwithstanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldest _Aegens_.

9. _Aegens_, when he came to the crown, finding himself despised by his subjects, because he could get no children by his wives, and sometimes insulted by his brother _Pallas_, who by that time had got no less than fifty sons besides daughters, went to consult the _Delphic_ oracle, and was answered, that he must forbear the use of women till his return into _Athens_. This puzzling answer forced him to apply himself to _Pittheus_, king of _Trozen_, who was then famed for his extraordinary wisdom and skill in expounding oracles, where this prince easily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter _Alcina_ whom he got with child. As none but the three were privy to the secret, _Aegens_, before his return to _Athens_, hid a sword and a pair of shoes under a stone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princes, that if the child proved a boy, he should send him to _Athens_ with those tokens, as soon as he was able to lift up the stone. He charged her moreover to use all imaginable secrecy, left the sons of his brother _Pallas_, getting knowledge of it, should waylay and murder him in his way to _Athens_.

_Athens_ being soon after delivered of a son, _Pittheus_ gave out, that _Neptune_ was the father of it; and when he was sixteen years old, she brought him to the stone, which the saw him lift up with ease, upon which she discovered to him the whole secret of his parentage, bade him take up the sword and shoes, and prepare himself to go to his father. Both the and _Pittheus_, however, advised him to go by sea, alluding, that since _Hercules_’ departure, who had been the great scourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again so infested with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. _Theseus_, this was the young prince’s name, who had by that time shewed uncommon marks of courage and strength, no sooner heard _Hercules_ named upon such an occasion, than he was fired with a desire to imitate so noble a pattern; so that all their intrigues could not diffuse him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to _Athens_, having no connection with either his father’s reign or his own, may be left seen in the margin (H).

WHilst _Theseus_ was still at _Trozen_, his father laboured under no small perplexities from his subjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almost driven him to despair. _Andрогenos_, the son of _Minos_’ king of _Crete_, who was come to _Athens_ to be present at one of their feasts, had unhappily contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of _Pallas_, that the jealous old king, foreseeing some fatal consequences from it, had cau’d that prince to be privately murdered. Others say, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the _Maraethonian_ bull, was killed by it. However that be, _Minos_, having received the news of his son’s death and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the _Abovinian_, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the _Abovinian_ was punished with pestilence, famine, and several other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they must expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the _Cretonian_ king. _Minos_, relieved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute upon their seven young men and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the _Minotaur_ (1), during the space of seven, or, according to others, nine years.

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(1) _Pausan_. _Apollod_. _ubi supra_. _Plutarch_. _in v. Thef_. _Diodor_. _ubi supra_. _Plutarch_. _ubi supra_.

(H) His first encounter after he left _Trozen_ was with _Periphetes_ the son of _Volcan_, famed also _Caryates_, of _Club-brasser_, of the club he used to fight with, whom he slew in single combat, and afterwards curried his club with him. The next he overcame was _Sisani_ the son of _Pelagonius_, famed _Pithecumpets_, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying his patie’s between the opposite branches, which, by their sudden return, did tear them in pieces. him _Theseus_ put to the point death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce _Cromyonian_ _Phecé_, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for thefts, murder, and lewdness.

_Siro_ a famous robber, who used to throw with skill jessies into a deep rock after he had made them with his feet, fell the next victim to his valor. Having next signalized himself in the _Eleyan_ games by killing _Corynetes_ with a _Arcadische_ club, he went to _Thermis_; where he killed _Diasper_, otherwise called _Prœcraties_, by bending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he used to do to those who unhappily fell into his hands.

(L) Platy. He went and fetched the _familiæ_ bull of _Maraethon_ and brought him alive to _Athens_, where he sacrificed him to _Apollo_ (8).

(2) _Philochor_. _ap. Hindu_. _Hist_. _Grec_. _lib. 1_.

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... these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that Egeus, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that Minos had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when Theseus, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous inhuman Medea, in her flight from Corinth, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of having children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. Theseus, whose birth was a secret to everyone one there, was soon discovered by Medea, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, Theseus, willing to give his father an agreeable surprize, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hastened to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of Theseus, did so quaff the fainthearted hopes of Pallas and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

After this Theseus, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody Cretan tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the Minotaur, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and imberking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two fails, the one black to fall by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at Crete he offered himself to Minos, and demanded the liberty to fight the Minotaur, or rather his champion Taurus, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had for some time reason to suspect, that his queen, a woman of no lingual charity, had some criminal commerce with him. Theseus after this had all the success he could wish: He killed his enemy, released all the Athenian captives, prevailed upon Minos to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter Ariadne in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent, but that, having been an eye-witnes of his valour and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her, however, in the Isle of Naxos: and some add, that, after the conquest of the Minotaur, Minos fell in love with Periboea, one of the seven virgins which Theseus had brought with him, and would have detained her. Theseus strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the Cretan king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the son of Neptune, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. Theseus immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which Amphitrite had put upon his head. Minos, however, would not be pacified without Periboea, and Theseus, still perplexing in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the Minotaur used to be kept; but he lay not long there, before Ariadne furnished him with a clue by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for Athens, left Ariadne behind at the island above-mentioned, where Bacchus fell in love with her and carried her off, whist Theseus landed homewards towards Athens. Unfortunately for them and for Theseus, their extraordinary joy for their late successes made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to eifie them from a high rock, observing the flag afar off, full hanging out its fable colours, doubted not, that his son had had the refl fallen victim to the Minotaur; and, in a fit of sudden despair, threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the Egean sea: so that when Theseus landed at King's order thrown into labyrinth and fed with human flesh, but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon this account to have been injmated Taurus or Bull. It seems also to have been in great power at the Cretan court, either for his constant victories at the games, which Minos had intimated in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all the Athenian captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (3), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

Vol. II. (2) Plutarch, ab ibid. 5 A.
at Athens, he found the city divided between grief, for *Ægæus's* death, and joy, for the safe return of his valiant son and successor. *Ægæus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theseus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Heracles*, to spend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; so that he began, upon his first accession to it, to think how to divest himself of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he divested himself of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artisans. The first he invested with the power of interpreting and executing the laws and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves, to take care of whatever related to their separate orders: so that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest part; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the husbandmen had the greatest profit; and the artisan excelled them in number.

He instituted two annual festivals, the *Panathenaea*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called the *Meteora*, besides the famous *Pömæian games* in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were so called from the *Ilymæus* in which they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewise abjured all their diuinest courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called *Prytanæum*, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages. We observed before, that the *Athenian* money was stamped with an ox; this coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theseus's* killing the bull of *Mæcas*, or the *Minotæor*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was most subservient.

After he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the second, who had succeeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have seen above. It was then, that *Theseus* erected that famous pillar in the *Ilymæus*, which showed the number of the two countries which met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, *This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia*; and on the other, *This is Peloponnesus not Ionia*. What we read concerning his two expeditions against the *Amazons*, is so blended with fable, so differently related, and so uncertain, that we shall give it in a short note, because they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athena* (K).

Sometimes after these expeditions, *Theseus* contracted an intimacy with *Piræus*, the son of *Ixion*, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Thessalian* horsemen, as we shall see in the sequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female guests; and drove the rest out of the country. These went from thence to *Sparta*, and slew the famed *Itila* out of the temple of *Diana* *Oritia*, where she happened to be dancing. This princess was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter* by *Leda*, the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *Oitilia* in *Peloponnesus*; and though then but nine years old was already famed for the greatest beauty in the world; in short, that though *Theseus* was then, as reckoned, above...
above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof against her charms. However variously the time, and place, and circumstances of this rape are reported, we have followed Plutarch's account of it as the most allowed. According to him the two ravishers were pursued as far as Pegae; but they happily made their escape out of Peloponnese, and thinking themselves now secure of their prey, they agreed to call lots for her, upon condition, that he to whom she fell should help the other in getting some other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for Tebus, he afflicted his companion in the like attempt upon Proserpina, daughter of Arceus king of the Molossi in Epirus, who being the next beauty to Helena was guarded by the dog Cerberus, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to fleece her away, he threw Pirithous to be torn in pieces by Cerberus, and Tebus into prision, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of Hercules.

During his absence Menelaus, the son of Peleus grandchild of Erechtheus, had taken care to gratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which Coetus and Pallux waged against him for the recovery of their sister Helena, raised a more powerful faction against him: and as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, Menelaus harangued the citizens, and told them, that, since their quarrel was only against Tebus, their safest way was to open their gates to him, and Tebus, finding it impossible to refit the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L). His design was to have failed into Cretes, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there from Decadene the son of Minos and his now brother-in-law (M); but he was unfortunately cast by a tempest upon the island of Sicyon. Here he was at first kindly received by king Lycomedes, but was soon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some say, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as most likely, at the instigation of his Athenian rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, the others say, that, that place being his usual walk after supper, his foot unfortunately slipped in the dark. We omit for brevity's sake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in Plutarch's life of him. All we shall add here is, that the Athenians did sometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that Cimon, the famous son of Miltiades, did raise the whole island of Sicyon in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to Athens, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at great deal of pains to find them out.

11. Menelaus or Menelaius was the son of Peleus, and great grandson of Erechtheus the sixth king of Athens, and consequently had a better right to the crown than Teues, whose father was uncertain, and who was at best but the son of Aegeus, and this but the adopted son of Pandion, as we have seen above. Whilst therefore Tebus was either pursuing his amours, or was imprisoned for the rape of Proserpina, it was cagy for his rival to persuade the Athenians to raise him to the Throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that Coetus and Pallux, taking the advantage of Tebus's confinement, came and besieged Abisines a town in Attica, where he had sent his mother and his wife Helena; and these two heroes, having taken and fixed their filter, out of revenge to her ravisher helped his competitor to mount the throne.

Menelaus

(1L) The ungrateful Athenian, who expressed more joy for their new king than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so jealous of the effects of his curs, that to appease his ghost they performed sacrifices to him, and divine honours were paid to his body. The place where he pronounced divine imprecation against them was from thence called Antiochus, or the place of cursing. (10)

(M) Tebus had a son by the Athenian queen named Hippolytus, and having sons after married Philoctetes, the son of Demogene the son and successor of Hippolytus, by whom he had two sons, he sent Hippolytus up brought by his own mother Athina to Tebus; but he coming afterwards to be present at some Athenian games, Philoctetes fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to Tebus of having made an attempt upon her. The fabled says, that Tebus prayed to Neptune to punish him by some violent death, and that as Hippolytus was riding along the sea-shore, Neptune sent two sea-calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the youthful queen hanged herself for grief, but as for Hippolytus, Diana, being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Athina to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

(1C) Plutarch, in Teub.
The fabulous and heroic Times.  

Meneleus, being thus chosen, was in no great care about the sons of Thebas, but dreaded his known valour, in case he should ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed so far upon the Athenians, what with gifts and cares, that they would not suffer him to come into Attica. And as soon as he heard, that he was retired into the island of Cythera, he prevailed on Licymedes to despatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. Meneleus reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of Troy, where having lost his life, the kingdom of Athens returned again to the Theban line.

12. Demophon, one of the sons of Thebas by Phaedra, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the Athenian forces that were before Troy. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: in his return he landed in Thrace, where Phyllis, king Leucurus's daughter, entertained him for some time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promised to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the Ephesae, consisting originally of fifty Athenians and as many Argives, for trying of willful murders and lying in wait to kill. The occasion of erecting this court, and of the Argives being admitted to sit as judges in it, was as follows: Agamemnon, others say Diomedes, returning with his forces from Troy, was driven one night into an Athenian port called Phalerus, and thinking themselves in an enemy's country, began their usual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the surprised Athenians fell upon them and killed a considerable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the ground among the flax, by which they knew that they were their friends the Argives. The oracle, having been consulted, ordered them to give the flax an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to Minerva, and to set up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that the court should be erected to try all cases of murder, manslaughter, and chance-murde. It consisted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of sent and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its first sitting up, Agamemnon infesting that there should be an equal number of Athenians and Argives to sit in, the Athenians readily granted it. Demophon submitted himself afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his subjects by the turn of his horse, as he was coming from Troy. It subjoined a considerable time in the same form; but Draco, one of their Archons, new-modelled it, excluded the Argives out of it, and made it consist of fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age. Demophon reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his son,

13. Oxyntes, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son

14. Apolydus, who was murdered by Tymocrates in the first year of his reign.

15. Tymocrates, the bastard-son of Oxyntes, betrayed his base nature in many things besides the murder of Apolydus, by which he got the crown. We shall only mention the last instance of it which most clearly bewereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years, when Xanthus king of Beotia had a contest with him about one of their frontier towns. Xanthus offered to decide the matter in single combat, and Tymocrates cowardly declined it. It happened, that Melanthes, a noble Melian, who had been driven out of his country by the Heraclidæ, was come to Athens about this time, and offered to answer the challenge. Upon their first onset Melanthes called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a fecond along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst Xanthus turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his lance. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did fo pleae the Athenians, that they not only deposed their puellaneous king, who was the last of the line of Erechtæus, and fet their Melian champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, and called it Apatobria from the stratagem that gave occasion to it.

16. Melanthes, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the Athenians to receive the banished Melianians and Neleia, and after a reign of thirty-seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son Codrus.  

17. Codrus reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the Dorians and Heraclidæ had regained all Peloponnesus and were entering into Attica. Codrus was informed, that...
that the oracle had promised them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the
Athenians, and that they had taken all proper precautions against it; but he, who
had resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his kingdom, took this method to e-
clude them: he disguised himself like a peasant, went into his camp, fell a quarrelling
with some of the Dorian soldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceased not
fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were
so terrified, that they decamped without firing a blow.

With Codrus ended the regal succession and title of kings of Athens. His subjects
conceived such veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they esteemed none wort-
thy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of
the states to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of Archons, and
choose Medon the eldest son of Codrus to that new dignity. His election, however, was
opposed by his brother Nicles, who pretended, he could not submit to Medon's autho-
rity, because he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it, all the
Archons that succeeded him were from him surnamed Medonitides, because they
were all chosen by succession: so that the Athenian government continued in the
family of Codrus under twelve perpetual Archontes, somewhat above the space of two-
hundred years.

Their names need not be repeated here, having added them to the list of the
Athenian kings: neither shall we dwell upon the transactions which happened under
each several archonship; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except
that the people, always fond of a change, did flow from time to time their dislike to
that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a resemblance to monarchy,
and giving its possessor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began
to give some marks of their discontent under their first Archon. Atica had enjoyed
so much quiet during a long leafoo, that it swarmed with exiles and foreigners, who
flocked thither from other parts which were more harassed with wars, so that they
were forced to discharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coasts of Lefkas,
Aiga. Upon the very first of these expeditions Nicles and the rest of Codrus's sons,
who could not brook to be under their brother Medon, drew a great number of Athe-
nians to them, joined with the Ionians and Thessaly, and left Athens for Lefkas Aiga,
where they dispersed themselves in different parts, and founded the twelve following
chies, viz. Ephesias, Miletum, Priene, Callipolis, Myus, Teos, Lebedos, Cleonemne,
Erisetos, Pheaces, Chios in the isle of that name, and Samos. Thefe were at first
each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became after-
wards very famous, as will be seen in due time.

This perpetual archonship, however, upheld itself so long, in spite of the people's
dislike to it, that it passed through thirteen hands, from Medon the son of Codrus to
Alcmen the last who bore such dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an
end to it, took the advantage of his short reign, which lasted but two years, to clip
the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: so that Charops the son of
Eryxias, was forced to accept of it upon those terms or none. This change hap-
pened about the beginning of the seventh Olympiad, and in the year of the world
2523, the year in which Hesstius king of Judah was born. This new decemvir
happened to be struck through by a stroke of fate; for Hippomenes the last of Codrus's line, in whose archonship
this tumult happened, had scarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the
people, and more particularly to his son and daughter (N), caused him to be deposed.
However, they did not then gain their point; it continued still through three differ-
ent hands, till at length Eryxias the last of them, either dying, or being deposed in
the year of his archonship, the Athenians appointed new archontes to be chosen
from among the most considerable citizens for birth, wealth, and interest, and
voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled
into a downright democracy, which Selon did afterwards new-model and confirm,
as we shall see in the next chapter.

S. F. C. T.

1 Just. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 6. 6 Castor. ap. Euseb. ubi supra.

(N) He caused his son to be torn in pieces by horses for adultery, and his daughter he hung up with
a horse without food to be devoured alive, for
having suffered herself to be debauched by a citi-
zen. In memory of this barbarous punishment:
Suidas (111) tells us, there was a place in the city
called Hippo kai Kyrios, in memory of the horse and the young lady.

VOL. II.

.11) Sub voc. 'Eryxias.
The history of the ancient kingdoms of Boeotia and Thebes.

We find two ancient kingdoms called by the name of Boeotia, the one, and by far the more ancient and considerable of the two, founded, or rather reformed, by Cadmus, and named by him Boeotia from the ox which is said to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of Thebes. The other was in Thessaly, and is said to have been founded by Bœotus, the son of Neptune, and brother of Aeolus, by Are the daughter of Aeolus king of Aeolis. This last having sent his daughter to Metapontum a city of Italy, she was there delivered of those two sons, the eldest of whom the called after her father's name Aeolus; and he possessed himself of the islands in the Tyrrhenian, now Tuscan sea, and built the city of Lipara. Bœotus the younger son went to his grandfather and succeeded him his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city Are from his mother. All that we know of these is, that they held this settlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the Thessalians did expel them from it, and forced them to seek for a new one; upon which they came and possessed themselves of that country which had been till then called Cadmeia, and gave it the name of Boeotia. Diodorus and Homer tell us, that these Bœotians did likewise themselves at the Trojan war, and the latter adds, that five of Bœotia's grandsons, Penelope, Letus, Prothocon, Arcesilus, and Celenus, were the five chiefs who led their Bœotian troops thither.

According therefore to Diodorus *, this last country, though founded in a kingdom, at least ever since the time of Cadmus, was not called Boeotia till the banished sons of Bœotus gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of Thebes; but the most current account, especially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by Cadmus himself in memory of the ox, by which he had been directed thither, according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had several other names, according to those of its supple funders; those who ascribed it to Egges called both it and its capital Ogygia; others called it Cadmeia from Cadmus, Aonia from Aon the son of Neptune, and Hyanther from Iyas the son of Atlas; but the far greater part say, it was originally called Cadmeia from Cadmeia, the first founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called Speraffaliga, and Thebes its ancient capital Speres or Stices.

It bordered on the east to Attica, and was in time joined to it, as we have seen in the last article, and was parted from it by the mountain Citheron. On the north to the Euxinus, now called the Negroponte, said to flow seven times in twenty-four hours, or rather, according to Lez, supposed to do so, because its sides are boisterous and uncertain. On the west it had the kingdom of Phocias, and on the south the gulf of Corinth. Its utmost extent from east to west was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the same length from north to south; but coming near to a point called *.

Here is the large lake Copais about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two considerable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country around it. These are the Aenos, which divided the territories of Thespiai from those of the Phocas, and running through those of Attica falls into the Eurips above-mentioned. The country is partly hilly, especially Aonia properly so called; the rest is low and flat, abounding with excellent pasturage; but whole air is so thick and foggy, that Homer thought it the occasion of the inhabitants being such furious dances.

Places

* Bibli. Lib. iv.

1 A. The fable goes, that Cadmus, tired with going in search of his father Egges, whom Jupiter, in the shape of a bull, or, as it is supposed, in a ship, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into Crete, was advised by the oracle of Delphi to follow the track of the bull or he saw, and where he reared himself to build there the city of Thebes, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) Pausan. in Bœot. & al.
Places of note in Boetia were: 1. The Trophonian cave (B), and the oracle, said to have been there given by Jupiter whence he was surnamed Trophonius. 2. Thebes, a town situate on the river of that name, and shadowed on the north by the famous Helicon, whence the muses to which there were dedicated were called Thebans. 3. Aulis, a sea-port on the Negropont, famous for being the place where the Greek chiefs swore the destruction of Troy. 4. The famed springs of the mountain Oeta, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the springs of Thermophylae from the hot waters of that neighbourhood; but the most famed place was the city of Thebes, situate near the river Ithanus, and surnamed Hetaeropyle from its seven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by Cadmus, as we observed before, and to have been made by him the capital of the Boetian kingdom, from which his successors, who did adorn it with many stately temples, palaces, and other sumptuous buildings, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention by and by, were also called kings of Thebes.

The government was altogether monarchical like those we have seen already, but Laws and perhaps more despotic here than in the rest, and having no other laws than the customs. king's will, some of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their ancient customs, except what Plutarch tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axe-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to understand, that she was fixed with her husband for life, and must not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this ancient kingdom we shall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by Cadmus, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make Orses or any other hero to have reigned in Boeotia, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable writers. Even the times which elapsed between Cadmus and the celebrated war between the two contending sons of Oredits, and which is the most ancient piece of history that we have of all Greece, are so confused with the vilest and most absurd fables of gods turned into fayres and devils, and of men turned into monsters of cruelty and lust, that we hope we shall be excused for skipping over all that has not some affinity with the history itself. The time in which chronologies place the rape of Europa being about the year of the world 2,550, and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of Thebes may be suppos'd to have been within a very few years thereafter. From thence to the time of its being totally destroyed by the Epigoni it had flood above 230 years, under the government of seven kings, two whereof were not of the Cadmean race, but usurpers. After this there reigned in Thebes two kings more of the race of O.Edipus, and of the race of Perseus the grand son of Boeotus. Besides these we find Homer mentioning Aeetes as king of Thebes. We have spoken of him in another place, and shall omit him here in our lift, because it doth not appear that he was of the Cadmean race, nor is he mentioned by Pausanias among the Theban kings, though he may have signified himself in the defence of that city.

The list of the Kings of Thebes, according to our Author, is as follows:

1. Cadmus
2. Polydorus
3. Labdacus
4. Laius
5. Amphion an usurper
6. Zethus his brother

7. OEdipus
8. Eteocles and
9. Polynices
10. Laodamas the son of Eteocles.
11. Tiberfander son of Polynices.
12. Tifamenes
13. Autraf
14. Damofebon
15. Polymenes

After this left the Thebans, grown weary of kingy government, resolved themselves into a commonwealth, as shall be seen in the next chapter. Cadmus, according to the Greeks, was the son of Agenor king of Sidon, or, according to others, of Tyre, but according to the Sidonians his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook: these add, that his wife Hermione was likewisè a more mindful

Pausan. in Boeot. 
† Vol II. p 343. f. 

(B) So called from an old tothsayer, who inhabited it, and used to be consulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many washings, caunting, and the like superstitious preparations. It is added that those who had once been in it, were never seen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, * has been in the Trophonian den.

* The authors of this history have inadvertently placed Aeetes in the number of the kings of the Boeotian Thebes; whereas he was king of Thes in Cilicia, and slain by Achilles in the Trojan war.
The fabulous and heroic Times.

Book I.

Nestor at court, with whom he ran away into Greece. The former tell us, that his father, sending him and his two brothers in quest of Europa, had forbid them to return without her. Cadmus therefore, having sought her far and long in vain, and despairing of success, came to Boeotia, where, as we have seen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at first opposed by the Furies and Ases, who were then in possession of that territory; the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into Laos; but the latter he admitted, upon their submitting themselves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built the city of Thebes, and a citadel, which he called by his own name Cadmea, which name it retained many ages after.

The fable adds, that when Cadmus married his wife Hermione, whom the poets make the daughter of Mars and Venus, the gods came to Cadmus and affirmed his wedding; and that he had by her one son named Polydorus and four daughters, Semele the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter (D), Iaso, Antes, and Auge. After this the Eubeans, who, as it appears to have been by the Ilyrians, being commanded by the oracle to chuse a general, he left Thebes to his son Polydorus, and head them; and here it was, that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into serpents (E), or, as some interpret it, to have degenerated from their primitive civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another son, whom he either called Ilyrius from the name of the Ilyrians, his new-conquered subjects, or else that people took their name from him.

Cadmus is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into Greece from Phoenicia. The alphabet at first had but sixteen letters, and was not completed till a long time after. He it was that set up schools there; he taught them more over trade and navigation, and brought the names of Cadmus given in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the use of letters into those parts of Greece being retired to Ilyrium, as we have seen, left the Theban government to his son Polydorus, in whose reign his grand-father, having made representations to and engaged the favor of Jupiter, was turned into serpents, in which form or his mother and sisters. Polydorus, whose son Labdacus was yet under age, when he found himself dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to Nycteus, whose daughter Antigone, the greatest beauty then in all Greece, being


(C) Who and whence those people were, whom Cadmus brought thither, is variously conjectured; some think, that he and they came from Thobaes in Egypt (2), and that he therefore gave to that name his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of Phœnicians; but we think Bobur's conjecture (3) the most probable, that they were Carthagines driven out of their land by Japhet, whose time falls in with Cadmus exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the Cadmanes, mentioned by Moses (4), who were the same with the Hebræos, and were called Cadmanes, or Καδμανεῖς, because they inhabited mount Hermon the most eastern part of Canaan, from which the same author supposes Cadmus's wife to have been called Hermione or Hermione.

"The tale of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of Hermion, which in the Syriac signifies a serpents. Thee conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital Thebes, for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of Canaan (5); and written in the plural, by " 


(D) The reason why the poets make Cadmus grand-father to Bacchus is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into Greece: for it is entirely contrary to the chronology of those who make Bacchus to be the same with Nimrod and of those who make him the son of Jupiter damus, since in either opinion he must have been vally more ancient (8).

However, Bacchus is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three-years expedition, at the head of an armed army; and when he came to the Canaan, even to the most parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the Carthagines inhabitants of those parts; and having returned in triumph an elephant (9). Another fable of him is, that having killed a great serpent, he threw the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting against each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called Victoria Cadmus. (F) This young prince, who was married to Zalophus, is supposed to have been carried off by her own consent, because her dying father gave him orders to punish her, if ever she got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that she was pregnant, he contended himself at first with divorcing her, though he was afterwards persuaded by his next wife to clap her into a prison, out of which she was afterwards released by her two sons (10).
Chap. 17. The History of Boeotia and thebes.

Soon after carried off by Epopeus king of Sicyon, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother Lycurgus, whilst he undertook a war against the ravisher of his daughter. He went soon after him at the head of his Theban troops, and a bloody fight ensued, in which Nycteus received a mortal wound and left the battle, upon which he called himself to be brought back to Thebes, where he lay over for his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on Epopeus, and to rescue his daughter Antiope. In the mean time Epopeus, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a flight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death some time after, and put an end to the war. Lycurgus recovered his niece, and as she was coming back to Thebes, she fell in labour, and was delivered of two sons, Amphion and Zethus (H), of whom we shall have occasion to speak by-and-by.

2. Labdacus, when of age, finding that Laomedon, who had succeeded Epopeus in Sicyon, was attacked by two powerful enemies, Archabdes and Archebetes, the sons of Atreus, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt Antiope to be restored; and Laomedon, though then afflicted by Sicyon, whom he had invited from Atreus (I), yet chose rather to deliver up that princess, than to exasperate the Theban king by a refusal. We have seen what reception she met with in a late note. Labdacus, dying soon after, left his son Laius and the government to the care of Lycurgus.

3. Laius being then very young, Amphion and his brother Zethus, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. Lycurgus having made it his first care to secure the person of the young prince, the only surviving one of the Cadmean race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and lost the day. Amphion seized the Theban crown, and called its metropolis, or at least the lower city, Thebes, in honour of Thebes their aunt by the mother's side (K), whilst the upper city or citadel retained its ancient name of Cadmea. It is to these two heroes that Homer attributes the inclosing and fortifying of the former with a famous strong wall, with seven gates, and a number of flatly towers, at a convenient space from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long against the Theban forces (L). A grievous plague raged soon after which destroyed great multitudes, and among the rest Amphion and his family. His brother Zethus, who succeeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only son was killed by his own mother, the grief of which shortened his days, and gave the Thebans an opportunity of fitting Laius again upon the throne.

Laius having married Jocasta, or, as she is called by others, Epaquea, the daughter of Creon, was forewarned by Apollo's oracle, that if he had a son by her, he should be killed by him. Oedipus was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom Laius therefore

* Pausan. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is said to have built a temple to Minerva, an acknowledgment for his late successes; and when it was finished, he prayed to the goddess, and accepted of it, and fame from particular tokens of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) These twins, Homer says (12), were begotten, not by Epopeus, but by Jupiter, who fell in love with Antiopa. Their first exploit was to murder Laius and his wife, and to rescue their mother out of her confinement. After this they feigned on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we shall see in the text.

Antiopa is also called Nycteus from her father Nycteus, and the ancient geomeric poet celebrates her in this manner: 'The wise Epeus and Jupiter for her gallantry and Amphion and Zethus for her sons (13).

(I) Who, the Sicenians say, was not the son of Amphion, but of Miletus the son of Evadne (14). Heford makes him the son of

Eraclea, and another of Peleus (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may see what we said of him in the second section of this chapter.

(K) Some pretend, that she was one of the three daughters of the river Aegus, or rather of Aegus the Phlegethon, from whom that river had its name: but the Boeotians affirm, that she was the daughter of Aegus the Boeotus, probably the fame which was also called Nycteus, the father of their mother Antiopa, whom Aegus above quoted calls Aegus.

(L) What the fabule adds, concerning the miraculous effects of Amphion's lyre in the building of those walls, is so well known, that we need not say any thing further about it, than that Amphion had first brought muck into Greece, from Lydia, where he had learned it (16), and that it was so admired for its novelty and excellence, that he easily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilst he diverted them with the muckick of his harp; and probably also by his eloquence, which he had so far a master of, persuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live sociably and in community.

(11) Id. ibid. (12) Oxyg. i. ii. (13) Aegus op. Pausan. ubi supr. (14) Id. ibid. (15) In Pausan. in Boeotia, &c. (16) Aeg. 1. v.
fore gave to a shepherd to be flain (M); but he, moved with compassion, left him exposed in a place, where he was soon after taken up by the herdsman of, and presented to, Polybus king of Corinth, who healed his feet, and, from the swelling which the boring and anguish had left in them, called him Oedipus, and brought him up as his own. When he came of age, and understood that he was not the son of the Corinthian king, he went to the oracle of Delphi to enquire after his parents, and at the same time Laos led by his fate went likewise to enquire what was become of his son. They met at Phebus, and, some scuffle happening between them, Oedipus unwittingly killed his father and went to Thebes, where he married his mother Jocasta, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the Sphinx’s riddle (N). Eteocles and Polynices were the unhappy fruit of their incestuous embraces (O). Some add, that he had also two daughters by her, but others say they were by another woman.

As soon as Oedipus was apprised, by a fatal train of calamities, of his patricide and incest, the horror of his guilt threw him into such a fit of distraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having cursed his unhappy paternity, was led by his daughter Antigone to Atica, where he took sanctuary in Eumenides’ grove, and soon after ended his miserable life. As for Jocasta, the hanged herself for grief even before he left the kingdom.

His two sons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them should reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but Eteocles having refused to reign after he had reigned his year, Polynices went to Argos, where he having married Adrastus’ daughter, as we have seen in a former fiction, he ingratiated the prince to affix him in the recovery of his right: these two came soon after with a powerful army, and besieged Eteocles at the seven gates of his capital. Eteocles at the same time put himself in the best posture of defence, and went and consulted an old blind Theban soothsayer about the success of the war; and was answered, that victory would infallibly fall on his side, if Menoeceus, the son of Creon and the chief of the Cadmean race, would voluntarily sacrifice himself to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and sacrificed his life to the safety of his country. This did not, however, prevent holiness being carried on with the utmost fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes should decide the contest by single combat, which they did with such desperate fury, that both fell by each other’s sword. The Argives ventured to give the Thebans a second battle, where both sides lost several of their brave commanders, and such a number of men, that the latter got the victory, yet they were almost ruined by it. A treaty was then expostulated by the Argive king for burying of their dead, but Creon, who had then taken the government upon him, was so exasperated against them, that he not only absolutely refused it, but caused the princes Antigone to be buried alive, because she had caused the body of her brother Polynices to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was soon after killed by Thejens, who came with an army against him, and obliged the Thebans to permit the Argives to bury their slain, as we have seen elsewhere.

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(M): Or according to others to have his feet bound, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beasts.

(N): This was a malicious monarch which infested the neighbourhood of Thebes: it had a face and body like a dog, and destroyed all the passengers that could not expound her riddle. Creon the father of Jocasta ruled then at Thebes, and having expounded the oracle, was answered, that there would be no end of this mischief till somebody gave her a solution; whereupon he caused it to be proclaimed through Creon, that the man who expounded it should have Jocasta to wife; and Oedipus proved the person who gained the fatal prize, and from that incestuous marriage the two sons who were the occasion of this bloody war.

(O): This is at least the account which all the ancient poets, except Homer, have left us of it, probably to enhance the horror of that marriage, and to raise the greater compassion for that unhappy couple and their progeny: but Homer, on the contrary, who introduces Ulysses, saying, that he had seen in hell the fair Epiceith, who through impiety had married her own son, who was once the unhappy murderer of his father and had been the benefactor of his mother, makes him add, that the gods, by hastening this prince’s death, prevented the ill effects of that incestuous marriage. For, as Pausanias judiciously observes (17), how could they be held by Polybeus, or the adventurer of Oedipus, that he had four children by his mother? He adds upon the authority of a poem, Hesiod, OEdipus, or the adventurer of Oedipus, that he had thus children by Eurigone the daughter of Hypermen.

(17) In Bacchus, cap. vi.
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In the mean time the sons of those seven generals, who fell before Thebes, resolving to revenge themselves on that city for the ill success of the last expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called Epigoni, and renewed the siege of Arcadia. Laodamas the son of Eteocles, who, by this time came to age and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed Erymanthus one of their chiefs. But being himself soon after killed, or forced to fly into Illyria, 3 the Thebans began to sue for a treaty, and whilst that was tranc-acting, conveyed themselves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of Hebes, leaving Thebes to the mercy of the Epigoni. Some say, that these, being apprised of their flight, plundered the city, and quite erased her walls. Others affirm, that Thersander Polydorus's son dissuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; soon after which he led them to the Trojan war, and in the way signalized himself at Mycusa, and was killed by Telephus. His son Tefanes, being then too young to command the Theban forces, Penelus was chosen their chief, and was also killed there by Euryphyes the son of Telephus. After his death Tefanes took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough, but the fates, which purposed the unfortunate offspring of Oedipus, did not prove so favourable to his son Autoklis, who, we are told, was feigned with such a dreadful phrenzy, or, according to the poetical phrase, persecuted by the furies so much as to make him mad. He was killed by the oracle's advice to retire among the Doryans.

After his departure the Thebans raised Damophantos, the grandson of Penelus, to the throne, who left it to his son Polomeos, and he was succeeded by Xanthus, who was the last who enjoyed the regal dignity in Thebes, and was treacherously killed by Melanthon in single combat, as we have seen in the history of Athens. After his death the Thebans, weary of a kingly government, resolved to put it into many hands, and to settle themselves into a commonwealth, as we shall see in the next chapter.

b Conf. Pausan. Beoct. & Apollod. I. iii. c. 7. 1 Pausan. ubi. supr.

S E C T V.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Arcadia.

Arcadia, so called from Areus the son of Jupiter and Caliope, was anciently called Pelagia, being inhabited by the ancient Pelagi, who boasted themselves to be descended from Pelagus their pretended founder, of whom we have spoken in a former section of this chapter, as having been supposed by a late author to be the same with Pegasus, the son of Eber in scripture. The Pelagi were also known by the name of Autoklis, which was a name the Grecians gave to those whose original was not known. It is true, we find the Pelagi in several other parts of Greece, as was there observed; but their chief and primitive seat is generally supposed to have been this of Arcadia, whose inhabitants are universally allowed the ancients to be of Grecian stock, and boasted themselves to be of older than the moon.

This country was situated in the heart of Peloponnesus (A), having Elis on the west, Argolis on the east, Laconia and Messenia on the south, and Sicyon and Corinth on the north. Its ground, which afforded excellent pasturage, made it famous for the vast number of herds it bred; for the tuneful strains of its shepherds, which excelled all others in their pastoral performances, and the sweetness of their vocal and instrumental music; and for the extraordinary worship that was paid here to their god Perseus. Here was also a famous temple of that deity in the city of Tegea, and another

† See before, Vol. II. p. 345. a XENOPH. STRAB. MEL. & al. b STRAB. D. Sicul. Paus. 183. MEL. & al.

(A) The Arcadians were consequently at a distance from the sea, and accordingly Homer tells us, that they had neither ships, nor any knowledge of sailing (1); so that when they are said to have embarked for the siege of Troy, we must understand it of Agamemnon's fleet, which transported them thither.

(1) Iliad. lib. 14.
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other dedicated to Minerva in the city of Stympalus, surnate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here also bred upon the lake Stympalis a kind of fowl, called from it the Stympalian birds, which grew to such a fize and number, that they darkened the fun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infested this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by Hercules, as we have seen elsewhere.

Here was also the famed lake Pheius, from which springs the river Styx, famous for the coldness of its water which chills them to death that drink it; it is also of such corrosive nature that it will eat iron and braze. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whose name is so sacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had sworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the use of Nectars for a hundred years.

The Arcadians were at first a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by Pelasgi to build huts, live fictile, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-mast (B), and to cloath themselves with the skins of wild beasts. They began afterwards to give themselves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their soil. But as this country abounded with excellent pastoral grounds, so it was exposed to continual incursions from thence, who were either forced out of their own country, or were discontented with it. And this put them upon the necessity of exchanging the crook for the sword, and to inure themselves to some warlike discipline in their own defence, who would otherwise in all likelihood have preferred a pastoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, especially the highlanders, became such excellent soldiers, that their alliance was very much counted in all the wars between the other states. They commonly used to come to the wars clad with the skins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they used with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length such expert warriors, especially in a defensive war, that they have sometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other side: witness that famous expedition of the Lacedemonians against Tegesa, when, flushed with a dubious oracle, with hopes that they should take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle discomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambush, and their king Charibdis with a great number of his men bound with those very chains they had brought with them. Having therefore such brave females to defend their country in cafe of invasion, they used to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring states, in the same manner as the Swissers are now; and this made them some amends for their want of commerce, occasioned by their distance from the sea.

This extraordinary change in so rude a nation was as quick as it was surprizing. Lycaon the son of their founder, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following note, improving what his father had done towards civilizing his subjects, by introducing the worship of Jupiter among them, though not with the fame prudence that Cecrops had done among his Atheniens (C). His sons, of whom he had a considerable number, set themselves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names, and which we shall mention in their proper places. In thee they gathered

(B) which kind of food, Peuninae tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, infor-ming, that the Lacedemonians, confiding the oracle about a war which they were going to wage against them, received this answer from the Pythones, that though Jupiter and the gods were on their side, yet could they expect no success against a warlike people, whose chiefest clainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(C) Cecrops, as we have seen in a former fiction, forgot the sacrificing of any living creature, whereas Pisistratus is reported to have sacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.
The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its rise only from the savage nature of that prince implied in his name, Eceps, signifying a wolf; the account which Ovid gives of him is as follows: Jupiter, desirous to know whether the wickedness of men answered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to Lycaon's palace, where having made himself known, the people were going to sacrifice to him. Lycaon, not believing his guest to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having missed his blow, he killed and drest a Meliand youth, whom he kept as a hostage, and fast before his guest to eat, for which the exasperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightening, and turned his inhuman host into a wolf.

(2) In Arcad. ch. i.
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1. gathered the people into bodies, and brought them still nearer to a social life; and in the next reign they began to sow corn, make bread, spin wool, and to make themselves garments of it. 

2. Also another author adds, that they learned the use of bees, honey, and milk, of renette for making of cheese, of oil, and some other conveniences of life (D). Thus in four generations, the Arcadians, from being busied in arts and husbandry, and regular government. To all these we may add, that these advantages, which exposed them to frequent invasions from abroad, put them likewise upon the necessity of cultivating the martial arts, first in their own defence, and afterwards for interest and gain, whence they became such brave soldiers and expert warriors, as we observed they were. Hence it was, that most of the Grecian princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but especially the Messenians, with whom they seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship. But Hercules, of all the ancients, had the greatest confidence in them, inasmuch, that we seldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having some Arcadian forces to assist him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their pastoral life, for which they have been so highly celebrated by the poets above all other Grecians.

Their government, like that of all their neighbours, was at first altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim something like a native power, especially in matters of great moment, so that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, such as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their consent. This may perhaps be one main reason why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other state of Greece; but this will be better seen in the next chapter. We shall confine ourselves here within our epoch, and to that series of kings which that nation pretended to be descended from Pelops, their first founder, and which Pausanius has given us from their traditions and records. And herein if he differs sometimes from Apollodorus, Tychon, and other ancient writers, we may suppose he had his reasons for so doing, and, if we except the remotest times which were wrapped up in imextricable darkness, the standing monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it sometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so, till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance united it again. Besides this, the several cities, built by the sons of Lycon, seem to have been divided into cantons under their several chiefs; but whether always under one sovereign or not, is not sure. Hence it is, that we read of these cantons, as of separate people, who made alliances, not only among themselves, but with foreign states, and signalized themselves during several centuries under their respective names, such as Tegeans, Trapezans, Mantinnians, Periboeans, and many more, which we shall give our readers in their proper place, to prevent their being mistaken in the sequel of the Grecian history for so many distinct people from the Arcadians.

The

(T) This last author, says, that Arcadians, who fought the Arcadians all these things, was the son of Jupiter by Croesus, a beautiful Thessalian princess, whom that godly goddess carried off to the top of Mount Pelion, and of whom he got four sons, the three first of which settled in Thessaly, and the other, Arcisius, came and reigned in Arcadia. This story, however, is contradicted by Pindar and Siculo, who affirm, that she had but one son by Jupiter, namely Menius, who was also surnamed Argus, as being a lover of hunting and feeding cattle; and Pausanius says, that this Arcisius intrusted Aeolis the 4th king of the country, without taking any notice of his reigning there. We shall have occasion to say something more of this Croesus when we come to speak of Thessaly.
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The succession of the kings of Arcadia, who reigned from their founder to Aristeas, who was murdered by his subjects for his treachery to the Moeniians, is as follows.

1. Pelagus
2. Lycaon
3. Nycimnus
4. Arcas
5. Citor
6. Azan
7. Epistus I.

8. Aelus
9. Lyceurgus
10. Ebenem
11. Agapener
12. Hypothetes
13. Epius II.

14. Gyselus
15. Liens
16. Bucellion
17. Phoelis
18. Sinus
19. Pompeus
20. Egeintes
21. Polymihar
22. Ebonus
23. Arisocrates I.
24. Hicenas
25. Arisocrates II.

It was in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning. If Pelagus, the supposed founder of this monarchy, were the same as the Pelasg or Pelg, the son of Eber, in whose days the earth is said to have divided, it must have begun at least as early as Terah's time; but we hope we have sufficiently confused this opinion heretofore, as well as the other conjectures of the fame learned men, that Pelag was the father of the Scylium. Those who place the foundation of it about Meles's time seem still to have ascribed it to neither; would they venture to place it before the expulsion of the Cumaonists out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in search of more peaceful habitations. But whether in Tithon's time, or after it, we are hard to determine. Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion, that Pelagus was contemporary with Inobas, Cercops I., Lelex, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of Egypt; according to him this was about 1120 years before Christ, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Christ 1556, at which time we have placed the foundation of Athens by Cercops. And it can hardly be supposed, that Pelagus could be of recent date than his, if we consider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the successions of their kings; and that Panthias thinks, that Lycaon was contemporary with the Athenian founder. Upon this supposition therefore, that they began near about the same time, it will follow, that this of Arcadia lasted in the line of Pelagus about 880 years, that is, till the year of the flood 2351, and first of the 28th olympiad, in which Arisocrates II. and the last of that race was foned to death. This is the utmost we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, while beginning is so dark andremote. We shall in the next place subjoin what we find most material concerning these monarchs.

We have already said all we know concerning Pelagus and his son Lycaon, except that this last built a city on the mountain Lycaon, and called it Lycaon, called Jupiter to be worshipped there under the name of Jupiter Lycaon, and founded the Lycaon games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous issue, the reader may fix them in the margin (E). Amongst many sons Lycaon had but one daughter named Calista, with whom Jupiter arrowed


(E) These cities were Pallenium built by Pallas, Orcyiaenia, by Orcytia, Phyllideia by Phyllides, afterwards called Phyllides from Phyllides the son of Bucellion. Treponcas from Treponcas, and so of the rest which were built by his other sons Decaces, Macares, Heliocon, Acaros, (from whom this last tribe pretends Mercury has that surname in Homer which signifies without evil, implying, that the good be done is without any mixture of ill) and Thryrench. Hoplius built Hypocon, Menades, and Thyron, Menades, Tygones, and Monites, the three cities of their tribe. The rest of those cantons, having their founders' names, are the Crimonius, Charicmius, Fri- eblines, Perhebeans, Astitians, Lyceonians, Samianion, Hercumon, and Alphelians. Orobomian the father of the Orobomiani, the richest canton of all in estate, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of Meletus, the youngest of Lycaon's sons called Eorius, instead of following the example of the rest, retained a sum of money and forces from his brother Abdum, who succeeded Lycaon, failed into Italy, and settled there, and was the first who brought a colony from Greece thither (F). Hence that of Vergil:

Fili locis Hesperis Graeci Cognominis dicunt.
Terra antiqua, patriis armis aucta suber galeatis.
O! Enotriae colores atri.

† Dr. his Vid. St. Byzant. tab. ii. & Pausan. ubi supra. (3) Pausan. in Arcad. ch. iii. (4) Vid. Gaius. Nat. in rom. ch. vii.
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had an intrigue, Juno turned her into a she-bear, and Diana, to please that jealous goddess, shot her to death (F). Lycaon was succeeded by his eldest son

3. Nyctimus, and he dying, we suppose childless, left the kingdom to

4. Arcas, the son of Calice by Jupiter, who gave him the name to the kingdom; he was the son mentioned above having introduced and improved husbandry.

5. had three sons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called Erate (G), besides a natural son he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. Arcas the eldest called his portion by his name Azania. Aphydas had the canton of Tegae, and Eligius had Mount Cyllene (H), from which he went afterwards and settled in Phoeis, and built a city which he called by his name.

6. Arcas was succeeded by his only son

7. Chiron, who instituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerful left prince of his time, but died childless; so that his share of the Arcadian kingdom fell to

8. Eptus, eldest son of his brother Elatus, who was hit to death by a venomous serpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his cousin

9. Arcas, the son of Aphydas. This prince made Tegae his metropolis, and built in it a temple to Minerva Aea. He had three sons, Lycurgus, Amphidamas, and Epheus; and a daughter named Auge, whom he condemned to be drowned for her criminal converse with Hercules, during his abode at Tegae (I). He was succeeded by his eldest son

10. Lycurgus, whose two sons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to Echein, the great grandson of Arcas.

11. Echein, the son of Pelops against the Heracleidae, who first entered Peloponnesus with a powerful army, and with Hyllus the son of Hercules at their head. We have spoken of this expedition in a former section, and of the success of Echein against that champion whom he killed in single combat, he left his kingdom to a son of Aineo; the son of Lycurgus, named

12. Agamemnon, who commanded the Arcadian troops at the siege of Troy (L), and in his return thence, being, like the rest of the surviving Grecian chiefs, tossed about by contrary winds and tempests, was cast at length upon the coasts of Cyprus, and seated at Paphus, where he built a temple to Venus, who, till then, if we believe Panaitius, was only worshipped at the small city of Golgoa (M). From him the kingdom passed to the line of Sympythus the son of Elatus, who was the youngest son of Arcas.

12. Hippothous the great grandson of Sympythus was the person who succeeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the seat of the kingdom from Tegae the ancient metropolis to Trapezus; he was succeeded by his son

13. Eptus

1 Arcad. c. ii. = Arcad. c. v.

(F) The fable adds, that Mercury, out of compassion to the young princes, and by Jupiter's order, found the infant he was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where he became a constellation, or, if you please, that constellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muse of that name who presides over matters of love, but a wood nymph, such as they call Dryades. Those who inhabited the mountains were called Oreades; those of the water Nereids; and those of springs and rivers Naiades (S).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from Calice the son of Elatus. This is the same mountain on which Jupiter is said to have begot Mercury on Maia the daughter of Atlas (T).

(T) This prince having captivated the famous Dercyle, which he was at Tegae, was left with child by him, which her father no sooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a chief with her child and young into the sea; she was taken up about the mouth of the Cicon by Tenebras king of Myra, who was so charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her son Telephus as his own, and made him his successor (O).

(K) Others say, that Arcas committed his daughter to Nauplius, to be drowned in the sea, and that the being delivered in her way to Nauplia, an Argive port, he left her child there, and that he, instead of drowning the mother, fold her to Tenebras. The child was suckled by a deer, from which he was called Telephus, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into Myra, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (K). These were Aecorus, who, being returned from the Argonautic expedition, was killed by the Calythonian wild bear, and Epheus, who was carried off by fireflies.

(L) Most probably as an auxiliary was transported from Aegyptus, whose ships they were transported to and from that siege, as we observed in a former note.

(Vol. II. p. 263. b. (F) Paulus. ubi Supra. (T) Apollon. l. ii. Dio. Sicul. l. iv. Paulus ubi Supra.)
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13. Egyptus II., in whose days Oreges the son of Agamemnon, being warned by the oracle, retired into Arcadia, and died, and was buried in or near the city of Tegesa (M). Egyptus was afterwards struck blind for his presumption in venturing into the temple of Neptune at Mantinea, and dying soon after it left the crown to his son.

14. Cyphes, in whose days Cresphontes, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of Messenia, was murdered with two of his sons. The third named Egyptus, by others Egyptus, fled to Cyphes, who was his grandfather by the mother's side (N), and by his affluence regained the Messenian kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the usurper Polyphontes. We find nothing considerable during the reigns of his four next successors, Lajus, Bucolius, Patalus, and Simias, except that in the time of this last, an ancient statue of Ceres, termed the Black, was set on fire, which was looked upon as a presage of that monarch's speedy death, which happened accordingly soon after: he was succeeded by his son.

19. Pompus. This prince, by the help of the Areiotes, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the sea-port of Cyllone, to and from which the merchandizes used to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved so beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude to those flanks Pompus called his son and successor by their name Areiotes. This last was succeeded by his son.

21. Pelymelor, in whose days happened that fierce invasion we spoke of at the beginning of this faction, in which the Lacedemonians, being come against Teges, were discomfited by the help of the Arcadians women, and both they and their king Charilias bound with the chains they had brought for the Tegesians: however, Charilias was soon after released, upon his oath and promises, that the Lacedemonians should not fight against them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of Minerva Haliea, where they still continued in Herodotus' time. Polymeer was succeeded by his brother.

23. Ecbates, who affliated the Messenians, the old and constant allies of the Arcadians, against the Lacedemonians, and was succeeded by his own son.

23. Aristocrates I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, prieslides of Diena Hymnia, a deity highly revered by the Arcadians, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and ravished her at the very altar of the goddesses. For this fact he was stoned to death by his subjects, who, to prevent the like sacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from henceforth none but married women should be admitted to the priestly function.

We know nothing concerning his son Hicetas except that he was father to

25. Aristocrates II. the last of the royal line of Cyphes, and with whom we shall close this faction; he was stoned to death by his own subjects for his treachery to the Messenians his allies, whom he betrayed to the Spartans, with whom they were at war.

* Vid. Herodot. i. i. c. 66. Pausan. ubi supra. o Herodot. ubi supra.

(M) Herodot tells us, that the Lacedemonians, having proved unsuccessful against the Arcadians, were told by the oracle, that they would continue fo, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to consult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable answer, as it is englissed by Littlebury.

In the Arcadian plain lies Tegeta,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow.
Form a twin storm, militia on militia fiercely.
Here murther earth keeps Agamemnon's son,
Cruel to life, and be victorious.

The solution of this puzzling answer was afterwards accidentally found out by Licher, an eminent Spartan, who being one day at Tegesa, and observing, with some attention, a smith working at his shop, was told by him, that in the finding of a well, he had found a coffin seven cubits long, and that having the curiosity to open it, to see if the body answered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

(Licher, comparing the place where he was in, and the answer of the oracle, did easily conceive, that both Mnemos's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the double militiae those which were caused by Ion upon which, having acquainted the Spartans with this discovery, it was agreed, that he should be banished for some fictitious crime, that he might be the less suspected, and return to Tegesa, which he did accordingly, and having with some difficulty hired the smith's inclusure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to Sparta [8].

(N) About the beginning of his reign the Doric fleet having invaded Peloponnesus, not by the strait of Corinth, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle, but by landing above the cape of Reas, Cyphes was forced to make an alliance with Crete, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head against them, in consideration of which, his son helped Egyptus to regain his father's kingdom [9].

(8) Herodot. i. iv. c. 66.

(9) Pausan. ubi supra.
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war. We shall see the sequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we shall add here is, that the Arcadians, not content with his death, cast his body out of their territories, let it exposed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount Lycestis, on which they caused an inscription to be engraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it engiished by Mr. Hind in his Grecian history. 7

7 P. 167. Vid. & Pausan. ubi supra, & in Meffenice.

(O) The base betrayor of Mydon's fate.
In vain pernicious traitors justice shun;
Hail, mighty Jove! I save the Arcadian throne.

SECT. VI.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Thessaly, with a short account of that of Phocis.

Thessaly is supposed to have received its name from Thessalus, 1 the father, or, according to others, 2 the son of Crescous, an ancient king of an obscure village, from whom the Greeks are said to have been descended 4. It was also anciently called Annomia, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of Desidius, or perhaps rather from Aemion, the son of Chelus, the father of Thestis and grandfather of Pelaus. 5 From this last it was also called Pelopis, and Pyrrbusa from Pyrrbus Desidius's wife; but it was most commonly known by that of Thessalond, as it is now by that of Eddna.

It was anciently divided into four districts, or perhaps kingdoms. Thessaliotes, Thessalidus, Thessalitae, Thessalitae, and Phthiotides. Desidius was king of this last when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of Thessalidus, and Desidius and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon Parnassus, from which they are said to have reposed the country by throwing stones behind them. 6 However, the name of Thessaly and Thessalians in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included Magnesia and Phthia, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with Macedonia, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it. 2

Thessaly, properly so called, had on the east the provinces of Magnesia and Phthia Situation and extent. had Ilyricum and Epirus, now Albania; on the north Macedonia and Moesia, and on the south Greece Propria. It extended from west to east about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half east longitude, and from north to south, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

It was famous for its twenty-four hills, the most remarkable of which were those that follow:

1. Olympus, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height.
2. Oiby, where king Piriathus reigned over the Lapithe.
3. Pelion: 4. Offa, which with Nebeus were, according to the table, inhabited by Centaurs, who were afterwards killed or driven away by Hercules for their lufftual attempt upon the women that assulted at Piriathus's nuptials. Here were also the plains of Pharsalia, and the delightful valley of Tempe, about six miles in length and five in breadth, so pleasantly situate between the mountains of Offa, Pelion, and Olympus, so beautified with nature's graces, and watered by the river Peneus which ran through the midst of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muses.

On the north borders of Thessaly were seated the Dyopes and Myrmidon (A), whom Achilles led to the Trojan war.

1 Stiin. Byzant. sub voc., Θεσσαλ. 2 Euseb. Chron. vid. & not. Scalig. in eund. 3 Vid. Byzant. ubi voc. Pau. 4 Id. ibid. & Cl. lib. iv. c. 8. 5 Byzant. sub voc. Phthia. 6 Ovid. Metam. init. Apollon. l. i. c. 7. 7 Cluer. ubi supra. 8 Melas, l. i. c. 3, & 4.

(A) The latter were so called from παρος, a parallel, not, as the poets feign, because Eueus the son of Jove, seeing his country depopulated by a grievous plague, obtained a fresh supply of subjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but because, as Strabo says, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the pisiers in their diligence and economy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other husbandry from that insect.
The whole kingdom of Thessaly was very pleasant and fruitful, being watered by several great rivers which run quite across the country. The chiefest of these are the
Peneus abovementioned, the Acheron, Evros, and Axios, all which empty themselves into the Aegean sea by the gulf of Thasos, which is called Sinus Thasianus. This country seems also to have been above others productive of poisonous weeds and drugs. Hence Plautus makes use of the word Thessalia to express a poisonous thing; but upon the whole it was so fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the same rich nature, it was seldom free from foreign invasions from some neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note were: 1. Larissa, famed for giving birth to Achilles, called from thence Larissaeus (B). Its situation was excellent, being near the gulf above mentioned, and upon the river Peneus near the foot of Olympus, and at one end of the valley of Tempea: 2. Demetrias, situated on the Sinus Pelagonius, now Gulf dell' Arno, and strongly fortified by art and nature: 3. Pegasia on the same gulf, famous for being the place where the ship Argo was built, which carried the Argonauts to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we shall speak by and by. 

Ptolemaios, celebrated for the Ptolemaic games, which were instituted here in honour of Apollo, and, as some say, in memory of his killing the serpent Python (C). The metropolis of Thessalia was, according to Heliodorus (B), called Hypata, and situated near the Sinus Malacius, now Gulf de Zitin, and at a small distance from mount Oeta, upon which Hercules ended his life, after he had put on the peisoned shirt.

Thessalia was famous, among other things, for such an extraordinary breed of oxen, that Nereus, king of Pylia refused to give his daughter in marriage to Melicertes, king of Tyria, except he procured him some of them, which he soon after did by the help of his brother Bias (D). What fine horses they bred, and how expert they were in the use and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, since the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them. This fable, however, reflects no less a brand upon them for their brutality in continency, than it commends them for their skill in horsemanship. The attempt which they made upon the nuptials of their neighbours, the Piriithon, king of the Leukas, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the history of their wars with other nations afford us a constant proof of the other, so that in spite of their debauchery they have still preserved themselves a warlike nation, and as such their alliance, as well as affability, especially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by controlling powers. And indeed, if we consider how lable the pleasantries and fertility of their country made them to foreign invasions, it will be no wonder they should be so well inured to the trade of war.

(B) Others say, that he was born at Pthia, especially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearness of those two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his residence in the other.

(C) We have already spoken of some others instituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in several parts of Greece. The four most confidenced were, the Ithomean, the Olympic, the Nemean, and the Pythian; these made four annual meetings for all the Greeks, who referred to these places in great number, but which were still much more esteemed for the concourse of the nobletest and greatest youths, who came to signalize themselves there, some for their strength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accomplishments.

The prize, which was given to the victors at these Pythian games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may see the fuller account of all these games in Pater's antiquities (1).

(D) We have already spoken of these two brothers in a former section, and then how they came to their share of the Argive kingdom. One author adds, that Bias, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from Thessalia, was caught in the attempt, and flung into prison. Being a famous divine, he plied his priestly office; Iphitos the owner of them, by foretelling many surpring events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary skill. Bias brought them to Melampus, who predicted them to Nereus, and he left them to Nycteus, who caused them to be kept in a stable under ground, which was still to be seen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have a separate part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horse, and to have been the monstros offspring of Eurytion, when he embraced a cloud instead of Juno. The ground of this story was, that these people did manage their horses so well, that they were apted by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the most famous of them dwelt in a canton called in Greek Νησοῖς, which signifies on a cloud; hence came the tale of their being begotten of Eurytion on a cloud.

(1) ch. xxx & seq. † Hist. iii. p. 334. c. de lib. col. & Paus. in Mssin. ch. xxxviii.
nor can it be supposed, that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have saved them from being swallowed up by some of their neighbours, considering, that their scanty territories confisfted only of four small kingdoms or districts, as often dis- 
jointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reason we shall not pretend to give here a lift of their kings, much less of those petty tyrants, who reigned, some over one or more, others over all the four districts; but shall content ourselves with mentioning what we find most remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all must be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of Pelias king of Thessaly about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of Troy. We do not, however, pretend, to settle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbishop *Ulfar*, without entering into the difference between *Icacin Newton* and him. The occasion of this expe-
dition was as follows: 

*Æson,* the third in descent from *Æolus,* being either worn out with age or weary of government, whilof his son *JASON,* whom he had by *Polyemente,* or according to others by *Alcnetes,* was yet very young, appointed *Pelias,* his brother by the mother-side, guardian of the kingdom till this son came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had resolved to secure the government to himself, sent to consult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one shoe. It happened some time after, that as he was sacrificing to *Neptune* he called his nephew to him, who was on the other side of a rivulet, and *Jason,* making more haste than good speed to cross the brook, dropped one of his shoes, and gave him occasion to think, that he was the person pointed at by the oracle. He then asked him what course he would take with a person of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jason* readily answered, that he would send him to *Colchis* in search of the *Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and sent him immediately up to that enterprise. *Jason* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all Greece, to this expedition; he procured a ship to be built for his purpose at *Pegasa* by one *Argus,* from whom he called it *Argos,* and hence and his gallant company were called *Argonauts.* 

These adventurers, after many strange difficulties and exploits which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at length at the land of *Colchis,* where the golden

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(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we must not omit the rape of *Creusa,* a beautiful virgin, daughter to High king of Thessaly, by *Juno,* who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Geryon,* upon which *Battus,* so called from his hammering, letted a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that person, after which he is said to have recovered the free use of his speech, as the oracle had obfuscated fore-
told (2): There is also a fountain of the same name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollon* (J). 

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in possession of *Eretes* king of *Colchis,* a country lying between the *Euxine* sea and *Iberia,* and now called *Merogolia.* It then had some considerable mines of gold which gave rise to the fable of the fleece. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Maris,* and was guarded by a dragon who never slept. 

(H) The first place they touched at was the island of *Lemnos* in the *Pegasa* sea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their husbands in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were so charmed with their brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They failed next to the coun-
dry of the *Delians,* where they were kindly received by their king *Creusa,* but losing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were mistaken for *Pelagians,* and were then at war. A fierce engagement ensued, in which *Creusa* and a great number of his men were killed on the spot. The return of day-light having disovered the unhappy mistake, they only fared to bury the dead, and failed to *Myth,* a country in Asia Minor near the *Hellespont.* 

Here *Heracles* plying his club with more might than skill, unluckily broke it, and whilst he was gone into the wood to cut himself a new one, *Hylas,* his beloved boy, was stolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, so that whilst he and his brother-in-law's son *Polyphemus* went in search of him, the *Argonauts* left them behind and failed into *Bithynia.* 

Here *Amarys,* the son of *Neptune,* king of the country, a man of prodigious strength, having obli-
ged them, as he did all those comers to fight with him at hurlebats, was killed by *Pelias* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Barebraces* seeing their king fallen would soon have revenged his death on the victor, but not his brave companions refused him from the danger, after which they failed immediately to *Salmydis* a city in *Thrace,* where they consulted the famous blind footsayer *Phineus,* concerning the fates of their expedition. 

This person, who, according to the fable, was contin-
ually inflected with *Harpies,* a monstrous kind of

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(1) *Iu. l. xiii. c. 7.* (2) *Pauw. in Lacton.* (3) *See before, Vol. II. p. 323.*
golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where Jason acquired Aetes, king of the country with Pelias's command, and demanded the fleece of him. Aetes promised to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and were preferred to him by Vulcan), and plow the ground with them, fowling it with the dragon's teeth which Minerva had given him, and were the remainder of those which Cadmus had sown at Thebes.

Jason, perplexed how to perform these conditions, was happily relieved by Medea, the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promised him, if he would marry her she would assist him in it, and he had no sooner agreed to it, than she gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof against the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, she taught him how to tame those fierce creatures, so as to be able to yoke and make use of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to sow would presently spring up into armed men, which would infallibly destroy them, unless he raised an immediatedifffusion among them by throwing flumes at them, during which he might easily cut them off. Jason, having successfully performed the task, went and demanded the fleece according to Aetes's promise, whilst he, instead of delivering it, was contriving how to destroy him, and his company and ship. To prevent this mischief, Medea went, and by her enchantments cast the watchful dragon into a deep sleep. Role the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her desire, aloft his brother, Abdesius, into his ship, and sailed away immediately with his companions. Aetes, who was soon informed of his daughter's treachery, pursued immediately after them, when which she perceived, she cut her brother in pieces, and scattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to stop his further pursuit, as it actually did. For the discomfited king, surprized at her unnatural barbarity, stayed to gather up the fragments of his sons body, and buried them in a place called from thence Tomi, and in the mean time she and the Argonauts escaped into Thessaly, not without having first felt the effects of Jupiter's anger for the murder of Abdesius (I), and after having spent four whole months in this expedition.

During his absence, Pelias, who never expected his return from Colchis, had taken some means to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himself and his son Aegeus, and the old king, being apprised of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bulls blood. His queen likewise, oppressed with grief for his death, and the supped lot of her son and kingdom, had hanged herself; so the Pelas now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, Jason

w Id. ibid. Vid.-Hind. ubi supra. 1. i.

(1) The Fable adds, that Jason having purified the Argonauts with dreadful storms, and cast them upon unknown coasts, the ship Argo, to their great surprise, spoke to them, and assured them, that the god would never be appeased, till they were cleansed from their murder by Circe, a famed forsooth, supposed to have been the daughter of Sel by the nymph Perse, who lived in the island of Eea. They had no sooner obeyed this miraculous order, when they fell from the clouds of the Syrens, they were delivered from the danger of their enchanting music, by the more charming voice of Orpheus. Thence they sailed between Sylla and Caberop, investing with fear and wonder, which seems to be the first sight of those and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger also, by Tethys and the Nereids at Jason's command, and came at length to Ceyop, the island of the Pheacians, where Alcmene then reigned. Here they were overaken by the Colchians, whom Aetes had sent in pursuit of them. Tese he went immediately to the king, and demanded Medea to be delivered to them, which he promised to do in case she was not already married to Jason. But his queen, being apprised of this promise, went and married them privately and of out hand, so that the Colchians, being forbid to return home.
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Jafan returned successful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had to well strengthen himself in it, that Jafan, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing against him openly. Medea was forced to have recourse to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as some say, restored Jafan’s father to life. After this she persuaded Pelias’s daughters to boil their old father, on pretence she would restore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance Acastus mounted the throne, and, having performed his father’s funeral obsequies, banished Jafan and his wife from Thebaly, who went and dwelt at Corinth, where we shall find them again in the next section.

Acastus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife Hippolyta, or, as she is called by others, Cretheus; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with Pelus, the son of Cacus, and had solicited him in vain for some time, till enraged at length by his constant refusal, she accused him to her husband for having made some attempts upon her honour. Acastus, believing her and endeavouring to kill Pelus, was himself and his unchaste wife slain by him.

The next Thebalian prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated Achilles, the son of Pelus and Tethys, the goddess of the sea. This hero was king of Pithys, one of the four provinces of Thebaly, and was esteemed to have been pierced by his mother in the river Styx (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which she held him. After this she sent him to be brought up by the centaur Chiron, where he learned music, arms, and the riding of the great horse. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the Trojan war he should meet with his death there, she dispatched him privately in woman’s apparel to Lycosides, king of Scyros, an island in the Aegean sea and one of the Cyclades, where, among other exploits, he debauched Deijanira one of the king’s daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated Pyrrhus, afterwards king of Epirus. This transgression, as Pasianus observs, seems to have been disingenuously omitted by Homer as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preferred by all the other poets.

In the mean time, the Grecian chiefs being likewise forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterprise against Troy would prove unsuccessful unless they had Achilles with them, Ulysses undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. Tethys, finding that her son was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of Troy to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon Vulcan to make him an unpenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold Myrmidons to the fatal siege. Here he forebore acting for some time, upon a pique he had taken against Agamemnon on account of a beautiful female captive; but his resentment being at length swallowed up in the death of his dear friend Patroclus, who had been killed by Hector, Achilles thenceforth fought nothing but to revenge it, which he soon after did. Hector was not only slain, but most barbarously used by him after his death, he having cauised his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of Troy. This inhumanity did not go long unpunished, and Priam home without her, were forced to settle in this island, whilst the Argonauts failed towards Crete.

Here Medea was again forced to make use of her inventions to deliver the ship from being sunk in the fumes, which, Tethys, a man of brahs and the present of Vulcan to Minos, then king of that island, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his leg, the end of which was closed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend, that Medea, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others say, she poisoned him with some deadly potion. From Crete they came to Aegea, an island inhabited by the Myrmidons, whom they were forced to fight to get a supply of fresh water. Hence felling by Euboea and Lariss, they arrived at length at Jafan, the place whence they first set out.

(K) We have observed already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was understood some mines in the country of Colchis. These are supposed by some mythologists to have been contiguous to some of those torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount Caucasus, and to have brought down with them some quantities of gold dust, which the inhabitants favored by setting fleeces of wool across some of the narrow passages of these currents. This is indeed the most rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards digested after their custom, and embellished with the stories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful seas, dangerous passages, and many such difficulties which attended the search after that precious metal.

As for the account which Saisus gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of sheep-skin, and in which was written the whole secret of transmuting all metals into gold, it scarcely deserves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already spoken of this river in the history of Arcadia.
Priam having redeemed his son’s shattered remains at an excessive price, Paris, and his other of his sons, soon after shot Abiliss in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable.

The two most memorable things, which the Thebians are since recorded for, are their driving the Boeotians from their country of Athens, a small territory in Thessaly, so called from its metalliferous washing built by Beatus the son of Neptune by Arne, the daughter of Aeolus (M) the second of that name, who was the son of Hyppotes and grandson of Minos king of Crete; and their constant wars against the Phocians. The former of these happened, according to Hecyraides, sixty years after the taking of Troy, and about a hundred after their first settlement in that territory; when the Boeotians, being driven thence, went and possessed themselves of a country then named Cadmea, and called it by their name Beoita. We have elsewhere spoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the Phocians (N), it is not easy to guess at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcilable hatred interled between those two nations, which proved a constant source of fresh and bloody encounters, in which the Thebians, though superior in strength, especially on account of their cavalry, were very often worsted by the policy of their enemies, which they executed by means of Apolla, Minerva, Diana, and other trophies, which, Panomus tells us, they set up, both on their borders and at the temple of Delphi, in memory of their signal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of Phocis was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged; so that the Thebians, who feebly had to be the aggressors, could receive but little benefit from their horse. On the contrary, the same author gives us a remarkable instance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We shall give it our readers pretty near in his own words. The Phocians having got intelligence, that the Thebians were invading them by the road of Hyampolis (a city situate near the mountain Parnassus), they flew all that way with empty pots and pottage, which they covered. However, so well with earth, that the Thebians, who came riding full speed, did not perceive it, till they were so intertangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them. Their desire of revenge soon made them rule a more powerful army than the former, which did alarm the Phocians, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable to their famed dexterity than for their number, that they sent to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the event of this invasion. The answer they received was, that a mortal and a deadly war was going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victors, but that the mortal would get the better. Upon receiving this answer, they sent Gelon with five hundred men in the night to observe the motions of the Thebians, but with express orders not to engage with them, but to return by some by-ways. But being falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either tempted to death by their horses, or put to the sword. The news of this threw the Phocians into such consternation, that they resolved either to conquer or perish to the last man. Their first care was to secure their wives and children, the statues of their gods, and what else they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all those to some thirty of their most valiant men, with orders, that if they loft the day, they should murder their wives and children, and set fire to the pile of wood, and pling all their other riches into it.

This deliberate resolution, which gave rise to the proverb of the Phocian despair, was no sooner taken, than they marched directly against their enemies, and the remembrance


(1) This Phocis having a daughter pregnant, is said to have sent her to Metropolis, a city in Ith. (4), where she was delivered of two sons, Beatus and Beato, the former of whom poached him afterwards outwards of the Isles in the Tyrrenian sea, since called by his own name Aeolus, in one of which he built the city Lipsia. Beatos went to Euth to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, calling the country Arne from his

mother, whilst his people retained that of Boeotians from him (5).

(4) Th. fab 140. Mutat. (5) D. Sicil. c. 4.
The History of Phocis.

Chap. 17.

remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the success of this combat, made them engage with such desperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which soon unfolded the meaning of this oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the Thessalian word for the ocean was Minerva Itonia, and that of the Phocians was the name of Phoc each god, they erected a statue to him, together with those of their most famous heroes and generals, in his temple at Delphi.

The Thessalians were still more strangely outwitted upon another expedition against the Phocians, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as Mount Parnassus, they were routed by the following stratagem, devised by Telias, a famous diviner, who was then in the Phocians army and highly esteemed amongst them. They took six hundred chosen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with platter, and sent them into the Thessalian camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plattered over like themselves. Their march being first perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and mistaken for some strange army of ghosts, threw their enemies into such panic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the spot; routed the rest, and got a considerable spoil, the tenth of which they sent to the Delphic Apollo, together with one-half of the shields of the slain, the other-half was hung up as a trophy in the city of Aba. These frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred against them, inasmuch, that they never ceased their hostilities against each other till each ceased to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other states of Greece, will be best seen in the following chapter.

Haying said so much of the Phocians war against the Thessalians, we shall here subjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconsiderable indeed with respect to the smallness of them, yet richly deserving our notice upon several accounts, though not worth being treated of in a separate section, considering how little we know of its original foundation, succession of kings, government, and laws, and many such-like particulars.

Phocis is situate in Gracia Propria, and, as we lately observed, between Thessaly and the bay of Corinth, having the former on the north, and the latter on the south. On the west it was bounded by Aetolia, Locris, and Oeta; and on the east by Boeotia and Megaris, so that it was hemmed in from the sea on all but the south side. Its greatest length was from north to south, that is, from 27 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 25 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from east to west, scarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the widest, but about 20 miles towards the Corinthian bay, and much narrower still towards the north.

This country is generally allowed to have taken its name from Phocus the son of Oe, a native of Corinth, but having been soon after invaded by the Eginetans, under the conduct of another Phocus, who was the son of Aeacus king of Aeolia (O), the memory of the first did insensibly give way to that of the second.

Phocis is famed for several celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were: 1. that of Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and extolled by all the poets. Its height is, that of Duceles and his wife Pyrrha with many others are said to have faved themselves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time and has since gone by his name. 2. Helicon, and 3. Cithaeron, both consecrated, to the muses, and on that account highly celebrated also by the poets. They are said to contend with that of Parnassus for height and beauties. Phocis had no rivers of any note except the Cephissus, which runs from the foot of Parnassus northward, and empties itself into the Pinthus, which last was near the boundary of that kingdom.

It

\[1\] [Id. ib.]

\[2\] [Herodot. ut supra.]

\[3\] [Strab. Pausan. Mela. Cluver. &c.]

\[4\] [Ovid. Pers. &c.]

This Aeacus was the reputed son of Jupiter by Amytha, queen of Aeolus, called afterwards from her Elius. He is recorded to have been a prince of such great justice, that after his death, Plato appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his son Phocus, whom he had by his second wife, who was the daughter of Nereus, one of the gods of the sea, did quite eclipse and obliterate the fame of his predecessor.
The fabulous and heroic Times.

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It had several considerable cities, the chief of them was that of Delphi, or Delphi (P), famous for the temple of Apollo, whose oracle was referred to from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. We have had occasion to speak something of the name, antiquity, riches, and magnificence of it in a former section, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was consulted and delivered; and shall now add such other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that Apollo was the deity who presided over it. How he came by it is variously reported, and may be seen in the margin (Q). Its first discovery was owing to some goats who were feeding on mount Parnassus, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. These goats having been observed by the goat-herd, whom Plutarch calls Cotetus, to skip and leap after a strange and unusual manner, and to have uttered strange and unheard-of sounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curiosity to go and view it, and found himself besieged with the-like fit of madness, flitting, and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitude flocked thither, many of whom were possessed with such phrenetic enthusiasm, that they threw themselves headlong into the vorago; informeth, that they were forced to issue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being feared received and returned the answers of the deity in the manner we have elsewhere described (S). We meet with some different accounts of this wonderful place, which Panthianus has given us upon the credit of the Phocians, and which the readers may see in that author (A). This miraculous place was soon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the fame author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the Phocian tradition, was succeeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of solid copper, and said to have been the workmanship of Vulcan. This last was destroyed by an earthquake according to some, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a sumptuous one, all of stone, was erected by Archidamus and Trephimus.

Delphi, among several other cities of Greece and Peloponnesus, pretended for being situate in the middle, or, as the Greek expresseth it, the navel of the world (R), because the navel is in the middle of the body. It had so convenient a harbour, and was so excellently well situate, being rather in the heart of Greece than of the world, that it became in time a feoffed-town for all the Greek states. Here fat the court of the Amphictyons, chosen out of the prime cities of Greece, and called so from Amphictyon the first founder of this high court (T). The time of their assembling was in spring and autumn; causes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of Greece, and their sentence was deemed definitive. We shall have frequent instances of the power of this court in the course of the Greek history. The following one which relates to the Phocians shall suffice for the present.

The Phocians, having presumped to plow the territories of Cyrra, which were consecrated to the Delphic god, were summoned by the other Greek states before this court, and had a considerable fine imposed upon them for their sacrilege. They relate:


Pausan. ubi supra. & Corinth. Pausan. in Phocid. ch. ii.

(P) So called, as is supposed, from the Greek Νεφελινος, brethren, because Apollo and his brother Bacchus were both worshipp'd there. The fable says, that Bacchus, having been terribly torn and mangled by the Titans, was brought to Apollo, who both reolved him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple. (Q) Some say, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and used to give its answers by dreams. Others, that Neptune and the earth were at full partners in it, but that he reposed his share to the earth, who was succeeded by her daughter Thetis, the same who was confuted, according to Ovid, by Deucalion and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repopulate the earth. Themis in time refigued it to her sister Phoebus, and the to Apollo (I).

Some ancient poets do indeed tell us, that this did not come to pass by the interpolated, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for which she was like to have precipitated him into the infernal region, as she had not Jupiter come to his assistance (2), who feems on all hands to have confirmed the possession of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable says, that Jupiter, desiring to know the exact middle of the earth, let loose two eagles, Pindar flies crow, and others from the one end, and the other from the west, and that they met in the place. The city of Phociola Phociola, and some others pretend to the same; but Strabo places it in the middle of Greece (3).

(1) D. Sicul. lib. xvi. Pausan. in Phocid. (2) Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigien. Scholiast. in Εἰρήν. (3) Geogr. i. x. Vid. & Pausan. in Corinth.
refused to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next session their dominions were adjudged confiscated to the use of the temple. This second sentence did but exacerbate the Phocians the more, who, at the instigation of one Philemelenus, or, as he is called by Platarch, Philemedes, went and seized upon the temple, plundered it of its treasure, and held the sacred depositum for a considerable time. This second crime brought all the states of Greece upon them. A war was decreed against them, which was called the holy war, and lasted ten years, during which the Phocians, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and in all probability have held out much longer, had not Philip of Macedon given the finishing stroke to their total defeat and punishment. The war being ended, the grand council assembled again, and imposed an annual fine of sixty talents upon the Phocians, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had sustained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand assembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy sentence; their known bravery made their affliction so necessary to the rest, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their usual courage and gallantry, and soon obliterated their former guilt, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Considering therefore the great concourse of people which this Amphictyonic court, the Delphic oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of Apollo, brought into the city of Delphi, to pay nothing of the vail offerings and presents which were sent from all parts of the world, even by the very Scythians, unto that oracle, we shall not need wonder at its having been one of the richest and most opulent of all Greece, though that proved likewise the occasion of its being so often plundered by other nations, as we shall see it was, in the very next chapter.

The next in dignity, both for its ancientness and grandeur, was the city of Elatea, situate on the river Cephisus, and said to have been built by Elatus, the son of Arcas, the fourth king of Arcadia, and to have been peopled by a colony of that ancient nation which came with him into Phocië. Apat was likewise considerable for having Elatus, the son of Lyceus and Hypermena, for its founder, and for having also an oracle of Apollo. This was also the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the rest were destroyed; but whether spared out of respect to Apollo, to whom it was consecrated, or, as Paulyas affirm, because it had not hand in the plundering of the Delphic temple, we will not affirm. Cirrha, on the sea-side of Delphi, was the port-town to it, and Griffa, so called from Griffus, the son of Phocië, was another sea-port. Thefe were both situate on the bay of Corinth, which was sometimes called Sima Grifius from the latter. The last city of any note was Daon, not so much for its buildings or riches, as for the tallness and stoutness of its inhabitants, and much more for the infamity revolt which was served there to Tereus, king of Thessaly, by the women of this city, by whom he was soon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his sister-in-law Philemela, daughter of Pandion, king of Athens (5). As for the other exploits of the Phocians, they will be better seen in the next chapter.

S E C T.

The fable goes, that Tereus, after having married Procles, did likewise ravish her sister Philemela, put out her tongue, and call her into prison, to prevent her discovering his villany, but he the found means to acquaint Procles with her double misfortune, by depositing the whole story of it on a piece of em\-broidery, which he sent to her. Procles took the opportunity of the approaching feast of Bacchus, when they were all to meet together, and having his sister out of prison, made her kill her son Diomede, whom she had by Tereus, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be set before him. When Tereus saw the pie, he endeavoured to eat both his wife and her father, but they, by the help of the Daunian women, got the start of him and killed him. Ovid has since turned him into a lap\-wing, Iris into a pheasant, his mother into a swal\-low, and Philemela into a nightingale, who is still bewailing the misfortune of her family.

(5) Ptol. c. iv.
Sect. VII.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Corinth.

This little state was situate on the isthmus of Corinth, having the bay of the name, now called Golfo de Lepante, and the isthmus, or neck of land, which joins Peloponnesus to the continent, on the north, Sicyon on the west, the gulf of Saron on the east, and the kingdom of Argos on the south. Its utmost extent from east to west was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. east longitude, and from north to south about half that space, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 deg. 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called Acrorcinthium, at the foot of which the city of Corinth, and on the top of which the citadel was built. It was also famed for the fountain Pyrene, sacred to the Muses, and supplicated by fome to be the fame that was called Pons Caballinus, in Greek Hippocrene, or the fountain of the horse, which was feigned by the poets to have sprung from the horse Pegaeus striking his foot against the rock. Others place this leaf fountain on the hill Helicon, but the greatest part on that of Parthenius. As for that of Pyrene we shall speak more of it by-and-by.

Corinth is said to have been founded by Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus and grandfather of Ulysses. This Sisyphus is the same who was killed by Thoas for the many robberies he committed in Attica, and afterwards condemned by Jupiter to an endless punishment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the height of an armour with Aegina, the daughter of Aegeus king of Bohétia. The ancient name of this city was Ephyræa, which it took from a nymph of that name, said to have been the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys; or, according to others, of Myrurus, the son of Epimetereus, the son of Jupiter and brother of Prometheus. The time of its foundation by Sisyphus is placed about the year of the world 2490, or six years before Deucalion’s flood. A

Its new name of Corinth was variously traced, some thinking that it was so called from the Greek corinth, satisity or abundance, implying the opulence of the place; others go still farther for its etymology, but the ancient inhabitants pretended it had its name from Corinthus the son, as some of them said, of Jupiter, or, as others, of Marathon, and brother of Sicyon (B). But most authors attribute the name to building, or rebuilding, of it to Corinthus the son of Pelops. Among other names it is said it was called Atrenus, according to whom, Marathon was the grandson of Atrenus, who was the son of the sun. And being for some reason afraid of his mother Ephe’s anger, he retired into some of the maritime coasts of Attica; but after his father’s death, being returned into Peloponnesus, he divided the territories of Sicyon and Corinth between his two sons Sicyon and Corinthus, from whom they took their names. Sicyon being formerly called Ajipis, and Corinth Ephyræ (C). However, it was said that from the time of its foundation by Sisyphus, it was built on the site of the ancient city of Corinthus, which was destroyed by the gods in revenge for the murder of their son Ephe. B

(A) This punishment as it is feigned by the poets, consists in the rolling of a great stone to the top of a hill, which he has no sooner reached, than it tumbles down again, so that his labour is never to be at an end.

(b) This punishment as it is feigned by the poets, consists in the rolling of a great stone to the top of a hill, which he has no sooner reached, than it tumbles down again, so that his labour is never to be at an end.

(1) Sisyphus, in Corinthian, A. i.  (2) Apollod. l. iii.
However, we meet with a number of other ancient cities of that name, or rather appellations, being common in those days to dedicate cities to some of the gods, and hence them accordingly, without losing their original name.

Corinth had, besides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it Areopagus, two port towns, namely, Lechaeum, situate on the bay of Corinth, and Caphrea (D), on that of Salamis. These were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to Corinth, that belonged to this territory. And there were so well situate for naval commerce, and so near the metropolis, that they made ample compensation for the barrenness of the soil. These two naval roads, which opened a way into the Ionian and Aegean seas, might easily have gained them a superiority, if not a command, over all Greece, had not this advantageous situation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almost impregnable by nature, and commanding both those seas, they could easily cut off all communication from one-half of Greece to the other, so that it was not without reason called one of the letters of Greece. But their genius leading them to improve these advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, so that the little influence they had over the other states was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increased, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of strangers that flocked thither from Europe and Asia, their city became in time one of the finest in all Greece, being adorned with sumptuous buildings, such as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them enriched with a beautiful kind of columns, capitals, and bufs, from which the Corinthian order took its name, with numberless statues done by the most famous artists. Infomuch, that with respect to its riches (E), greatness, and excellent situation, it was thought by the Romans equally worthy of empire with Carthage and Capua.

Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the sumptuous embalmentments of the fountain of Pyrene we mentioned a little higher (F), consisting of several caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large basin, and is very pleasant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The stadium or course, both which are of white marble.

4. The temple of Neptune, whose avenue was lined on one side with the statues of all those who had won the prize at the Isthmian games (G), and on the other with flatly

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1. See *Geog.* i. 8. 5. *Corin.* c. iii. 6. *Id.* ibid.

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Book I.

flately pines set in regular rows. The temple itself, which was not very spacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen Tritons, or Sea Gods. Here were also the chariots of Neptune and of his wife Amphitrite, both drawn by horses covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a standing posture, and Neptune had young Paeleon riding on a dolphin by his side. The bales of the chariots were likewise adorned with curious bas-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embellishments. It was endless to describe all the other edifices, and masterpieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this small spot of ground was enriched, the reader, if he pleases, may fey them described more at large by Pausanias abovementioned.

But while the Corinthians seemed so wholly given up to traffick and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and sciences, and even that noble thirst for glory and conquest, for which their neighbours did so much value themselves; they did not forget to cultivate a good discipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them insolent at home and envied abroad, made both indeed very necessary. And though they seldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect some neighbouring state, to maintain the liberty of Greece; yet has this little kingdom furnished many brave and experienced generals to the rest of the Greek cities, in a manner, that it was common for these to prefer a Corinthian general to one of their own, or of any other state. The truth is, the Corinthians were of all others the greatest affectors of liberty, and though they continued some centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always showed an aversion to tyranny, and a readiness to assiff those who groaned under it.

The Corinthian monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal succession of their founder Sicyonus, who is supposed to have begun it about the year of the world 2390; above seven or eight generations, or about 470 years, when his line became extinct, or, as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by Alcmaeon, one of the Heracleides, about the year of the world 2390. From him we meet with a long succession of kings of his line, concerning the greatest part of whom little else remains but their names and the years they were laid to have reigned; for this reason we think it needless to give here a list of those monarchs, whose names the reader may see in Suidas's chronicle, and shall content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable transcriptions that happened during this epocha. After the ending of Sicyon's line, the kings who descended from Alcmaeon affected to call themselves Heracleides, he being the great grandson of Anticles the son of Heracles. This name, however, they changed for that of Bocceiades, from Bacchus the fifth in descent from Alcmena, whom we may therefore suppose to have been upon some account or other more famous and esteemed than his ancestors. These Bocceiades held the kingdom of Corinth near as long as the Heracleides, by which time they grew so numerous on the one hand, and on the other so weary of kingly government, that they entirely disdained it in the reign of Telephus their last king. This prince being become very odious to his subjects, his two kinsmen Ariens and Peronias formed a conspiracy against him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years, in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal Bocceiades arose upon the government (H), and shared the administration of affairs among themselves, electing a supreme magistrate out of their own body, whom they called Prytanes, to preside over the same. Corinth continued under the Bocceiadian aristocracy till the year 3349, when Cypelius, descended from them by the mother's side (I), having received some obscure hint from the oracle

* Pausan. ubi supra, c. iv. 1 Id. ibid. vid. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

[(8) Vid. Pausian. Cor. c. iii. (9) Eusth. D. Sicul. & al. (10) Corinth. c. 18.]

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oracle that he would be king of Corinth, and that he should be succeeded by his son, but not by his grandson, found means to wrest the power out of their hand. The time of this usurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in Cyzicus and his son, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontate of Athens, and is therefore beyond our present epoch. From Sisyphus, the first founder, to this Cyzicus, the Corinthian government had stood almost 840 years, or 430 years in the line of Sisyphus, 130 in that of Aetes, 130 in that of Baccoth, and about 150 under the Archonkrate government of the 200 Bacthiads.

Sisyphus is generally allowed the first founder of the Corinthian kingdom (K), he was the son of Athes, and was killed by Themis for the many inroads which he made into Attica, as we hinted at the beginning of this fiction. He left several sons, and amongst them Glauces who succeeded him, and Ornythus, or, as he is generally called, Ornytus, the father of Phoecus, who carried a colony into Phoebeis, and called the country after his name, as we have shewn before.

Glauces, called by Euripides Creon (L), received Jason and Medea into Corinth, after they had been both expelled Thebes by Aetnus the son of Pelias. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till Creon having married his daughter Glauce to Jason, the flighted forcecrs Medea was so enraged at it, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had by Jason, and fled to Athens. Phoebus adds, that Glauce, having assisted at the funeral games, which Aetnus had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses, and that Glauce fled herelf into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preserve her from Medea's enchantments, and that the fountain was since called by her name 9.

Bellerophon, so called from his killing a man named Beller, was the son of Glauce or Creon. We have seen in a former fiction how he was forced to retire into Argos for that manslaughter, and there falsely accused by Stenoboea of an attempt upon her,


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Olympia, in memory of his wonderful escape (11). However that be, the bloody deputies, having searched the whole house in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being amazed to own their weakness, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and Cyzicus, thus wonderfully preferred, became in time the tyrant of Corinth, as shall be shewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) Phoebus doth indeed quote an ancient poet, named Eumenus, who pretends, that this country had been given by the son to Etesis, and that he, accompanying Jason in the Argonautic expedition, left the government to Baurus the son of Mercury, from whom it having pali in time to Corinthus the son of Marathon, who died without issue, or according to Apollodorus left only one daughter, the Corinthians invited Jason and Medea to come and reign over them; and that, Jason having taken a dislike at Medea and gone away from her, she appointed Phoebus her successor (13).

But there are two fold arguments against this poetic fiction, the one, that Sisyphus was the brother of Crethus, and this the grandfather of Jason, so that these two could not be contemporaries. The other is, that Sisyphus must have been dead some time before Jason came to Corinth, since Euripides tells us in his Medea, that Creon did then reign there, who is supposed to be the same with Glauce, the son and successor of Sisyphus (14), as we shall see immediately.

(L) The author above quoted supposes him to be so called, not as it was the real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, Creon in Greek signifying the same as reigning or governing.

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her, for which he was sent by Pretus to Jophates king of Lycia, to be put to death. (M.) The first dangerous expedition, which the Lycian king sent him upon, was to subdue the Solymi a neighbouring people, against whom he sent him with a very small number of forces; but that defect being supplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned Bochart supposes, their three gods, which they painted on their ensigns, one in the shape of a lion, a second of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own memory of this conquest; and gave birth to the fable of his killing the monster Chimera. (N.) His next expedition was against the Amazons, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himself also from an ambush of Lycians, which Jophates had set to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. Jophates at length, struck with admiration at his bravery and successes, fought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his services, which he did by giving him his daughter Polione in marriage and declaring him his succesor. 

All these achievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary affluence. For Minerva, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horse Pegacus (O), after she had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whose help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the most signal of his exploits, especially that against the Chimera, against which Neptune was likewise pleased to give him his assistance. After these successes and great change of fortune, he is said to have grown so insolent and presumptuous, that he brought a new furies of midnight upon him, which gave occasion to the fable mentioned in the last note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon Pegacus, by whom he was flung down into the valley of Cilicia, where he died blind. (P)

We took notice above, that Theseus the son of Osyndus succeeded Creon or Glaucon from him the crown descended to his son Demophon, to his grandson Propidus, and lastly to his two great grandsons, Doridas and Hyantes. It was in the reign of the last two that the Dorians invaded the kingdom, with Altes one of the Heraclides at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at Corinth. Altes was the son of that Hippotes, who had been banished Peloponnesus for ten years, by order of the Delphic oracle, for killing one Curnus an Arcadian, a prophet in the war of the Epigoni against Thebes, mentioned in a former section. He met, however, with an obstinate resistance from the Corinthians, who showed upon that occasion a great reluctance to submit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, Altes and his brave Dorians proved too strong, beat and expelled them also.

(M) It is likely, as Pausanias observes, (12) that Bellerophon never returned at Corinth; and that he was forced to fly into Argos before his father's death; but what the same author adds, that both he and the Corinthians were then subject to the Argives, doth not so well appear. It is true, those Corinthian troops that went to the siege of Troy, are said by Herodotus, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the ensigns of Agamemnon. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as also did the Arcadians? (N) However, as Bellerophon never returned from Lycia to Corinth, we find Theseus his cousin, the son of Orestes, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he ascended it after Glaucon's death, and during Bellerophon's absence. As for the exploits of this hero, they have been so blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, divided as much as possible from the poetic fictions, with which those writers have disfigured them.

(N) This monster the poets feign to have had the head and breath of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it spit out fire and flame. (16) We have seen what the learned Bochart thought of it. The reader may see his arguments, which are far from dependable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in Lycia, which had some valence on the top; that the upper part of it was chiefly frequented by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by serpents, and that our hero having climbed it of all that were, gave rise to the fable of the Chimera. (17)

Others again suppose it to have been a noted site in the Lycians, named Chimara, who had the lion, goat, and dragon painted on his ship, and was overcome by Bellerophon, after having infested those parts a considerable time, and done great damage to Lycia, and all the neighboring kingdoms. (18)

(O) This famous winged creature is supposed to have sprung from Medusa's blood. The Corinthians had a temple dedicated to Minerva, whom they termed Chalinoctis, from the Greek Kalos, a fair or cib-k bless, because she had espoused one in her mouth, in order to break for her hero's service.

The fable adds, that Bellerophon, being got on the back of Pegacus, was so affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horse, finding himself without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the constellation that bears his name.

The History of Lacedemon.

The history of the ancient kingdom of Lacedemon or Sparta.

The original name of this country was Laconia, a name which this nation still prided themselves in, when it was afterwards changed into those of Spartans and Lacedemonians. As for those of Sparta and Lacedemon, though they be often confounded by writers ancient and modern, yet, in propriety of speech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, so called, according to the tradition of that people, from Sparte, the daughter of Eurystas, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and so called from Lacedemon, the husband of Sparte and heir and successor of Eurystas. The same tradition adds, that Eurystas was the grandson of Lelex, surnamed Alcibades, because he was supposed to have been originally a native, and from him his subjects bore the ancient name of Leages. Lelex was succeeded by his eldest son Myles, and this by his son Eurystas, who finding the country very unhealthy and inconvenient, by reason of the bogs and marshes with which it was covered, cut a spacious channel through it, into which such quantities of water drained themselves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name, Eurystas, having to male issue, married his daughter Sparte to Lacedemon, the suppos'd son of Jupiter by Taygeta (A), and appointed him his successor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built soon after and made the seat of the kingdom, by that of his wife. Thus far the Laconian tradition; others, however, derive the name of Sparta from Sparteus the son according to some, or according to others the brother, of Phoroneus, the son of the great Inachus the founder of Argos. Others make his son of Anydus. 

Stephen of Byzantium says, as a story of one Sparteus, who is in all likelihood the same person whom others call Sparteus, and this is by some reckoned the brother, and by others the son, of Phoroneus; but this last is contested by Panormus, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that Phoroneus had any son of that name, and that the Laconians themselves did not acknowledge any such person. We omit that monstrous account which some give of Sparta's being so called from Cadmus making an ejection into Laconia with his Sparta, who were said to have had that name given them, because they sprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had torn, and which we have mentioned elsewhere. This monstrous story is even rejected by the Greeks themselves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as for


2. Pausan. in Laconic. ch. i. Vid. & St. Byzant. 8ub voces Sparta & Laconia.

3. Euseb. Chron. 8ub voces Lacedemon. 8ub voces Mycenas.

4. This prince was the daughter of Atlas, king of Mountus and uncle of Jupiter, and is said to have been ravished both by him and by his brother Nereus; from her the mountain Taygetus had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her lacon. Near this place was a village called Mylas, from the Greek melas, to grind; because Miles the son of Lelex is reported to have found the first mill there, and to have made use of it for grinding corn. This mountain was likewise famous for furnishing hunting-men with a great variety of wild beasts, such as bears, boars, deer, and vall quantities of wild goats.
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for that of Lacedemon, it is generally agreed to be from the Lacedemon mentioned above (B).

Geography.

Laconia was situate on the south-east nook of Peloponnese, having Argos and Sparta on the north, Messenia on the west, the bay of Argos on the east, and the Mediterranean on the south. Its extent from east to west, where it reached furthest, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg, 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. east longitude; but it grew still narrower, as it extended itself northward. The extent of it from north to south was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude. We do not pretend to say, that this extent of their dominions was such from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were anciently contained within a much narrower compass, and that a great number of their cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the Spartan government till a long time after. Of this nature were the Helots, Gythians, and many others, which were forced to yield to the superior power of the Lacedemonians, especially after the Epibori had so far chirped the royal prerogative, and enslaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all their neighbouring states, rather than live an idle and flabby life under those upright and tyrannic magistrates.

As all the fourth part of this kingdom was encompassed by the Sea, and the east and north-east part by the Argolic Bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief of which were those of Malea and Tenea (C), now Cape Malea and Cape Matapan. These two, being situate on the Mediterranean, form the large Laconian gulf, which lies between them, and is now called the Golf de Celaebino, into which the famed river Eurotas mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of Bafalipotamo, vulgarly Vafalipotamo, or royal river, discharges her waters with an easy and gentle course.

All the sea-coasts of Laconia were likewise furnished with a considerable number of sea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greatest and most convenient were those of Trinissus and Acra, situate on each side of the mouth of the Eurotas and Gythios, at a small distance from Trinissus. This last, Pasianiares tells us, had the remains of a cattle full standing, which might be at first built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to Sparta, if not beyond. Gythio was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by Apollo and Hercules (D); but the most noted of all was Epidaurus, now Malea, seated on the gulf of Argos, now Golf de Neapolis, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among others for its excellent wine called Melosby or Melous, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it supplied other parts of Greece.

There were about twelve more sea-ports towns along the Laconian coast, and what made these three more famed, was a kind of shell fish caught in that neighbourhood, whose blood was of excellent use for the dyeing of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the Red-Sea. Inland towns did likewise abound in this kingdom, the most considerable of which was Sparta the metropolis, called also improperly Lacedemon, and situate upon the

(B) Besides the names of Lacedemonia, Sparta, and Laconia, we find in ancient geographers those of Leigia, from the Leigae, whom Strabo makes the first inhabitants so that the name of Laconia is posterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called Oebata from Oeboul the first from Euboea. It had also the name of Lecanops from the hundred cities which it is said once to have had. It is now called Leconia.

(C) This cape, which juts out a great way into the sea, had two ports, one named Achillion, and the other Phanakos. Here was also the famous temple of Neptune built in form of a grotto, fabulously supposed by the poets to be the pausage of which Hercules brought out Plato’s dog Cerberus, since there is no subterranean place under it; but what seems to have given rise to this fancy was, that here was bred a most dreadful serpent, whose bite was so mortal, that it was thence called hellicranous, and which was afterwards killed by Hercules, and carried by him to Euboea (4). (D) They pretend, that those two, having disputed a long while about a tripod, and at length mutually ended their quarrel; agreed to build this city at their common charge, for which reason the inhabitants of it pretend themselves not to be sprung from mortal men, and had the statues of those two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin.

1 In Corinth. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. 5 Vid. Strab. Mela, Pausan. & al. 2 Pausan. in Laconic. ch. xxii. 4 Ibid. strab. Geogr. lib. viii. 5 Pausan. Mela. 6 C.
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the river Euratas, at about thirty miles distance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at least beautified, by Lacedemon the first king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was Amycle, built by Amyclas the son of Lacedemon, and famed afterwards for the birth of Caipor and Pollux the sons of Tyndareus, eighth king of Lacedemon, and distant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for sending a considerable colony of its own inhabitants into upper Calabria, who built there a city which they called by the same name. This city was afterwards destroyed by the Dorians, and turned into an inconsiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were seen some of the ruins of its ancient grandeur. One of the finest buildings that escaped the common ruin was the temple and statue of Alexander, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the same with Cassandra the daughter of Priam. 3. Helas, ruined by the Spartans (E.). 4. Telebana, near to which is the famous lake of Lerna, where Hercules slew the Hydra. 5. Leustrand, upon the bay of Messenia and fittate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in Arcadia, and the other in Achaea; but this was the most remarkable of the three.

Mountains they had in great number, the country was divided from Messenia by one ridge of them, and from Arcadia by another; and this latter was a very long one, besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them, however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be passed by. Rivers of note, besides the Euratas abovementioned, were the Smenus, which had its head near the foot of the mountain Taygeta, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantries. The Thetis, said to have had its name from the daughter of Euratas. The Scyras, where Porus the son of Abilises landed, after he came from Scyros to marry Hermione. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called Scyras. We omit some others of less note.

The soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overhewed with hills and mountains, hindered them from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and how experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the Lacedemonians were a brave courageous people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power; they were wanting in no civil or military discipline, in order to secure the one and curb the other. And by these means it was, that they became so powerful, and made so considerable a figure in Greece.

Their government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them, whose advice and council they made use of upon all emergent occasions; but as these were chosen by the prince and might be turned out at pleasure, they seldom had courage enough to contradict him in anything, so that his will was still the supreme law. In this manner it passed through a succession of twelve princes from Lacedemon, the son-in-law of Euratas and founder of this monarchy. Not indeed constantly in the male-line, which being extinct in Government, Caipor and Pollux the sons of Tyndareus their eleventh monarch, it passed to Menelass, the king of Messenia, as well as in the female-line, in which Helena Tyndareus's daughter. From him it passed to his sons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the descendants of Helena, in Ottoles the son of Aganemnon, whose son Tisamenus, being cured by

De his Vide. PAUSAN. ibid. & BYZANT. sub voce. k MELA. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. STRAB. ubi figur.

Vid. THUCYDID. i. ii. PAUSAN. in Laconic. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

(E) These people, whose city had been built by Helena the son of Periclos, had a worse fate than any of the rest. For having refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by Agis, the third king of the Heraclea line, the Lacedemonians fell upon them with an army, took them prisoners, reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery, and, to complete all, made a law, which forbid their matters either giving them their liberty, or selling them into other countries (G).

(6) STRAB. ubi figur, p. 365. & 366.
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by the Heraclids, went and reigned in Achaia, leaving the kingdom of Lacedemon to the sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles. For though some have placed their father at the head of the Heraclean list, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finished the conquest of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into Peloponnesus (F).

However, whether under him, or his twin-sons, Eurysthenes and Procles (G), as above mentioned, the government took a quite new form, and instead of one sovereign became subject to two. For these two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at Argos, Melfestia, Arcadia, and elsewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as Eteocles and Polynices had done at Thebes; but, whether partial to their father's will, or by virtue of some mutual compact, in which they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of Lacedemon, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as such. Paustanius add, that the Delphic oracle being consulted about this new form of government, the pythons did not make any objection against it. What is still more surprising is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expression, did not end with those two brothers, though, from their mutual jealousy and antipathy, in which they had hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite succession of thirty princes of the line of Eurysthenes, and twenty-seven of that of Procles, and ended in both near about the same time (H).

But, though this title and succession continued thus long in those two lines, yet was the power and authority soon curtailed, through the discord which must inevitably have reigned between them. Eurysthenes was succeeded by his son Agis, from whom all the descendants of that line were named Agidæ, as the other line took the name of Eurystheidae from Eurysthenes the grandson of Procles. These two sons came to divide themselves into two distinct parties, under which the people, who were not always the dupes of those that govern them, did lift themselves according as who were not always the dupes of those that govern them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did lift themselves according as the party that governed them, did 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This gave birth to fresh complaints, murmurs, and every pretense or stragam, which did but weaken the regal power. The consequence of all this was, that the people, instead of becoming more tractable by any concession, grew the more turbulent and headstrong, taking every advantage they could against those, who, thro' either their cafi nature, or through necessity, were glad to court their affections, and vying and blackening those, who had courage enough to curb and tie them with any severity. By these divisions the regal dignity was brought into such contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confusion, when the great Lycurgus took the reins of it, during some part of his nephew Charilaus's minority.

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the son of Aristoclesbus and brother to Creophontes and Tenomus, is said to have been killed by lightning at Naupactus in Elis, while their navy was getting ready for this expedition; here it was that he left his twin-sons Eurysthenes and Procles, whom he had by Arges the daughter of Ares (7), his successor, both to the expedition and to all the conquests they should make in it. Paustanius says, he was killed by the sons of Pydiades and Elektra, who were cousin-germans to Tisamenus, the son of Crephilus, before this expedition. And the Lacedemonians pretended, that Apollo had shot him to death at Delphi, because he came thither, not to consult the oracle, but to advise with Hercules, who was there at that time, about the means of invading Peloponnesus; so that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead some time before the conquest of that peninsula by the Heraclids.

(G) This last is sometimes called Procles, and sometimes Proteles by Strabo. Philerus calls him Procles but Herodotus, Apollodorus, Curtius, and Paustanius, always call him Proteles; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyists, some of whom were used to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(H) When Cleomenes III. the last of the fifth line, was short-ly after vanquished by Antigonus, as shall be seen in following chapter.
This great patriot and lawgiver was the son of Polydectes, the sixth king of the Eurytian line, but by a second wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him, and he accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting, however, to see, whether his sister-in-law was with child. This prince's finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. Lycurgus, though shocked at the proposal, yet gave her some distant hopes that he would comply with it, but withheld all proper means to prevent her miscarriage, till the time of her delivery was come, when he sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to-bed of a son, the news of which being sent to him while he was at supper with some noble Spartans, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, laid it to those who were present. This is your king, laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of Charilaus. This generous action did not, however, satisfy all the Spartans; the incensed queen, by the help of her brother Leonidas, persuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to seize and make himself the more sure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore so vile an inhumanity, and so far from his intention, from gaining credit, Lycurgus withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till Charilaus was married, and had had a son to succeed him. This last action having at once put an end to all those unjust furmis which had been raised by his enemies, and procured him the esteem of all those that were well to their country; he met with less difficulty in the prosecution of his more glorious design of new-modeling the government. Another circumstance which facilitated this change was, that during his absence, such depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miserable state, that not only his friends, but even those who had been his most zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embassies, to entreat him to come back and save his country from ruin.

These were the inevitable consequences of that fatal division of the regal authority between two competitors, which, however, Lycurgus took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a task. He contented himself therefore with reducing their authority, by constituting a senate endowed with the supreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, besides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as shall be shewn in the next chapter, in which we shall give a more particular account of the form of government which he established, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a sure and lasting sanction.

Thus was the Spartan monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of Lacedemon 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of Sparta according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming subject to the Heraclids about A.M. 2900, and continued in the double line of those last during seven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following list therefore of those kings, we shall begin it only from Lacedemon the son-in-law of Eumestas, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that state. As to his supposed predecessors, Lelex, Mycles, and Eumestas, we shall content ourselves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this section.

And as for those of the Herculean family, who reigned after the change of government made by Lycurgus, besides that they are all out of our epoch, they are more to be looked upon as generals of the Lacedemonian army, than as royal sovereigns, and consequently their names need not be mentioned here.

* Vida Aed. cap. cl. sit.
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A List of the royal Lacedemonian line.

1. Lacedemon
2. Amyclas
3. Argalus
4. Cynorta
5. Oebalus
6. Hippocoon
7. Tyndares his brother
8. Ctofer and Polius
9. Menelaus
10. Nicofratus and Megapenthes
11. Oreges the son of Agamemnon
12. Tisamenes

The Herculane line.

1. Eurythene
2. Agis
3. Echestratus
4. Labotas
5. Doryflus
6. Ageusias
7. Arcelas
8. Procles
9. Saus
10. Eurytion
11. Prytanis
12. Eumenes
13. Polydeetes
14. Charilas

1. Concerning Lacedemon, we know little more besides what we mentioned at the beginning of this section, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called Phaenusa and Clete, celebrated by an ancient poet, and that his descendants raised a flately monument to him near the town of Alges, where Mytis is said to have found the first mule.

2. Amyclas his successor is still more unknown (1), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a story, that, whether by reason of its situation, or any other cause, it was so subject to frequent and strange noises as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the Amyclaress made a law, that none should dare to alarm the town upon any such occasion. The Dorians, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a sudden and took the town, and hence came the old proverb, I will speak, knowing how the Amyclaress were ruined for holding their peace; and the old laying of Amyclas civere, was used to signify to see, and hear, and say nothing. The people of this city became afterwards famous likewise for their strict adherence to the Pythograian doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did so strictly keep, that they forbore the destroying even of those very serpents which annoyed and destroyed them. We have very little left concerning Amyclas's three successors, Argalus, Cynorta, and Oebalus, except that this last gave his name to a canton of Lacedemonia, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the rest, and gave to his son Hippocoon, whilst the rest of the kingdom was assigned to his other son Tyndares. Oebalus married Gorgopente the daughter of Perseus, by whom he had this Tyndares, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in Oebalia, came soon after and deprived him of it.

Whilst Hippocoon reigned in Sparta, Hercules happened to come thither to be expiated for the murder of Iphitus. Hercules, it seems, after having put away Megara, went to Oebalia, where he won Iole the daughter of Eurytas king of that country, at shooting against him and his sons, an exercise which that king always proposed to those who came to court his daughter. But the king and his sons, remembering how he had used Megara, refused to give Iole to him, in revenge of which affront he drove away Eurytas's horses, and taking his son Iphitus, who was ordered to go in search of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of shutting them where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. Hippocoon therefore and all his sons did stoutly oppose his being expiated, because they thought the action

<sup>1</sup> Alcman. sp. Pausan. Lacon. c. xviii

(1) The false fable, that of all the sons he had, he was most excessively fond of Hecateus the youngest, because he excelled all the rest in beauty, in which, that Apollo and Zephyrus became enamoured with him at the same time. Apollo being one day at play, unfortunately flew him with a quoit, and from his blood caused the flower of his name to spring up.

His disconsolate father erected a flately tomb with his statue, both which excelled the ruin of that city, and appointed a festival to be kept in memory of him. Ovid in his metamorphoses makes this youth the son of Oebalus; but Pausanias, who had seen his monument, says he was the son of Amyclas (2).

<sup>2</sup> Lacon. c. i, & xix.
The History of Lacedemon.

He did not wait long for it; for a first cousin of his, named Ceusus, who was come with him to Sparta, walking one day along the streets of that city, past by chance before the house of Hippocoon, out of which a maidservant came and flew upon him. Ceusus flung a stone at him, which being perceived by Hippocoon's sons, they rushed up upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There was nothing more to refute the fury of that sanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the scuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a strong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed Hippocoon and ten of his sons, besides a great number of Lacedemonians; and having taken the metropolis, he called Tyndarus, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conquest, to that banished monarch in trust for his own posterity, as we have elsewhere hinted (K).

Tyndarus, or, as he is otherwise called, Tyndar, more glad to accept the Lacedemonian kingdom upon any conditions, than solicitous about the performance of them, was no sooner reelected upon his throne, than he began to find out means to fix it to himself and descendants against the Heracleidae. He had two brave sons by his wife Leda, Castor and Pollux, and two daughters, the famous Helena and Clytemnestra, whose strange birth, as is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). Helen's fatal beauty had caused her to be stolen away by Theseus, as we have seen before, and after she was recovered by her two brothers, Tyndar, still afraid lest she should be carried off again, had obliged all her suitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and that in case she should be stolen away by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her husband. She chose soon after Menelaus the son of Atreus, after which the being stolen away again by Paris, her husband, encouraged by his brother

p 1d. ibid. c. xv.

(K) Hercules, having succeeded so well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to him, because he had not thwarted him in it, as he had formerly done upon all occasions, and for want of a better victim offered up a goat, from which she was afterwards worshipped by the Lacedemonians under the name of Juno Alipagaye, or Goat-worshiper, and that creature became the constant victim which they offered to her there (g).

His last exploit, and with which this is a proper place to close the history of that mighty hero, was against Evagoras, who retained, as he thought, usually Iole from him. He went therefore against him, slew him and his sons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming soon after to the land of the Pyrians, he there found Evagoras' daughter there, he sent his servant Lycaon to Trachis, to his wife Deipnira for the shirt and coat in which he used to perform that ceremony.

This prince had some time before been attempted by the centaur Nessus, as he was ferrying her across the river Enoon, and Hercules, beholdning it from the shore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monster, finding himself dying, begged her to mix some oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's shirt with it, pretending, that it would incure him from loving any other woman; and, too well apprised of his infidelity, had already prepared the poifoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lycaon, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately consented her with him having brought away Iole, Iole, in a fit of jealousy, failed not to assist her brother with the fatal mixture, which had no sooner touched his body, than he felt the poison glide itself through all his veins; the violent pain of which caused him to disband his army and to return to Trachis. His torrent still encraving, he hastened to consult the oracle for a cure, and was answered, that he should cause himself to be conveyed to Mount Oeta, and then rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the rest to Jupiter.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he drest himself in his martial habit, flung himself upon the pile, and defied the by-flanders to set fire to it; others say, that he left the charge of it to his son Philoctetes, who, having performed his father's commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the same time Jupiter, to be as good as his word, sent a light of lightning which consumed both the pile and the hero, incombust, that Iolaus, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but ashes, from which they took up the notion that he was puffed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit for indeed for such a father, and a fitter god for such votaries, who could defye, raise altars and temples, offer sacrifices, and institute feasts to a mortal, who had fulfilled his fight with so many murderers, rapes, and adulteries. Hercules bequeathed Iole to his son Hyllus; as for Deipnira, he hanged herself as soon as she was apprised of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that Jupiter having had an amorous intrigue with her in the shape of a swan, soon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the result of these amorous embraces was, that she was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came Pollux and Helen, and out of the other Castor and Clytemnestra; whence Castor, as Tyndar's son, was mortal, but Pollux, as the son of Jupiter, is said to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The Greeks, however, according to Pausanias (11), preferred, that Helen was the daughter of Nemesis, and that Iole was only her nurse, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of Greco-mythology not worth disputing.
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Their Agamemnon, challenged all those princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promise, and engaged them to the Trojan war, of which we have spoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the wantonness of his two daughters, (for Helena was carried off by her own consent, and Clytemnestra, as we have seen elsewhere, not only lived in adultery during her husband's absence, but murdered him immediately after his return) is said to have built a temple to Venus (M), and erected a statue of cedar to that goddess, with a veil over her face and chains about her legs, either, as some think, to expose her as the cause of their unlawful love, or, as Pausanias thinks, to intimate to posterity the indissoluble tie of wedlock. He began likewise to build a stately temple to Minerva, whom he named Poliuchos, or guardian of the city, but died before he could finish it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two sons, after he had reigned about forty years.

8. Cafer and Pollux went on with the building, designing to have enriched it with the spoils of the city Aiphidna, out of which they had rescued their father Helena, but left it likewise imperfect. The Lacedaemonians did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of massive brefs, from which it was called Chalcis. These two heroes likewise signalized themselves in the Argonautic expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to Minerva Afas, in acknowledgment of their success and safe return from Colchis, from which they are also said to have brought away a famous statue of Mars. They had likewise a bloody combat with the sons of Abaratus, Ida and Lycurges, the latter of whom is said to have had such piercing eyes, that he could see even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occasion of their quarrel is variously reported, Theocritus says, that they had stolen the daughters of Linceus the brother of Abaratus, but Pausanias and Pindar say, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat Pollux killed Lycurges, and Ida was struck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deserve a place here, we shall give a specimen of them in the margin (O).

9. Meleagros, the son of Ares, succeeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have spoken of the war which her rage occasioned, and the success of it in a former chapter. At their return from the Trojan war, being, upon some difference, parted from his brother Agamemnon, after having weathered many violets, storms, he arrived safely in Egypt with his wife Helena, whether Homer tells us he was driven by contrary winds. Herodotus gives us a quite different account of his going into Egypt, and gives us his reasons for it; but as it contradicts most of the ancient poets.

(M. Pausanias adds, that this temple, which himself saw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called Muropes, which is but another name of Venus (11), and signifies form or figure, implying, that she was the goddess of beauty.

(N. Hence the saying of Lycurges eyes, and Pindar tells us, that he could discover Cafer hid in the trunk of a tree from mount Tangetus (12).

(O) These two famous brothers are celebrated by the ancient poets under several names, as Arestes, from the Greek Arès, which signifies a king or prince, such as were originally all the Hellen gods. Ambros, most probably likewise from the Greek Arès, procreation, delay, to imply their lengthening of life. Jupiter is also called by that name. They were also called Abarus, as supposed to preside over the hills, but the name they were most commonly known by was that of Disfuiri, from ἡδος και ἀκρόα, because they were reputed the sons of Jupiter. They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the sea of pirates, and from this laft they were worshipped as gods of the sea, and are said to have appeared to mariners in storms, and the notion was, that if only one was seen, it betokened shipwrecks, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewise said to have appeared at and upon several occasions; they once facilitated the escape of the Lacedaemonians under their king o. king Alexander, when they were closely pursued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by Arisanes and his Mys- ianian Troops. At another time they came to the very house where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of Phoebus, who was then in possession of it, to take them in for that night, preceding they were strangers come from Greece. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber which they had been formerly fond of; but Phoebus told them, that the whole house was at their service, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They seemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young woman and those that waited upon her were gone as well as the guests, and nothing found in her chamber but the two statues of the Disfuiri, and a table with some sweet gumes upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when Cafer died, his brother Pollux, who was immortal, prayed to Jupiter that he might share his immortality with him, which being granted, they are said to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the sign Gemini, of which two of the stars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other riseth.

poets and historians, we shall relate it in the margin. (P). Menelaus was succeeded by his two sons by a former wife, or rather by a slave, namely, 10. Nicephorus and Megapenthes, but the Lacedemonians, unwilling to submit themselves to a spurious offspring, Orestes easily obtained the kingdom, and without any bloodshed.

11. Orestes, the son of Agamemnon king of Messenia, came to the Lacedemonian crown in right of his mother Clytemnestra, the other daughter of Tyndareus. We have already mentioned in the history of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithles mother and her paramour, and ascended the Messenian throne.

He was, however, accused of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather Tyndareus, who must have been dead long before, but by his uncle Peirithoos, the son of Icarius, and cousin-german, and consequently the nearest relation, of Clytemnestra. He it was who cited him before the great Athenian court called Areopagus, after he had recovered his fenes. What their sentence was our author doth not inform us, but tells us elsewhere, that he had seen an old building which was called Orestes' mansion, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, except that they took care to supply him with food and other necessaries, till he had quite expiated his crime. He died and was buried in Arcadia, whither the oracle advised him to retire, as we have seen in a former lection.

12. Tisamenus, the son of Orestes by Hermione the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, succeeded him both in this kingdom and thef of Argos and Messenia, and was soon out of all by the Heraclic, who, having by this time invaded Peloponnesus, claimed the latter, as being of the line of Perseus, and he only that of Pelops, and the former, because Hercules, having conquered it from Hippodam, had only left it in truit with Tyndareus, as we have lately seen. What became of Tisamenus is variously reported. Some say he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of Argos; others, and with more probability, say, he escaped into Asia and reigned there, some time after which he was killed one of the first in a combat against the Ionians, and was buried in the city of Helice, whence the Lacedemonians, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in Sparta.

However that be, Philonemus betrayed that metropolis to the hands of Aristodemus, who with their forces entered it with the found of the flute, an infrument then reckoned very martial and proper to inspire the soldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reason the Lacedemonians made use of it from that time, whenever they founded to battle.

Eurybodetes and Procles having thus obtained the kingdom, at first divided it into six parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of Sparta, where they still kept their residence. This, though for the present it had the desired effect of ingratiating themselves to the Lacedemonians, yet in the following reigns proved the cause of many grievous disturbances. For Agis, the son and successor of Eurybodetes, finding, that the people were grown headstrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving several cantons of thefe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the Lacedemonians. They did indeed all submit to it, except the Helots, who were made a severe example to the rest, but these severities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

On the other hand, his co-partner Sosius the son of Procles, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their esteem by his bravery and new conquests. We have an instance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being


(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the Egyptian priest, that as Paris was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coasts of Egypt, where he was accqued of the theft by some of his servants who went and took sanctuary in the temple of Hermes. Procris, then king of the country, having examined the story, desired the woman and the goods she had brought with her till her husband came to demand them, and her the ravisher who as being a stranger.

When therefore the confederate Greeks, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the Trojans, and were answered that she was left in Egypt, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the siege; but when the city was taken, and the not found in it, then Menelaus went to demand her of the Egyptian king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the story is, as he tells us, that if Helena had really been in Troy, it had been madness in Priam to have sacrificed noble city, and the lives of so many noble Trojans, only to defend Paris in the possession of another man's wife, since he was neither heir to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of those that fell in the defence of that city (14).
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being besieged by the Cbrianti in a dry stony place, where his army suffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himself to restore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men should drink of a spring at a small distance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both sides, he, having called his soldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being all oppressed with excessive thirst, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As soon therefore as he had seen them drink their fill of water, he took some of it in the hollow of his hand, and sprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched on in the face of the enemy. The consequence of which was, that his abstinence having made the contract void, seeing he and all his men had not drank at the springs, he could safely refuse to resign his conquests to them.*

Agis, from whom the descendants of that line had the name of Agide, or Agides, for they are indifferently called by both, was succeeded by his son Ecbexfratus, and Soös, not long after, by his son Euryton, otherwise also called Eurypon and Euryphon; from him this line, which had till then taken the name of Proclides, exchanged it for that of Eurystoide or Eurypontide, &c. In this reign, some seeds of discord between the Lacedemonians and Argives began to appear, which were, however, stifled by the prudence of those two monarchs. The Cynoherantis, who were a colony of Argives, and settled in the neighborhood of that kingdom by Cynoherus the son of Perseus, were complained against by the Argives, for not only suffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewise for doing the same themselves, and sometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the Lacedemonians banished all the Cynoherantis that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that severity not only prevented all such ravages for some time, but restored a good understanding between the Argives and them.

But this peaceable disposition did not last but till the next reign, when Labota (Q), the son of Ecbexfratus, and Prytanis, the son of Euryton, declared war against them. The ground of it was, that though the Lacedemonians possessed the town and territories of Cynoherus, by right of their late conquest, yet the Argives were still incroaching upon some part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendship. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration, at least we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either side. After this things continued in a peaceable state, at least with their neighbors abroad, though they grew worse within doors through the jealousies and misunderstandings of the princes, both between themselves, and between them and the people. Labota was succeeded by his son Dorisius, and Prytanis by his son Eunamys, the former of these, as well as his son and successor Agisians, are by some said to have reigned but a short while,* and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of Euhelius and St. Jerome, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years.* As for Eunamys, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length stabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two sons behind him, Polydectes by a former, and Lycurgus by a second wife. He was succeeded by the former, and he dying soon after left the kingdom to Lycurgus, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a son, to whom he immediately resigned it, and banished himself out of Lacedemon, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled that government.

Sect.


(Q) Herodes, who calls him Lebutus, tells us in his history of Graecia, that the great Lycurgus had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has since proved (15), since that prince had been dead some time before that lawgiver was born.

SEC T. VIII.

The history of the ancient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia.

We shall join these ancient kingdoms together in one section, because they made but a small figure in the world, in comparison of those that have gone before, and because they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilst their being so often mentioned in the foregoing sections, and in the following history of Greece, will not permit us to pass them by without taking notice of their situation, original, antiquities, and history, as far as it can be got out of ancient authors, their wars and exploits, and other such particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable and are worth our notice here.

The principal of them is the kingdom of Elis, at first peopled, as is reason, by the descendants of Eliphæb, the son of Jassaun and grandson of Popæus, from whom this territory and the city of Elis was called Elidon, at its first foundation, and by the prophet Ezechiel, where he celebrates its fine purple dye. According to this appellation, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by the descendants of his immediate descendants, it was not without good reason, that the inhabitants of this country and of Arcadia besotted themselves to be Aboigines of Peloponnesus, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to settle there, and by degrees allowed themselves out of the greatest part of that peninsula.

Elis was situate on the western side of Peloponnesus, having the Ionian sea on that side, Arcadia on the east, Achaea on the north, and the bay of Gyptiros or Chalcis, now Cape di Tornefe, with Melissa on the south: its extent from east to west was the widest about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almost 23 deg. east longitude; and from north to south about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude.

Its chief cities were, 1. Elis, situate on the river Penus, and almost in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large spacious place called the Xylos, where the candidates for the Olympic games were obliged to initiate themselves for some time by diet, exercise, and other such preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the Olympic plains. In this place their worship did likewise use to assemble themselves, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewise a temple dedicated to Fortuna, with the statue of that blind goddess of a surprising figure, and made of wood, covered all over with gold.


(A) The poets derive that name from Elus, the son of Neptun, whom they make the first founder and king of Elis. Panhaimus tells us, that Æthius, the son of Jupiter and Protagenia, the daughter of Daedalus, was the first who reigned here, and gives some other etymons of the word not worth notice, since we have a much ancienter one, and earlier from fiction, in the patriarch Eiphæb.

(B) It is true, the prophet here speaks of Æthes and not of a continent; but we have often shown, that the word in the language of Grievous doth not distinctly imply an island, but the maritime countries, especially those about the Mediterranean; and we have the testimony of several ancient authors, that the coast of Elis, and quite up to the Corinthian bay, were famous for a hellish which they used in this die, and in which they exceeded all nations except Egypt.

(C) So called from the Greek Æthes, to trim or polly. This place was surrounded with a wall, and lined on the inside with pomegranate-trees of great height, to cast an agreeable shade on the court. Here Heracles, in order to inure himself to hard labour, is said to have spent some time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the inclosure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument ered in memory of Achilles, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women used to repair about fun-fet during the time of the Olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by several mournful aisions, especially by imitating upon their breasts.


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2. The city of Olympia was the next in dignity, situate on the famous Olympic plains, on which were celebrated the Olympic games, instituted by Pelops in honour of Jupiter, and after some suspension, restored again by Atreus and Hercules. They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater solemnity, and a vaster concourse of people, than any of these we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by Olympiads, to be introduced in Greece (F). This city is famed likewise for its magnificent temple of Jupiter, which the Eleusitae get from their neighbours the Pileans; in which was a famous statue of that god so exalted high, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, near which is also the famous Olympian wood or grove dedicated to the same deity. As for its ancient name of Olympia, it hath long since changed it for that of Scenae. 3. P郴, situate on the river Alpheus (G), and near the mouth of it, said to have been founded by Pisin.

(D) This feast-day they called Thyia. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his priests repaired on the night before, with three empty flasks which they left there, that up the temple, and sealed the locks of it, every flaxer being permitted to clap his own seal to them; and on the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with Eleusinians and strangers, and having first thumbed to them that the gates were safe and just as they had left them, they opened them, and went in, and found the flasks filled with wine (4).

(E) It is said to have held three thousand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, so that when Herodes undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river Alpheus, or Pron, according to others, into it, which carried off all the flasks in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we shall leave in the sequel.

(F) This solemnity, which had been so often interrupted, and renewed again by Edumennus, Nicias, Pelias, Lycorcas, and others, but without any settled time, was at length restored by Alcidas and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, so that between every celebration four complete years expired, which some have mistaken for five. Hence every four years was called an Olympiad, which computation was afterwards observed for a considerable number of centuries, as well as the solemnity of those games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, which change immediately preceded the summer solstice. Against that time the priests of Jupiter Olympas, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to observe every new moon, especially that after which the solemnity was to be celebrated, and to cause it to be proclaimed. They were likewise intrusted with the regilding of the names of all the victors at those games, and of the sacrifices every material occurrence which happened between every Olympiad.

(G) This river doth run quite through Arcadia, Elis, and along the city P郴, soon after which it is said to wind up in the earth. From thence it is supposed to run by a subterranean channel under the sea without mixing with the salt water, and to pass quite into Sicily, where it mixes itself with the fountain Arethusa near the city of Syracuse, informing much, that any thing that is thrown into it in the Elis tide, is said to come out at the fountain above named (6). Hence the poetical fiction of Alpheus's love to Arethusa, which tells us, that this life, to avoid his amorous pursuit, hid herself under-ground, and that he was forced to do the fame in order to get at her by some subterraneous passage, which he at length accomplished near the place where that river and fountain mix their streams.

Pasiphaeus adds, that the Eleusinians had a law, which condemned any woman to death that should either appear at the Olympic games, or even cross this river during that solemnity; and the Eleusins add, that the only woman who transgressed it, had disguised herself in the habit of a matter or keeper of those games, and conducted her for a thither; but when the fowl came off victorious, her joy made her forget her disguise, so that her sex was discovered. She was, however, spared on account of her father, son, and husband, who had gained the olympic prize; but from that time an order was made, that the kepher should appear there naked.

The History of Elis, &c.

The grandson of Aeolus, and whose inhabitants signalized themselves under Neopter at the Trojan war. This city was afterwards destroyed by the Eleans, because the Piseans took upon them to celebrate the olympic games by their own authority; for this, the Eleans, jealous of their privilege, raised a war against them, and after many battles fought, in which they had the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and banished its inhabitants.

It were fruitless to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, since we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or some of his descendants. As to what profane authors say of it, it is so mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we shall give our readers a short sketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

Aeolus is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was King of Elis, at first distinct from that of Pisa; this last having kings of its own for a considerable time. He was succeeded by his son Endymion, who married Alerodina, or, according to others, Obromia, the daughter of Itonus and grand-daughter of AmePhyla (H), by whom he had three sons, Pisos, Epeus, and Aeolus. When these were grown up, he promised his kingdom to him that should win the prize at the olympic race, and Epeus proved the happy victor. Aeolus, however, stayed with him as his ruler, but Pisos, unable to break the loss of such a noble prize, went to seek his fortune elsewhere, and settled in that canton on the river Axus, which took from him the name of Paontia. Epeus went to the siege of Troy, and is supposed to have been the architect of the Trojan horse. It was in his reign that Pelops the Lydian, or, according to others, the Phophagonian, came from Asia, killed Eunomius king of Pisa, seized on his kingdom, and took the city Olympia from the Eleans. Epeus died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Aeolus.

This prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill the son of Iasus at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of Aces, king of Arcadia, and was forced to leave Peloponnese, and went to settle in Eolia, where we shall find him in the sequel. He was succeeded by Eleus, who is said to have been the son of Neptune, by Eurydice the only daughter of Endymion, and the father of Aegeus, who succeeded him in the kingdom (J).

We have already mentioned more than once the large fertile which this prince is said to have had, and its being cleansed by Hercules. The truth of the story, if we may believe Pausanias (L), was, that he kept such large quantities of oxen and sheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, so that it was become incapable of producing either grains or corn. Aegeus therefore hired Hercules to clear his grounds of it, who, for his reward was to have his daughter and some part of his kingdom. When Hercules had performed the task by turning the river over them (K), Aegeus refused to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by running than by labour. The quarrel was referred to Pheous Aegeus's eldest son, and he, having given it against his father, was banished the kingdom together with his client. Aegeus, being afraid of that hero's resentment, was forced to strengthen himself by a double alliance, one with Aetor, the son of Phorbas by Hyrmine the daughter of Epeus; and the other with Amaranthus, a Tronian, a man well versed in the art of war, whom he invited into Elis. To bind these two the fafer to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when Hercules came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from Aetor and his sons, that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths were

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(L) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(J) This is he who, the Greeks pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called Pisos from Epeus mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do Aegeus a greater honour, make him the son not of Eleus, but of Eleus or the sea.

(K) This river which some pretend to have been the Alpheus, and others the Penus, as we observed in a late note, is by our author here called Mymanus, which name Strabo, who says it was the Penus, thinks was given it by the long stay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymology is something forced, and it seems more reasonable to suppose, that that river had these two names, as we had many others to have had (8).

(8) Pausan. in Elid. c. ii. Vid. & Galen. Nat. in wood.
were to go to the Iliamian games, he went and laid in ambush against them, and killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the Eleans some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was Hercules, who by that time was retired to Tirynthus, they sent embassadors in vain to the Argives to punish him, and to the Corinthians to interdict the Argives from the Iliamian games, for suffering the affliss of those who were going to them to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and Hercules having raised a powerful army of Argives, Thebans, and Aetolians, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of Elis, and was going to let fly his resentment against the Pileans for afflicting them, had not the oracle prevented it. Hercules, who would not sit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a present of it to Phyleus the son of Auges, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom restored him the prisoners he had taken (L), and among the rest Auges, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to Panthynas; others say he killed him and Eurytus, another of his sons b.

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, stay in it but as long as was necessary to settle the affairs of the state, after which he retired to the island of Diaebium (M). And Auges dying soon after, the crown fell to his next son Agbathus, whose throne Phyleus, having succeeded him, went to the Trojan war, and was one of those who returned from thence, and was succeeded by his son Eiles II. It was in this prince's reign that the Dorians and Heraclides made their halt but successful attempt against Peloponnesus under Hippotes their general, after having formerly made several forays ones against it. We have already had occasion to speak more than once of this expedition, for the success of which, having confused the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with Oxylus an Aetolian, whom they supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, because his head and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of Eurydemos, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, some say, his brother Thormus, others say, Aetolian the son of Scopus, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to Aetolia, when the Heraclides met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered Peloponnesus they should allot him Eiles, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom as being the sixth in a lineal descent from Endymion the second king of it. They agreed so much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's side, his great grandmother being sister to Dejanira, the mother of Hippus the son of Hercules. The success of this expedition we have seen in the former fections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conquests between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of Eiles according to their agreement 4.

Oxylus, who expected to have taken possession of it without any opposition, found himself mistaken, and Eides, who was then upon the throne, refused to reign it to him. However, to avoid exposing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each should chuse a champion, who should decide the right of it by single combat, and Pyrephones, an excellent Aetolian slinger, having won the victory in favour of Oxylus, he was immediately proclaimed king of Eiles. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or those of his successors; he had two sons, Aetulus and Labens, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he should be buried, neither within nor out of...


(L.) These prisoners must have been very few in comparison of those that were killed, since Pannainas tells us, that the Elean women, finding their country almost depopulated of male inhabitants, prayed to Minores, that they might conceive at the very first matrimonial intercourse; and that the goddess having granted their request, they built a temple to her and called it, Minores, the mother of mankind.

And moreover in memory of this signal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it Bades, which in their dialect signifies the same as mnu, a wave, to express the pleasure of that matrimonial intercourse (o).

(M) It is but a small inconsiderable island on the Ionian sea near that of Cephalonia, it is now called Dusklea and Timbikia.

9) Id. ibid. c. iii.
of it. His son Lajus succeeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material transactions in this kingdom, if we except some of their wars with the Aresidian neighbours and with some other states of Greece, till we come to the reign of Epitius, the revival of the Olympic games, and contemporary with the great Lycurgus mentioned at the close of the last section.

Before his reign, Greece had been almost ruined by wars and pestilence. Elis seems to have suffered more than any other state, so that those games had been interrupted for a considerable time. Epitius sent to consult the oracle concerning the means of appeasing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy against these calamities, and was answered, that the restoration of those games would prove the safety of Greece, to procure which he and his subjects were exhorted to set about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a sacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon some account or other exasperated against them (N). He next caused the Olympic games to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promise of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before: he likewise took upon himself to be both president and judge of those games, a privilege which the Pisisans, by reason of their neighbourhood, had often sharply disputed with his predecessors, and which continued in his descendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two presidents whom they chose by vote, and which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve. We have spoken of a little higher of the place where they fat, their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all disputes that arose concerning the victory in all the several exercises which were performed in them.

§ 6. Etolia was so called, as we have seen a little before, from Aetolus, the son of En.

Aetolia; dyman and brother of Epeus, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of Elis, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed Aipis, the son of Faion, at some funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be guessed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both sides, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, were the greatest robbers in all Greece, and continued so, during many centuries, after Hercules, Theseus, and other heroes, had extirpated those vermin in every-where else.

This slip of ground, for such it was, had on the east the Loctrians, Phocians, its situation and Ozeleans, from whom they were parted by the river Evous, or Licornas, and the Aetamnians on the west were also parted from them by that of Achebolus, on the north it had the Doriens with part of Epirus, and on the south the bay of Corinth: its utmost extent from north to south was about forty-eight miles, that is, from 8 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from east to west, where it was widest, above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. and exceeding narrow as it extended northward and southward, especially the latter, where it scarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one sea-port of any note on the Corinthian bay, namely Euthia, situated on the mouth of the Achebolus above-mentioned.

It had no other rivers but the two we have just spoken of, the former of which Rivers, was that on which Hercules killed the centaur Nessus, and the latter, which was also called Theas from its rapidity, descended from mount Pindus in Macedonia into the Ionian sea. Concerning this last the poets have feigned many stories, or blended the history with many fables which the reader may see in the margin (A).

A2

(N) Palaeaenius tells us, there was a kind of dispute between the Eleans and the rest of the Greeks, whether Epitius was lawfully descended from Oxylos, if he was not, it was not without reason that he feared the resentment of that god, whose particular kindness to all that were related to him, as Oxylos was, would hardly suffer such a wrong to go unpunished; and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeasing his anger by such a sacrifice.
The fabulous and heroic Times.  

As for its name, some think it received from Aetolus one of the kings of Aetolia, and others derive it from the Greek, and think it was given it by reason of the faulbriousness of its waters; but as we meet with three rivers of this name, and in three different countries, it is not likely they should all have it upon this last account; however, this of Aetolia is by far the largest and most considerable, insofar, that Homer calls it the king of rivers.

The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered several of their cities almost impregnable, and the people for fierce, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite states of Greece, and even the Macedonians, tried in vain to tame them. The most noted of those cities were those that followed: Thermus or Thermonis, situate almost in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, surrounded at some distance with such high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the states of the country assembled, and the repository of all their wealth and treasure in time of danger, yet was it not so much as fortified with a wall, the difficult ascents and narrow passageways of the neighbouring mountains being deemed sufficient to guard it both from surprize or invasion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the noblest and wealthiest Aetolians, and had the surname of Pantetis, upon account of the senate holding their meetings there. 2. Calydon, situate near the forest of that name, where Meleager, accompanied with the noble youths of Greece, slew the famed Calydonian boar (B). Hither it was also that Heracles came after he had left Peloponneseus, and though he had a numerous furious brood scattered over all Greece, yet wanting legitimate issue, married Deipheira the daughter of Oeneus, king of the country, and father to Meleager, and to ingratiate himself to the Aetolians, either turned the current of the river Aetolus, or made such improvements upon it, as gave rise to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which seems to have continued for some time the seat of the ancient Aetolian kings, was built by Calydon the son of Aetolus (4), from whom the kingdom was for some time called Calydonta, but refurned its ancient one in some following reign. The situation of this city was very pleasant and commodious, being seated upon the river Eunus, which ran quite through the midst of it, and having some pleasant plains round it and the Calydonian forest at a small distance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in process of time to remove the seat of the kingdom and senate to Thermonis abovementioned. 3. Pleuron, which gave name to a territory, whose inhabitants were called Curates, because they thrived, the fore-part of their heads, left their enemies should lay hold on it, but let the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of less note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted states of Greece.

The Aetolians were in general a stout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, seldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general


to his rival, turned himself into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever since, or, as others have it, for grief and fright hung and choked himself in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of Achilles or plenty. This poet's dodge of serpents, bulls, and horns, seems to have taken its rise from the ferpectine turns and windings, and likely also from the rapidity and noise of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough said to be the off-spring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two sources, where it divided itself, and the plenty which these brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by some other way made serviceable to feretile the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the cornucopia."

(B) This fierce and monstrous creature had done so much mischief about the neighbourhood, that Meleager king of the country, who kept his court at Calydon, was forced to call to his assistance a great number of the flower of Greece to destroy it. The chief of these were Theseus, Teleamon, Telamon, Pallas, Pallas, and Jason all of them the faithful companions of Heracles, besides a number of other heroes. To these we may add the famous Arcadian priest Ablautus, who behaved with such uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occasion, that Meleager became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may guess at the height of this monstrous boar by the length of his tusks, Pausanias tells us that one of them was still preferred in the temple of Bacchus in the imperial gardens, says it was above a yard long (10). The poets pretend, that it was sent by Diana as a punishment to Oeneus, for having forgotten her when he sacrificed to all the gods before the close of the harvest. Pausanias adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to Argos, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was perished by the Argolic king to return thither and die there.

(10) Arcad. c. xliii. 
Chap. 17. The History of Elis, &c.

It was chiefly in such
excusive exploits that they signalized their courage, without striving to enlarge their
territories, till some of the Grecian wars invited them out of their dominions, particu-
larly the Theban war, as we may see by-and-by.

It were, however, needless here to give a lift of their kings, many of whom have
been known to ancient authors by little more than their names. We have already
occasion to mention some of the descendants of Aetolus, namely Calydos, Oenous the
father of Dejameira, and his son Melaeus (C); and to these we shall only add the two
heroes of his race, who signalized themselves, the one in the Theban, and the other in
the Trojan war.

The first of these was Tydeus another son of Oenous, by Althea. We have alread-

had occasion to mention him in the histories of Argos and Thebes. In the first of
their kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manslaughter, he and Polyneices
having married the two daughters of Adrastus, these three princes went jointly against
Thebes to recover Polyneices's right; and here it was that Tydeus performed such glori-

uous exploits against Eteocles, as we have given an account of in that famous war be-

tween the two contending brothers.* He was there at length mortally wounded by
Menalippe, but before he expired, he had the satisfaction to see his enemy's head
brought to him by the brave Amphibias, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out
his brains and swallowing them.

His son Diomedes was one of those who signalized themselves at the Trojan war,

he had indeed the good fortune to return safe from it, but meeting with a worse
enemy at home in his faithless wife Egueste and her paramour Cometes, he was forced to
retire into Aetolia, where he shared that kingdom with Daunus, as we have been
seen above†. From this time we meet with nothing considerable in the history of this
nation, except a few warlike excursions which they made in conjunction with some of
the great states of Greece, in which they assisted sometimes as allies, and sometimes
as auxiliaries, and which have been already interpersed in the history of the foregoing
kings, till the famous Achaean league which proved so fatal to them, and of which
we shall give an account in its proper place. The rest of their time was spent in mu-

tual excursions between them and their neighbours the Dorians and Locrians, of

whom we are to speak next, and especially with the Ozoleans and Acraronians whose

territories lay on each side of Aetolia. These two last being more obscure and in-

conspicuous than any of the rest, the reader will find all that we think needs to be

said of them in the following note (D).

* See before, Vol. II. p. 357. F. & seq. 374. & seq. "Apollod. Ir iii. c. 7." † See

before, ibid. p. 359. c.

(C) The false says, that when Althea this prince's

mother was brought to-bed of him, she gave the three

fetal sibs fitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a

bitter out of it, said, the boy should live as long as

as it remained unburnt: as soon as they were gone,

he got up and quenched the stick, and replaced it in

a safe place.

When Melaeus came to the kingdom, he

unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two un-

des at the killing of the boar mentioned in the last

note. That young prince having preferred the head

of it to Acalante, who had given it the first wound,

and they endeavouring to take it from her, the con-

tention raged to such a height, that the expiated

prince killed them both. Aetolia, seeing her two

brothers killed, fell into such fury, that the ran to

the fatal branch which she had faved, and flung it

into the fire, upon which her son was immediately

feared with a burning fever in his bowels, and soon

after expired.

Pausanias, who tells us that this fabulous story

was devised by an ancient tragic poet, named Phe-

nys, supposed to have flourished about the 67th

stadium, do not give us a much better account

of this prince's death, when he tells us upon the

credit of two other poets, that Apollo killed him

with his own hands, because he had taken the part of

the Aetolians against the Corintians, mentioned a

little higher, and in whose favour that god had de-

clared himself (11).

(D) The Ozoleans, as we observed in the geo-

graphy of Aetolia, were situate on the east of that

kingdom. It was a small territory lying on the

north coast of the bay of Corinth, and extending

itself about twelve miles northward, where it was

contiguous with Locris. On the west, it was bounded

by the river Evonius, which parted them from A-

tolia, and on the east they had the kingdom of

Phocis, spoken of in the close of the fifth section

of this chapter. Its chief towns were Naupactus,

situate on the mouth of the river abovementioned,

which was often contended for by the Aetolians,

and at length became wholly theirs. It was called

by that name from the Heroidae building their

navy there, with which they invaded Peloponnesus,

but is now known by that of Lepanto, and was tak-

en by the Venetians by Bajazet.

The Ozoleans bid fair to being some of the an-
tientest inhabitants of these parts, if we admit the
eponym which some give of their names, and that

they were called so from the fens, which their

cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild

beasts

(11) In Phocid. c. xxxii.)
The fabulous and heroic Times.

Book I.

The Locrians were either the same people with the Ozolian, mentioned in the last note, or so blended with them, that they are not easily to be distinguished by their names, or indeed by any thing but their situation. In this respect they were divided into the Loci Ozoile abovementioned, which inhabited the southern or maritime parts. 2. The Loci Epicenimidis, so called from the mount Ceenis; these were situate in the middle: and 3. The northern Loci, firmamed Ouantii from their chief city Opus or Opaeus, near the coasts of the Aegae or Euobcean sea; authors, however, are not so well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of these ancient nations. 8. Ancient indeed, if we consider that Homer tells us, they came to the Trojan war armed with bows and slings, and that the Ozolianos, as it were a colony into Italy under the conduct of their princes Evos and Ajax, and build a city there where the Zephyrian promontory, from which they were called Loci Epicenidous.

The Ozolian Locrions were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of Phocis, of which we have given an account in a former section. Their chief city was Ampsis, situate on the Euxine. Herodotus calls it Amphicea, and the inhabitants Ampsiffa. It was afterwards taken by the Phocians, and destroyed with the rest of the Phociot cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, the Pausanius tells us, it took the name of Ophitea, if the text has not been corrupted by his transcribers. (E). The Epicenimidian Locrions were the only ones of the all who.


beasts without any dressing) gave to their bodies: for this was all the dress which the first inhabitants of Greece used, till Pelasgius and some other founders taught them a better, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the history of Arcadia.

Others think, that this flaxening name was owing to the flaxen of their rivers and marthes, and others again to the quantity of Aphodelus or Daffadial which grew in those places, one foot of which has an ill smell, and used to be fowled anciently over graves; a third affirm, that this flaxen was caused by the blood which the centaus Neftus (lattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by Hercules.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not so ill-fated is, that in the reign of Orpheus the son of Apollo, his bitch brought forth instead elfes, a thicks of wood, that which prince caused to be put into the ground, from which, when the spying came, a vine spray forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of Osei came not from Col, but from Afin, a branch or sprout; however that be, Pausanias tells us, the Locrions, who were likewise called Osilius, were so fill pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of Phocian (12), we shall speak of them in the next place above.

As for the Arcadians, their territories were parted on the east by the river Achelous, and surrounded by the Iouian sea on the west and south, and on the north joined to Epirus, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were anciently known by the name of Cares, but whether of the name race with those of the Celic nation mention in a former chapter, or, whether so Osires came not from Col, a branch or sprout; however that be, Pausanias tells us, the Locrions, who were likewise called Osilius, were so fill pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of Phocian (12), we shall speak of them in the next place above.

The name of Arcadians they afterwards received from Arcas, the son of Alcm. This Locr was a son of Amphionius the noted fourfryer, whose wife Erphila was bribed by Polynices with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the Theban war, for which reason he left orders with his son to murder her, as we have seen elsewhere. If he having executed his fathers commands, was so tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the Delphic oracle for relief, and was answered, that he could find out some country which had sprung up out of the sea, from his paricide, and did settle there, he should be freed from his mothers avenging ghost. After much seeking he found this spot of ground, which the Arcas had thrown up, and settled himself there.

He soon after married Callibus, the pretended daughter of the river, by whom he had two sons, Acras and Amphus, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the Arcadians and Caras was, that the latter flaved the forepart of their heads, and the others did not. Again, some seem to have the name of Carus from the mount Carus, and others from the Greek sages maidens, because they affected to go dreaf like young women, though in this latter sense it should properly be well said.

We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their connall wars with the Arcadians, at least during this epocha. The remainder of their history will be best seen in that of Epirus, of which they afterwards became a province.

(2) This last is more likely to be the case, both because Herodotus no where calls it by this new name, but always Amphicea, and more particularly because this last name doth better agree with the etymology which Pausanias himself gives of it, which is as follows (6). A petty king of that country, out of some fear for his young son, had caufed him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but as he was turned about and defended him. The father, coming at that instant, and in a fright misunderstanding the matter, let fly as than Ophitea, which killed both the serpent and his son, and when he was better informed of what these two doers, who had so the encounter, he caufed them to be both burnt upon the same funeral pile.

It seems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence Aphanis, both being carried to the same pile, which has no allusion to that or any other part of the story (17).
The History of Elis. &c.

who had a right to send deputies to the grand Amphictyonian court at Delphi. Their metropolis was Thebaid, mentioned by Homer, Pindar, and other ancient authors. They had another city called Cnemis, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Those who desire to know more of the ancient towns of note, cities, as well as of that of Opus or Opeo, belonging to the other Lorician tribe, may see an ample description of them in the authors above quoted. How they came by their common name of Loricans, whether they were colonies of one another, and if so, which was the ancientest, is past our skill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is that they were a brave warlike nation; and we shall in the sequel see, that they signalized themselves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of Greece.

§ Doris was situate on the south of Thebaid, being parted from it by mount Oeta and a ridge of other hills. It had on the south Pheoi and part of Aetolia; on the east it was parted from the Locri Epicarmides by the river Pindus, and on the west from Epirus by that of Achelous. Other rivers of note it had not. Mountains it had in great number, and thofe not inconceivable ones: the most famed were Oeta and Pindus, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with some others of left note, surrounded it on the north, as the Callidromians did on the west; yet it abounded with spacious plains and very fruitful: the air was sweet and healthy, and the soil capable of being improved to all advantages of husbandry. It's territories were not large, they extended only at most about forty miles in length, that is from 39° 10' min. to 39° 50' min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the widest, or from 23° 10' min. to 23° 30' min. east longitude.

This country was called Doris, and the people Dorici from Dorus, the son of Helen, and grandchild of Deucalion, who first peopled, or rather conquered, it, at least that part of it which lies below the mountains Oeta and Pindus; they were afterwards driven from it by the Cadmeans, and forced to inhabit for some time about Macedonia and the neighbourhood of Pindus, but returned soon after to Dryops (F), and the country about Oeta, where they continued till they met that famous descendent into Peloponnesus with the Heracidae, of which we have spoken in some former sections, and whither they carried also their dialect called from them Doric (G). Their chief city was called Doris from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and others. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Erineus, situate on the most northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part Doris from Macedonia, and mentioned by all the ancient geographers and historians. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

We have nothing remarkable left concerning these people before their naval descent into Peloponnesus, the particulars and success of which have been seen in the former sections, and need not to be repeated here. After their conquest and settlement

Doris.


However, the Dryopes valued themselves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themselves the sons of Apollo; wherefore Hercules having them in view, took them prisoners and carried them to Delphi, where he presented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that his to take him back with him into Peloponnesus, which he accordingly did, and gave them a settlement there near the Achaean and Byzantium territories; hence the Achaean came to be blended with and to call themselves Dryopes (18).

(G) The Dorians gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the Greeks, but was preferred most pure by the Messenians, even through all their various transmigrations, 2. to the Doric order, one of the five in architecture; and 3. to the Doric music, in opposition to that of the Lydians and Phrygians. These three kinds of music used to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated Pronnus invented a fourth fort, upon which he could pay them all indifferently (19).
The fabulous and heroic Times.

§ 414. Achaia Propria (H), so called from Acheus the son of Xuthus, was originally called Aegialia, from Aegialeus the first king of Sicily, as some affirm; others think, it comes from the Greek Aegialos, sea-farer, because above half of it is surrounded with the sea, but whether it was originally a part of the Siculic kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed seems the more probable, because the king, who reigned there when Ion the brother of Acheus came to invade it, is called Seleucus by the last quoted author, whereas there was no Siculean king of that name in the list we have left of them, unless perhaps Seleucus be the same with Telchin, or Seleban as he is also called, the grand offspring of Aegialeus. However that be, the country took then the surname of Ionian, and the people were called Aegialean Ionians; and it is likely, that that of Achaia was not given to it till the sons of Acheus came and invaded it, and drove the Ionians out of it.

Achaia had Sicily on the east, and the Ionian sea on the west; the kingdom of Elis and that of Arcadia on the south, and the bay of Corinth on the north; its utmost extent was from east to west somewhat above fifty miles, but from north to south about half that distance, being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23rd of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the Pierus which discharged itself into the Ionian sea, at the mouth of which was the city of Olenus, a famous sea-port mentioned by ancient authors, and so called from Olenus its founder, the supposed son of Jupiter, or, according to others, of Vulcan. We find another city of the same name in Aetolia. We shall have occasion to mention the rest of their cities in the following sketch of their history.

Xuthus, one of the sons of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, having been banished by his other brothers out of Thessaly after their father's death, under pretense that he had embezzled the royal treasury, came to Aubeis, where Erebalis gave him his daughter Creusa, by whom he had two sons, Acheus and Ion. After Erebalis' death, a dispute arising between his sons, Xuthus was chosen umpire between them, and having adjudged the succession to Cecrops II. who was the eldest, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and settled in Achaia, and died there. His son Acheus did soon after raise a small number of Athenian and Aegialean forces, with which he went into Thessaly, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-slaughter, and went into Lacotia where he died, and his posterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the Dorians and Heraclids.

But in the mean while his brother Ion, who was grown very great at the Athenian court, obtained a number of forces, with whom to defend this country, then called Aegialea. Seleucus then king of it, having but one only daughter, instead of repelling him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his successor. Ion, having succeeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name Helice, and from him the Aegialeans were surnamed Ionians; but the country seems to have retained its ancient name, since Homer, in the list of Agamemnon's forces, makes mention both of it and the city of Helice.

Ion was soon after chosen general of the Athenian forces in their war against the Elenians, and was either killed in it, or died soon after, and was buried in a small town of Attica. The crown, however, passed to his descendants, who enjoyed it undisturbed for a considerable time. In the mean while, those of his uncle Acheus, and known by the name of Acheans, had spread themselves in several parts of Greece, particularly in the kingdoms of Argos and Lacedemon. When therefore

† See before, Vol. II. p. 349. ‡ PAUSAN. Achaia c. i. § STRAB. MELA, &c. * Vid. BYZANT.


(H) It is called Achaia Propria to distinguish it from the general name of Achaia, by which Greece itself was sometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the Romans to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. Macedonia, containing Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus; and Achaia, containing all the remainder of Greece both inland and the islands about it.
they came to be driven out of these two countries by the Dores and Heraclide, they bethought themselves of laying claim to Achaia, and of driving the Ionians out of it. They had their brave king Tifamenes the son of Oreges at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of Xuthus; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some Dores, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The Ionians, surprized at such an unexpected messfigure, resolved, however, to oppose their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince Tifamenes, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government; they therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the Acheans lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory and pursu’d it to the very gates of Helice. The Ionians thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into Attica, where Melanthus then reigned and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitour Ion had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their affixity against the Dores whom he now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when Midon’s brethren, unwilling to submit to their lame brother, invited them among other Grecians to go and seek their fortune elsewhere.*

As for the Acheans, their prince being dead and the Ionians gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this little kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the Greek writers; namely, 1. Helice mentioned above: 2. Aegion or Aegium, to which the assembly of the states was removed after the submersion of Helice, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. Olenus: 4. Phares: 5. Rhypes: 6. Tritia: 7. Cerynea: 8. Bura: 9. Dynea: 10. Aeges: 11. Aegira: 12. Pellene. These twelve cities were at first divided between the four sons of Tifamenes, Diamenes, Sparton, Telles and Leonomenes; for as to his fifth son Cometes, he was already gone into Asia. These, together with their cousin Damafias, the son of Penthius and grandson of Oreges, having jointly reigned over this new Achaian state some time, agreed again to take into partnership Preagenes and his son Patrus, who were the sovereigns of those Acheans who had been banished out of Lacedemon, and gave them the sovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the last of these Patra. By what appears from this division of the Achaian government, it seems, as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in it we cannot find out; only it seems from the short sketch Pausianias gives us of it, that all these cities abovementioned, except Pellene, were in some measure free cities, and that the states of Achaia ceased not to assemble themselves, even when the rest of Greece was terribly harrassed with wars and pestilence. In this assembly it was, that the famous Achean league was formed, into which the Sicyonians came the very first, and were followed by all the other states, not only of Peloponnesus, but by those on the other side of the Isthmus; even at length by all Greece, except the Lacedemonians, who soon after entered into a war against them, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

The History of the Athenians.

CHAP. XVIII.

The History of the Athenians.

SECT. I.

Of the state of Athens, from the establishing annual archons to the Achæan league.

The Athenians acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the most glorious nation in Greece, when Greece was in her greatest glory, and which makes the Athenian name venerable, even in those distant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though Athens, as we have already shewn, was in ancient times, as indeed most nations were, governed by kings, yet those kings were far from being absolute. The best of them prescribed bounds to themselves, and the people prescribed bounds to the worst. For the Athenians were always friends to liberty, and revered, even in the days of Theseus, such an authority in their hands, as engaged Homer to difference them from the other nations of Greece. The glorious death of Cadmus, who sacrificed himself for his subjects, and his sons disputing the succession, furnished the Athenians with a pretence for ridding themselves of kings. It was improbable, they said, that ever they should have for a good prince as Cadmus, and to prevent their having a worse, they could have no king but Jupiter. However, that they might not seem ungrateful to his family, they made his son Medon their supreme magistrate with the title of Archon; they afterwards rendered that office decennial, but continued it still in the family. The extinction of the Medontidae at last left them without restraint, upon which they not only made this office annual, but created nine Archons; by the latter invention they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehension of their Archons having time to establish an oligarchy, and so change the constitution. In one word, they aimed now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates dependent on the people.

That these magistrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve the order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was filled by way of election. The Archon, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called Basileus, i.e. king. He too had his peculiar function and his particular tribunal. The third had the name of Polemarchos, war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other nine had the title of Thesearchae, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these offices distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the abolition of the decennial magistracy in Athens. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct offices were founded, they are variously, and not very clearly, reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former, as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made: as the Romans allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word Rex, when it implied no more than


Ev. B. Chron. Pausan.
An exact Table of such of the annual archons of Athens as are mentioned in history.

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(A) The Athenian history takes up so great a part of those volumes which are left us of the ancient writers of Greece, that though little has been said by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of it, yet the industry of such as have laboured in this way, and by collecting the scattered passages of the whole writers, have formed treatises of the Athenian government under its several mutations; and, having given us such lights on this important subject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to set it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be necessary to give some account of those last mentioned authors, that such a subject of such a work should be treated, the Athenian policy, than the construction of this history will permit us to do, they may not be at a loss for guides. William Pufel, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was deservedly famous for his extensive learning, had written a very comprehensive treatise of the Athenian republic, conflicting of thirty-five chapters, wherein he handles concisely the functions of the Athenian magistrates, the rights of the people, and the dependencies of the several parts of the state; collection on each other (1). But if the futility of Pufel's leaves any doubt on the minds of the reader, Sigeon's four books, his scheme of the Athenian history, will sufficiently supply it. Sigeon was a man of much reading, vast diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the same kind which he composed (2). This excellent person was a professor in the university of Modena, and, by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired such a degree of knowledge in history and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As Sigeon exceeded Pufel, fo Sigeon himself hath been transcended by Ubbi Emminus, rector of the university of Groningen, who, having resolved upon a work of the same nature, made his description extend not only to the Athenian, but to all the republics of Greece, and ordering it so, that this description made but one-third part of his work, the two former parts containing an exact description of ancient Greece, and a regular history of its inhabitants, collected in the words mostly of original writers (3). If to these we add the almost numberless treatises of the very learned Menippe on every part of the Athenian government (4), there can no question be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly understood as any thing of the same nature can be. But as things are never perfect at first, so we hold it more reasonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the construction of the Athenian democracy to its settlement by Solon, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

(1) Tractatus de Republic Magistratibus Atheniensem.  
(2) De Republic Atheniensi Venetis.  
(3) Pers Grecias Opiis distinguendus in Tomis tert.  
(4) Tractatus de Republic Atheniensi Venetis.  
(Vol. II.)  
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The History of the Athenians  

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324 Hegemon
As we are obliged to gather the history of Athens at the entrance of this period from such passages in far later historians as have a retrospective view thereof, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several which remain, we know nothing more, than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better feeling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such persons were archons; because anciently the Athenian story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in Athens, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and that they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindered them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the ancient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, viz. that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the Athenians had no written laws, but every magistrate acted according to the principles of natural equity.

The more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the less easily were they governed. Merchants from Syria and Egypt very probably gave them first to understand the expediency of written laws, which might serve to rule the magistrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the Athenians would not be at rest without them; the same spirit, which had compelled former alterations in government, made it necessary now, that laws should be compiled.
and therefore the nobility pitched upon Draco to undertake this arduous employ-
ment (B).

Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last, year of the thirty-
ninth olympiad, when it is supposed he published his laws. Though the name of
this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten
lines together relating to him and his institutions, which is certainly the reason that the
collectors of Greek history have written so superciliously about them. We cannot
pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to
him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can.
He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endowed with high quali-
fications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the
same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down
for the government of Athens (C). He esteemed the taking away of life so high a
crime, that to imprint a deep and abhorrent tare in the minds of men, he ordained,
that whoever should be carried on even against inanimat things, if they had ac-
didentally caused the death of any person. So that for infanticide, a statute, which had
fallen upon and killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one
to keep it in Attica (D). Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the
same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but so it was, that
he punished all things with death, even insolence; and the taking of an apple was as
severely punished as faciilege, for which he himself attainted with the Epheta, a
court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many
respect, whence he is by some said to have instituted it, but that is a mistake. He
did indeed make it superior to the Areopagus, to which it was before inferior, and
Solon, restoring the precedency of the last-mentioned court, has been by a like mistake
reported to be the institutor thereof (E). Draco was far in years when he gave laws to
Athens; some have been of opinion, that he borrowed most of his principles from
the books of the Phoricians, but this can hardly be proved (F); certain it is, that his
institutions were not filed Nomoi, but Theois, i.e. not laws, but sanctions, as if
they proceeded from more than human wisdom (G); but this did not hinder their fall-
ing into dislike with the Athenians, even in his life-time; and as their dislike was
always fatal, he was obliged to retire from Athens, from whence he went to the
island of Egina, where he was received with the highest respect; but the favour of
the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the
Athenians. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to shew their regard for
him, threw, as the custom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and
the multitude of these being very great, they filled the old man, who was too weak
to disengage himself from that load, their inconsiderate kindness cast over him (H).
Aristotle tells us, that Herodicus was wont to say, That his institutions seemed rather
to have come from a dragon than a man, alluding to his name (I), and Demades rendered
himself famous by observing, that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood (J).
It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the
Athenian people, made that legislator have recourse to so harsh a method, for that
he was not of altogether so savage a temper, as he is generally represented, may be
probably conjectured from those fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by
time,

1 Pausan. Attic. 2 Putharch. in vita Solon. 3 Potter's Archæologia. Vol. i. p. 102. 4 Josc.
seph. cont. Apion. 5 Alcian. hist. var. i. viii. c. io. 6 Hesych. Illust. de Philos. 7 Rhel. ii.
c. 23. 8 Putharch. in vit. Solon.

(3) When it is said, that Draco first gave laws to the Athenians, it must be understood in an extensive
sense, for otherwise it is certain, that Ceres was the first who taught the Athenians to lead a social life,
and to become subject to the will of amongst them, that their wisdom might be made generally benefi-
cial. It is commonly believed, that Ceres gave those laws by her favourite Trigeteus, and we are
further told that those laws were, the whole body of
them being comprised in one line: Honour
your parents; Worship the gods; Hurt not animals. (5).
These precepts were retained likewise by Draco,
and made the very foundation of his institutions,
yet notwithstanding all this, he was in the senate
we usually take the word in, the legislator of the
Athenian, since he first restrained the magistrates
from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, clearly
declared what actions were criminal, and in what
manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) Porphy. de Alcistenaia.

* The authors having in the history of the Phoricians, Athenians, and Aetolians, added five years to the time between the flood and the birth of Christ, making it 3205
B.C.; it is thought proper to take notice of it in this place.

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The History of the Athenians.

Book I.

4.22

The time, and from the knowledge we have of his being strongly inclined to poetry, a

fifty-fold more agreeable to cruel minds (C).

Nothing considerable happened at Athens from the time of Draco's archship till that republic engaged herself in a war with the Mystifiens about the city of

Sigeium, which was feasted near the mouth of the river Scamander; the Athenian army was commanded by Phrynion, a person equally remarkable for the consternation of his form and the generosity of his mind. The Mystifiens were commanded in chief by Pitaxias, one of the famous fages of Greece; as these commanders looked on the honour of their several countries to be engaged in this business, they exerted their utmost abilities with equal success. At last these chiefs met in single combat, wherein Phrynion depended on his valour only, but Pitaxias made use of craft; for he concealing behind his shield a net, therewith suddenly entangled Phrynion, and easily flew him; but this not putting an end to the war, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, interposed, and both parties having submitted the dispute to his arbitration, he decreed, that Sigeium should belong to the Athenians. This happened in the third year of the forty-third olympiad (D).

About seven years after this war was ended, Athens was torn by civil dissensions: Cylon, a man of a most ancient family, fon-in-law to Theagenes tyrant of

Megara, whose affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whose great riches procured him many dependants, forming in his own mind a design of seizing the supreme power; this he communicated to such as he thought were fit to be treasured: with a secret a secret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to consult the oracle of Apollo, when would be the fittest time for them to put this design in execution. The oracle answered, When the citizens were employed i. celebrating the biglefe feast to Jupiter. Cylon and his associates waited therefore for the forty-fifth olympiad, and, when many of the Athenians were gone to the olympic games, the conspirators made themselves masters of the citadel. Megacles, who was at that time archon, with his eight associates and the whole power of Athens, immediately besieged them therein, and Cylon and his party found water, that is to say, what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their escape, but the meaner sort were left to shift for themselves (4). In this extremity they fled to the temple of Minerva, and took sanctuary therein; Megacles persuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themselves upon their country; when they attended to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddess and carried the clew with them, to demonstrate that they were still under sanctuary; but unfortunately.

o Vide Note C. T Polyb. lib. i. c. 25. Plutar. de Malign. Herodot. 4 Hi-

r. 1. c. Thucyd. lib. 1.

(4) Archilochus speaks very lightly of Draco's laws. He says, they had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (G), which expresss, as I apprehend, hath given occasion to the censures of many other authors. With respect to Draco's laws, what frequent still remain put in our power to decide either for him or against him. Paraphrath hath preserved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors and in private only, with good words, first-fruits, and animal libations (4). This seems to have been a commentary on Tripolyam's laws, and is declarative only, the manner in which the gods and heroes only may be worshipped. Hesychius (S) mentions a law, whereby a person, eating himself in the temple of Apollo, was adjudged to suffer death. It is highly likely, that, amidst the disturbances which made law necessary, Draco's law, or at least thought he law, a necessity of punishing very severely, since the majority of the people was grown to such a pitch, that nothing but harsh measures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extraordinary severity of his Thespiac or Spartan, like

an edge too finely ground, hindered them from striking deep, so that by degrees they grew and diffused, so that the commonwealth found more in need of new laws, than ever the flood in need of Draco's.

(D) The war between the Mystifiens and the Athenians about the city of Sigeium hath not only learned to this of the need of any brotherhood. Herodotus distinctly say any thing of Pitaxias in the account he gives of this business; but Plutarch alludes as an one insufficiency of his malignity, and the little accli-

mation he had to do any but the Athenians justice (9). But then Plutarch, in commending excessively Pitaxias's enmity Phrynion, seems to speak a little prejudiced on that side, at least as the rule of honour are now settled. Polybius tells this story without making any farther comment thereto, than that Pitaxias was undoubtly the first inventor of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the Romans in their fleet; but with this difference from Pitaxias's behaviour, that the Retians fought openly with his net and his daggers, whereas Phrynion thought nothing of a net till he found himself intangled in it.

unnately, as they passed the temple of the furies, the line snapt of itself, and Megacles and his officers, contriving this into a renunciation by the gods, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as fast as they could: such as were without the temple were immediately dispatched: such as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none escaped but such as bribed the wives of the officers of justice. Thus it seemed not put an end to the sedition: the passion of Cylon’s faction created great disturbances, not by pretending to dominate over their countrymen, but by intimating that the violation of Minerve’s sanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the crosses that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. These disasters had such an effect, that Megacles and his officers were filled execrable, and held to be persons under the peculiar displeasure of the gods. What happened in consequence of this we shall hardly fece: In the mean time let us observe, that the oracle of Apollo justified itself, by declaring that Cylon and his adherents mitook the feast; that intended by the oracle being the Diaolia held in Athens to the honour of Jupiter, and not the olympic games.

While Athens was in this confusion the Megarensians attacked Nisa, and, having taken it, afterwards drove the Athenians out of Salamis, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the Megarensians, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success and afflicted with the mighty misfortunes they had received, the Athenians made a law, that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of Salamis. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears and frightful appearances, this moved them to consult the Delphic oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be expiated. Upon this Nicias was sent to Greece to bring from thence Euphrides the Prophet, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to Athens took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; thence he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose there, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. Euphrides directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, viz. the chapel of Centaurus, and the chapel of Impudence. He is reported to have looked withly on the port of Myrina for a long time, and afterwards to have said to those who were near him, How blind is man to future things, for did the Athenians forese what mischief will one day be deviced to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and seventy years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. During his stay at Athens he became intimately acquainted with Solon, who was already taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation. As for Euphrides, the Athenians were highly satisfied with what he did for them, and, in token of their gratitude, offered him presents of great value and considerable honours.

honours: but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive, and this being given him, he returned well-satisfied to Creta (F).

It was about this time that Solon, whom we before mentioned, began to fly himself to his countrymen, and to display those rare qualities which rendered him so beloved while living, and which have preferred him, for so long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every respect formed to make a figure in the Athenian commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he descended from Codrus; his mother was nearly related to the mother of Pisistratus, and he had a brother whose name was Drepis, who was archon the year after himself. We are told, that he was born at Salamis; however, we think, that may be doubted from certain verses of his, which we shall have occasion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generosity of his father left Solon in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandise, though he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the affluence of his friends; but this did not suit that great spirit of soul which he inherited; he chose therefore to travel and to merchandise, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not suffer that house to receive kind-nesses, whose custom it had been to bestow it. It is plain, both from his actions and his writings, that he was a disinterested patriot. The chaste decrees, that none under pain of death should mention the recovery of Salamis, grieved him to the heart; he therefore composed an elegy, consisting of a hundred verses, to inflame the minds of the people against the Megarians, who had taken them from their island. Having digested this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the marketplace as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the floor of

* Plutarch. in vita Solon.

(F) This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person, as we shall have occasion to shew in the history of Creta. Here we have nothing to say of him farther, than what relates to luridating or cleansing cities, Diogenes Laertius tells us, that he was the inventor of this art, or rather that he was the first that luridated the city of Cnosus, which, if spoken of Crete, may be true, for Mels had long before taught something of this nature to the Jews. This was prattled on the great day of atonement, which might very well be called the annual luridation of Jethro.

Upon that day the priest took for himself a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the priest offered for himself: then he cast lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of Jethro, and was offered; the other Jethro's, or as we translate it, the scape goat; the latter was presented also before the altar of God, and the priest, laying his hands upon him, confessed all the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their transgressions, which Mels called putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then sent away into the wilderness, because he bore upon him all their iniquities into a land of separation (13). The reader will easily see that we have given this account of the scape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is said of Epimenides's method of cleansing the city of Athens, which has a visible resemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the custom of some other eastern nation, which originally borrowed it from the Hebrews.

Thus was in ancient times illumination made: When any city groaned beneath the weight Of famine, plague, or worse calamity,
The History of the Athenians.

Chap. 18.

of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had composed to the people who had gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From Salamin, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous veres home.

But the most moving strokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following veres:

Rather than Albinus, would I owed my birth,
To Phelegeton, or Sicilian earth;
Since men will say, where-ever I am toft,
He's of that daffard race, who Salamin have loft.

It ended thus:

To Salamin let us renew our claim,
And, with the idle restored, restore our fame.

Pisistratus, who, as we before observed, was his near relation, mixed himself with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his persuasive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which Solon had kindled by his veres, so that a sudden the sentiments of the Athenians were wholly changed, and they determined to assert their right to Salamin, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not easy to say who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, some say Solon, and that Pisistratus accompanied him; others say, that Pisistratus went generally, and that Salamin affixed him with his advice.

There are various accounts of the manner in which Salamin was again reduced under the Athenian power, the most current story is, that Solon coming with Pisistratus to Colias, and finding the women busy there in celebrating according to the custom the feast of Ceres, sent a confident of his to Salamin, who, pretending to be a friend of that people, told the inhabitants, that if they had a mind to feize the father of the Athenian people, they might do it by passing over to Colias. The Megarians, giving easy credit to what this man said, presently fitted out a ship, which Solon perceiving from the opposite shore, immediately dismissed the women, and having drenched a sufficient number of bearded youths in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, they sent them to the sea-fide, to dance and divest themselves as the women were wont to do. When those who came from Salamin drew near the coast, and saw these young people skipping up and down, they strove who should leap first out of the vessel, and running one and all to catch these damsel's their ship was surprized, themselves murdered, and the Athenians, embarking on board their vessel, failed immediately to Salamin and took it. Polyennus has inserted this relation, and Plutarch also admits, that it was the current account of this business, he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner: The first


(Q) The name of Solon's father was Explophos, or, as most writers affirm, Exerxides, and we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithstanding his liberality and the nobility of his descent, he was fast from being confederate in Athens. Argive relations Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be because he was always honest; something of this sort seems to be implied in the following verses, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjust grow rich, and pious poor;
Woe would not change our virtue for their lore;
For constant virtue is a solid base,
Riches from man to man uncertain paws (19).

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in those days unconfined, and had no weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and published a great many poems; certain it is, that all he did in this way deserves the highest commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his subjects useful and sublime, and therefore Pindar had just reason to say, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the history he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revile and corrupt them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, or any other ancient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himself, he had a just and high idea of the power of verse, which he thought capable of making the strongest impressions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in prose with peculiar neatness of expression and perspicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a most pleasant and agreeable temper. He loved society, and made it his business to promote the welfare thereof, he condensed men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue and their proneness to evil in his view, adapting his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other; hence his instructions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for harshness and forcing human nature. The reader will excuse this short digression as to the character of Solon, since it is absolutely necessary for the framing of a right idea of his conduct as a legislator.

[20] In Timae.
The History of the Athenians.

Book I.

first thing Solon did, after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, from whom he received this reply:

Let sacrifice be to those heroes paid,
Who under the Aegonian ground are laid,
And dead, are by the setting sun survey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was so happy as to interpret it right. He guessed, that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were Poseidon and Cyclops, he felled therefore by night to Salamin, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five-hundred Athenian volunteers, who, in case they succeeded, were to have the government of the island. These he imbarqued in a galley of thirty oars and in a considerable number of filling boats, and setting sail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the isle of Salamin which looked towards Enbato. The next morning the whole island was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at last the Athenian galley was descried, the Megarensians thereupon manned out a float ship, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a sudden surrounded by Solon's armed boats, and quickly taken. The Athenians having put to death all the men surprised in this vestal, filled it with their choice youths drest in the Megarensian habiliments, which procured them an easy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haste on shore, and attacked those who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the Athenians marched by land, and attacked the city on the other side with such fury, that it was speedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event they instituted a solemn feast, during which an Athenian ship came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on shore, and ran towards the prymontary Scridium, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there stood a temple to Mars, which was supposed to have been created by Solon in memory of this victory which put the Athenians in possession of the whole island. The rest of the Megarensians retired to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with Solon. The Megarensians so highly reëstared the loss of Solon, that notwithstanding the treaty they presently sent new forces thither, against whom the Athenians fought, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune. At last it was decreed to leave this dispute to the Macedonians, who commissioned the following persons, viz. Crisolaideus, Amepuribotas, Hypphebidas, Axilus, and Cemones to bear both parties. Solon pleaded on this occasion the cause of his country, and some have suggested, that he practised a little fraud to make it go the better. They lay, that finding the following verse in Homer, Ajax from Salamin twelve frigates brought, he added thereto, and ranged his troops where the Athenians fought. From whence he would have inferred, that Salamin even at that time belonged to the Athenians. But the friends of Solon affiff, that this is an idle story, and that their great orator made use of quite another proof; he made it appear, say they, that Phileus and Eurydes the sons of Ajax settled at Athenes, and, being received into the number of citizens, gave up that island to the Athenians; Phileus becoming a considerable person, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the perfons buried in Salamin lay with their faces to the west agreeable to the custom of the Athenians, and directly contrary to that of the Megarensians, who turned the faces of their dead towards the east, and that moreover only one person was laid in a grave, which likewise corresponded with the practice of the Athenians, and differed from the Megarensian custom, which was to bury three or four in one grave. It would be needless to trouble the reader with any farther circumstances of this debate; let it suffice then to say, that we are informed by Hellan, Solon carried his cause not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of strong arguments, urged in plain and periphrastic terms. On the return of Solon to Athens he was highly estoled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occasion of admiring his wisdom. It happened, that the inhabitants of Cyrrhia, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incursions wafted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself from a great
The History of the Athenians.

The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed shore,
This response struck the army with surprise, from whence Solon extricated them,
by advising Clybnes to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of Cirrhia to the Delpic Apollo, whence it would follow, that the sea must wash the sacred coast.
Pausanias tells us, that he made use of another stratagem, which was this, he cau'd the channel of the river Phlesus to be turned, which run through the city of Cirrhia, hoping thereby to have distrest the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed, which as soon as he perceived, he cau'd a vast quantity of hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the Phlesus, and when the waters were thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he cau'd the river to be turned back into its old channel. The Cirrhians, overjoyed at the flight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was pretently taken. Some authors have attributed this to Clybnes, but that was because he commanded in chief, and Solon was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were severely punishec, and Cirrhia became thenceforward the arsenal of Delphi.

When Solon returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order, the remnant of Cylon's faction began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their source from the anger of the gods, occasioned by the impious cruelty of Megacles and his faction. It happened, that the los' of Salamis a second time coincided with this clamour, and now, as many writers report, Epimenides came and lulurated the city, which is indeed highly probable, if there were but sufficient authority to fix his arrival at Athens to low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history: Solon interpsoed on this occasion, and perfused those who were filled execrable to abjure a trial. To this when they had conformed, three-hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one Myron of the Pheiiusian ward taking upon him to prosecute, which he did with such effect, that the three-hundred condemned fitch of Megacles's faction as were living to perpetual banishment, and cau'd the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeas'd, and Athens became once more at rest.

The turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of Attica would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the Athenians into three parties, the Diacriti, Pediri, and Palli; the first of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing, that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof defined a mixt government. In the middle of these debates there sprung up a new cauf of trouble, the rich, taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer fort in such a manner.

manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as Plutarch tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of their produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, so that some were made slaves at home, and many fold abroad; nay, to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many fold their children to pay their creditors, and others in despair quoted Attica and went elsewhere. Such, however, as had more spirits than the rest were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be borne; these began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough, that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free such as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a reparation of lands. In this desperate situation the citizens in general cast their eyes upon Solon. Those who were in greatest fear of what might happen from present troubles were for exalting him to sovereignty; nay, the most prudent Athenians, when they considered how difficult a thing it would be to reform to disorder a commonwealth by law and reason, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewise affirmed, that the oracle of Apollo advised the same thing in the following response directed to Solon:

Assume the helm, the ship with prudence guide,
And thousands will assist to stem the tide.

What rendered Solon so popular was a saying of his, which all liked and few understood; it was this, "Equally breeds no strife;" the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and state. Those therefore who agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in their respect towards him; the rich were contented to submit to his decisions, because he was himself a man of fortune, and the poor desiring nothing from one so mild in temper, and so remarkably honest. The private friends of Solon encouraged him to lay hold of so fair an opportunity, and to assume the regal dignity, adding, that it was a shame for wise a man should be frightened with a name, and reject a legal sovereignty because it resembled tyranny. This great man withal did like the delires of the many, and the persuasions of the few; he assuaged the former, that he would never become master of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a spot of power might seem, it had this misfortune, that it had no paffage out; and when his intimates laughed at this resolution of his, and quoted the example of Tyndar tyrant of Eubea, and Pittacus at that time prince of Mytilene, he contented himself with writing thus to Phocas, who it seems preffed him most, to shew that he was steady in his resolution:

That I have Athens spair'd, prefervd my fame,
Nor fail'd my glory with a tyrant's name:
That, when I might have kill'd, I chose to save,
I blush not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than molt men have.

It was upon this occasion that Solon showed a spirit of patriotism, which perhaps never had its equal: He condescended so far as to make use of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatness of soul dissembled with and cheated both parties, that he might save all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could with, and might have done his country good too; he refuted this as far as it might have benefited himself, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonstrated, that neither fear nor indolence had any share in his resolution.

He was chosen archon without having recourse to lots, and, when he was chosen, he disappointed the hopes of both parties, where-ever he found things tolerably well under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reason and necessity of those changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, "That those laws will be best observed which power and justice equally support." He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he esteemed right, and therefore he answered a persons who asked him, whether he had given the Athenians the best laws in his power; I have established the best they could receive; knowing well, that it was an impossible thing to please all, he made it his utmost care not migtly to displease any, whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

Plutarch. ubi supra. Diogen. Læst. ubi supra.
As to the main occasion of the feititon, viz. the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which he styled *Sfiahthia*, i.e. a discharge; but what this was authors are not agreed on. Some say, that he released all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making of any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm, that the poor were not only by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and increasing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth seventy-three drachmas only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable, that the *Sfiahthia* was a total discharge or remission, otherwise *Solon* would hardly have boasted in his verses, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortgages which were every where frequent; for the *Athenians* had a custom of hanging up billets to shew, that houses were engaged for such or such a sum of money; that he had freed from apprehension such as were driven to despair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage such as were slaves in their native soil. In the midst of all his glory an unlucky accident befell him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almost overturned all his schemes. *Cronus*, *Chimæs*, and *Hippocoon*, his intimate friends, having been consulted by him on an occasion, he had prepared to engage the people to consent to the discharge of debts, on a promise that he would attempt nothing as to lands; these men, betraying the trust he reposed in them, borrowed great sums of money, and purchased estates before the edict came out; this was at first thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this asperity was presently wiped off, when it appeared, that *Solon* himself was a sufferer, as some say, five talents, others seven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at interest, and which in consequence of his own law he lost: his friends, however, could never recover their credit, but were for ever stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Oortropeids*, i.e. Debt-finders.

The *Athenians* were as little pleased with *Solon*’s management as with his former condition; the rich and the poor were equally dissatisfied; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, because he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongst them. It is from *Solon* himself that we have this account, and we have it in his usual manner, that is in verse,

I was your darling heretofore, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a fairest with his place.

In a short time, however, they had wit enough to discover that they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at least a more public, if not a more general, token of their repentance, than they had shewn of their displeasure; for they instituted a solemn sacrifice in testimonium of their acquiescing under his institution, and called it *Sfiahthia*, at the same time they unanimously elected *Solon* legislator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their constitution as he thought proper.

The first thing this great man did, after his country had conferred upon him so extraordinary an office, was, to cancel the laws of *Draco*, excepting only those relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, since there is nothing more dishonourable, and at the same time more dangerous, to a state than latent laws, i.e. such as are diffused, and yet in being, which was the case of *Draco’s*; their severity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he suffer his institutions to bear the same name, as we have already shewn. It was the desire of *Solon* to act in all respects moderately, he therefore resolved to place the premier order, as we phrase it, or supreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five-hundred *Medimmi* or measures of fruit, these he titled *Pentacostadimmi*, these paid a talent to the public treasury. The second clafs consisted of such as were able to keep a horse, or were worth three-hundred measures, they were...

were filed Hippodatamenus, i.e. bound to find a horse; the third class was made up of such as were worth two hundred measures, they were filed Zongita, which implies a middle rank, because they stood between the knights and the lowest order of the people, who were filed Thetes; these were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general assembly of the people, which was thought at first a matter of little consequence, so that the nobility gave themselves no pain about it, though in after times it was found of the highest consequence, as Solon foresaw it would be; the reason of this was this: Solon purposely drew up his laws in obscure terms, and allowing in all cases an appeal to the people, doubts often arose, appeals were consequently frequent, and hence, though the common form could not attain to magistracy, yet they had a mighty power in the state. Solon himself was so well satisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in these words, which shew at once what a regard he had for their ancient constitution, and for the people in general.

The commons I sufficient weight allow'd,
Honour from none I took, on none bestow'd;
In power or wealth, those who the reft outshin'd,
Within just bounds I by my laws confin'd;
Thus I preferred, what did to each belong;
That neither high, nor low, might suffer wrong.

Herein consisteth the ancient democracy of Athens; but because that kind of government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, Solon, in order to secure it, established two checks; or, if we may be allowed to make use of his metaphor, threw two anchors to secure it. The first of these was the court of Areopagus, which, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the Ephete. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but Solon made it a rule, that such only should have a seat therein as had served the office of archon; this had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the Areopagites very high, and rendered their decrees so wonderfully venerable, that none contended or repined at them through a long course of ages. The second of the Athenian commonwealth was the senate, which Solon made to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. These had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly till digested by them; so that, as far as he was able, he provided against a spirit of arbitrary power in the rich, and a desire of licentious freedom in the commons; the Areopagites being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb on the latter.

The general frame of the republic thus settled, he gave the Athenians next a body of laws, of which we have still some remaining; these were so much esteemed, that the Romans sent ambassadors to Athens to transcribe them for the use of their state. As these transcribed laws became the basis of the Roman jurisprudence, which has since been received almost throughout Europe under the name of the civil law; we may with reason affirm, that many of Solon's constitutions are yet in force. Such as are ascribed to him by ancient authors we shall give a concise account of in this place.

We will begin with one of the most extraordinary statutes enacted by this lawgiver, and which has given politicians the most trouble to understand; we are obliged to A. Gellius for preserving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus:

"If through discord and dissension any sedition or insurrection rend the people into two parties, so that with exasperated minds they take arms and fight against each other; he who at such a time, and in such a cafe, shall not engage himself on one side or the other, but shall endeavour to retire and separate himself from the evils fallen on his country, let such a one, losing houses, country, and estate, be sent out an exile." Ciceron, speaking of this law, by some slip of his memory, makes the penalty capital. Plutarch explains the reason of it, as does the author first cited, who highly commends it and says, that though at first sight it may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it; for the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some
The rules which Solon gave for bestowing of heiresses have been very harshly cenfured; we will put them together, that the reader may see the general intent of the legislator. The next of kin to an heiress may require her in marriage, and she may likewise require him; if he refuses let him pay five-hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who poffefleth such an inheritorix by law, as her lord and master, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her husband's nearest kindred, and let him who has married an heiress be obliged to visit her thrice a month at least. The intent of these injunctions was, that neither a rich heiress might carry the estate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her husband's nearest relation, it might possibly be made in terrorum, to prevent perfons who knew themselves to be impotent from marrying rich heiresses, whereby such a one defrauded him, to whom by this law the woman was to have recourse, of his due.

He enacted, that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns and some fine household goods of little value, and that the bride and bridgroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that Solon desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied, that their discourses ought to be pleafant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet, the earthen vessel, which was called Pervagatos, signified, that the undertook the burdens of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

He ordained, that none should revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceased. This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none should revile any living person at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmas to the person reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against flander. This great man knew very well, that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing, that the passions of private men should not disfigure religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or public diversions, and that no passion should excite calumny.

Before Solon's time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but Solon, having abrogated this custom, enacted, that such as had no children might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to confuignity; but then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by ficknels, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife; wherein he showed his great wisdom by making no distinction between actual constraints and those imposed by art, both having the same power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewise ordained, that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the estates to the relations of the persons who adopted them.

With respect to women and their expenses, he made the following laws: when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, not to carry any provision above the value of an obolus, her pannier or bafket was not to be above a cubit in bigness, nor was the allowed to walk in the street, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbid them likewise to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of such as they had no relation to; he allowed not, that an ox should be sacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments.

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garments should be buried with them, and he forbade women to approach the monuments of persons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; these laws were particularly transcribed by the Romans.

The liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at Athens drawing thither a great concourse of people from other parts, Selon forewarned, that this would have had consequences, if some means were not devised to make these people industrious; he therefore established by law, that a son should be released from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in case that father had not bred him up to some trade. He visited the court of Areopagus with a power of examining how people lived, and of punishing idleness; he allowed every man a right to prosecute another for that crime, and in case a perdon was convicted thereof thrice, he suffered Atitius, i.e. Infam., Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus agree, that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt. It is probable therefore, that Selon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them, a practice for which the Greeks were famous, though at the same time they filled those nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed.

The husband who surpried his wife in adultery was allowed by Selon to kill the adulterer: whoever ravished a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmae. He who defaced himself so low as to become a pandar, except to a common woman, suffered a fine of 20 drachmae; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or wife to the scandalous trade of prostitution, unless he first surprised her with a man: he enacted, that no adulterer should be permitted to adorn herself, and in case the did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

To the victor at the Isthmian games, Selon adjudged the reward of five-hundred drachmae. To the victor in the Olympic, he ordered that one hundred should be given. He contrived the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleness by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families.

He directed five drachmae to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a she-one, the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Atica was at this time extremely infested by these creatures, of which this law occasioned a speedy destruction.

Water being extremely scarce at Athens and in its neighbourhood, he ordained, that where there was a public well, all who lived within a Hippicon, i.e. four furlongs of it, should have leave to use it. They that lived further off were bound to dig wells for themselves, but if a man dug a ten fathom and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of six gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever sunk a well was to take care, that it was as far distant from his neighbour as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to see that it was five foot distant from his neighbours, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine, a hive of bees was to be thirty feet distant, all these tended to the fame end, viz. to prevent one man from trespassing on the property of another.

He enacted, that whoever refused to maintain his parents, or had wafted his paternal estate, should be atimns, i.e. infamous. It seems Selon did not conceive, that a man could be privately bad and publicly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents should prefer it to the state, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had spent his own.

Such as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbade to make orations, believing, that men without shame were not to be troubled to speak to the people: Demosthenes highly commended this law, and exhorted the Athenians to take care that it was put in execution, as the surest means to preserve the peace and honour of the republic.

He forbade a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant: some say, that he forbade likewise a guardian to marry his son to the mother of his ward. All these were beyond question.

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Chapter 18.

question made to hinder collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

He enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings they sold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed, that he should lose both his; as to theft, Demosthenes gives us Selin's law in these words: "If any man steal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven officers; if he steals anything by night, it shall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the pursuit to wound him, and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is convicted of such offences as are liable to chains, shall not be capable of giving bail for his theft, but his punishment shall be death; and if any one steals out of the Lyceum, or the Academy, or Gymnæum, a garment, or small vessel of wine, or any other thing of little value, or from vessels out of the gymnasia or havens, he shall be punished with death; but if any man shall be convicted privately of theft, it shall be lawful for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also at the pleasure of the convictor, besides payment of money, to put him in chains five days and as many nights, fo as all men may see him bound."

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be punished with death, Selin wisely conceiving, that a magistracy of such an offence must be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in case a man surpriefed his wife in adultery and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in case of disobedience to disinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned such as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worship. He appointed it for a statute, that a citizen of Athens should be tried nowhere but at Athens, and that the eldest citizens should first make orations, but with the greatest modesty, and without any endeavours to flatter the passions of the people; afterwards he ordered, that all should speak according to their seniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wise they might be esteemed, either to become magistrates, or to make orations to the people.

It was a maxim established by this wise legislator, that the common people should be punished slowly, but magistrates and persons in authority suddenly, afflicting for it this reason, that the former might be punished at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expense of which were in his time excessive, Demosthenes recites his directions in these words: "Let the dead bodies be laid out within the house, according as the deceased gave order, and the day following before fun-fires carried forth; whilst the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow: it shall not be lawful for any women to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under three fore years of age, except such as are within the degree of cousins." Cicero reports, that with respect to sepulchres, he enacted, no man should demolish them or bring any new thing into them, and that such should be punished as demolished any monument erected to the memory of the dead. From these laws of his instituting it appears, that his philosophy did not lead him to tread upon those notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he sought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the same time permitted all reasonable honours to be paid to the memory of such as were defunct.

We will conclude our account of Selin's laws with two or three which had more regard to the society, than to the interest of private persons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any Athenian might have his action against him; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided against the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquiesce, yet a person of equal rank with the aggrieved, might, either out of a principle of justice or of rivalship, commence a prosecution on that account. Selin instituted laws in the common halls under the title of public Meetings, but he forbade, that...
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Book I.

that the same person should be entertained often, and ordered such to be fined as did not come in their turn, attributing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a contempt of the public b. He forbade any strangers to be naturalized at Athens, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to Athens, had brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interlocutor in another place: he provided for the children of such as were slain in the service of the state, by directing, that they should be brought up and instructed at the public expense till they were twenty years old c. He made but few laws relating to religion, and against prejudices he made none, affixing for it this reason, that he scarce believed any Athenian would be so wicked d.

He showed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for considering that the course of the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun, but that sometimes the overtook and underlapped him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called the half and the third, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which succeeded to the new. The next day he ordered to be called Nonemenia, i.e. the new moon, and for these alterations he is reckoned by Plutarch to have been the first who understood a vertic in Homer, wherein mention is made of a day wherein one month ended, and the next began (H).

(H) It is a point worthy of observation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation as much from the length of their wits as of their arms, and that though some excelled in valour, others in wisdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. Hercules, so famed for his labours, instructed the Cyclops in astronomy, which he learned from Atlas, and is then said by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his shoulders. Numa, as he gave laws to Rome, reformed the Roman calendar, and in succeeding times, Julius Caesar, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this science of astronomy, but as a consummate master therein. Such also was Solon for the times in which he lived, for though some have pretended to ascribe the honour of introducing astronomy into Greece to Oenopion of Cos, or Anaxagoras the Athenian, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it: the first principles of this art came certainly into Greece with its first planters, and were from time to time cultivated by such as either came out of Egypt or the east, and settled in Greece, or had at least travelled into those countries. Pytheas the Miletian, and Peripatetes the Samian, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly bodies, which Hesiod had attributed to the Greeks, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to Homer, in whole poems we meet with the first fruits of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find, that he defies the heroic age, as divided not into months, but by the seasons. The returns of fixed-time and harvest, the constant revolutions of labour and rest in consequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, served well enough to mark the succession of events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in that great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle 21, as he elsewhere introduces Achilles measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not inter alia from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of Homer; the contrary appears from several passages in his poem, and particularly from this very line which Solon is said to have been the first who penetrated to the finite:

'This is the end of the poem of the Athenians'.

When one month ended and the next began two. Solon divided the year into twelve months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding that this year did not answer the measure of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is only to perceive, that this method of Solon must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a residuum of almost ten days in a year 22. When Solon discovered this, and not only discovered, but discovered its cause, at least in principal cause, which was Solon's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which Solon found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account ten what has been laid above in a clear light, and with what justice Solon was applauded for his skill as an astronomer; let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: he did not reduce the number of months which Thales had fixed, but directed, that each of them should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred and forty-four days; but perceiving, that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which was thus: at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years he ordered, that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated; now if we take all these together we shall find, that the number of days in Solon's cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred sixty-one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty-five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. Solon likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, filled the beginning, middle, and ending; each of these consisted of ten days:

(21) Iliad. v. 84. (22) Iliad. p. 3.

(23) Odys. iii. 161. (24) Disp. lat. 1.
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He procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and caused them to be conferred in different tables. Such as related to private actions in paralelograms of wood, with cufes which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axeis*, placed first in the citadel and then in the Prytanæum, that his people might see them when they pleased, and some remain there of them even in Plutarch's time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices were contained in triangular tables of stone called *Cyber*; the Athenian magistrates were sworn to observe both; in time, these monuments of his willom became so familiar, that all public acts were from them named *Axeis* and *Cyber*, as we are informed by Harpocrates and Suicas.

After his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them, which importunities made him to uneasily, that to avoid them he resolves to travel. For he considered, that not to answer these people would argue pride, and that the answering them would begot great inconveniences; with this view he bought a ship, and, pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the Athenians to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

It will not be amiss to interrupt the Athenian history here, in order to inflect our promised account of the republic, a thing so necessary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the sake of perfunctuy we shall not tie ourselves to the form settled by Solon, but give a concise history of the Athenian government, as it subsisted in succeeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to insert notes for the explaining of such terms which may once for all be rendered familiar, by introducing such an account of the Athenian commonwealth in this place.

In the first place it will be necessary to take a short view of the city of Athens. In the most early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of Cecropia from its founder Cecrops, whom the Athenians in after-times affirmed to have been the first builders of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence Polis, i.e. *The city*. In the reign of Erichthonius it lost the name of Cecropia, and acquired that of Athens, on what account is not certain; the most probable is, that it was so named in respect to the goddess *Minerva*, whom the Greeks called *Athena*, who was always esteemed its protectress. This old city was seated on the top of a rock in the midst of a large and pleasant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increased, became full of buildings, which induced the division of *Arca* and *Catopoli*, i.e. of the upper and lower city; the extent of this citadel was sixty furlongs, it was surrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as some say, with a strong palisade; in succeeding times it was encompassed with a strong wall in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the rest small. The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himself from the treatise written expressly on this subject by a learned person already mentioned. The most remarkable of these were,

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*Plut. ubi supra. Pollxu, viii. 10.* 
*In vocibus *Atheus & *Kepos.* 
*Pluarc. ubi supra.* 
Harpocr. *Aríst. ubi supra.*

When the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In reckoning of the two first parts they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, i.e. the first day of the moon beginning, the second of the middle moon, but with respect to the first part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of falling in the second day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance that must be carefully noted; for without being aware of it, it is impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors. As for instance in *Archeologists*’ comedy of the clouds, a man speaking of the manner in which interest became due, reckons the days thus: *five, four, three, two, and the most abominable of all days that of the old and now moon. Thus much as to Solon’s knowledge in astronomy, we shall in its proper place give a farther account of the Attic year."

(1) This learned person is the celebrated *John Menoeto*, to whom the learned world indebted for the most laboured pieces which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a Dutchman, but he studied the civil law at *Oxford*, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his passion, towards Greek

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were, The magnificent temple of Minerva, famed Portunus, because that goddess was a virgin; the Periades destroyed it, but it was rebuilt with still greater splendor by the famous Pericles, all of the finest marble, with such skill and strength, that, in flight of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the first antiquity in the world, and stands as a witness to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of Athens in her flourishing state. The temple of Neptune and of Minerva, for it was divided into two parts, one sacred to the god, in which was the felt-fountain said to have sprung upon the stroke with his trident, the other to the goddesses protector seas of Athens, wherein was the sacred olive which the produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of Erechtheus, both which edifices are still remaining. At the back of Minerva's temple was the public treasury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treasurers, who, having misapplied the revenues of the state, took this short method of making up their accounts. The lower city comprehended all the buildings surrounding the citadel, the fort Muncheia, and the havens Phalerum and Piraeus, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by Pericles, but that on the south by Themistocles; but by degrees the turrets, which were at first erected on these walls, were turned into dwelling-houses for the accommodation of the Athenians, whole large city was now become too small for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. Among the principle edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of Theseus erected by Conon, near its central adjacent there the young people performed their exercises. It was also a Sanctuary for disfranchised persons, slaves or free: it remains intire to this day, and is used as a church, being dedicated to St. George. The Olympian temple, erected in honour of Jupiter, the honour of Athens and of all Greece, the foundation of it was laid by Pheidias, it was carried on but slowly in succeeding times, in seven-hundred years elapsing before it was finished, which happened under the reign of Adrian, who was particularly kind to Athens; this was the first building in which the Athenians beheld pillars. The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods, a most noble structure, supported by marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horses carved by Praxiteles, it is yet remaining, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak of the present state of this famous city. In several parts of it were Stoa or porticoes, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a fleet of philosophers were denominated stoics, because their master Zeno taught in those porticoes. There were at Athens two places called Ceramias from Caramia the son of Bacchus and Ariadne, one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all sorts, the other in the suburbs, in which was the academy and other edifices. The Gymnasium of Athens were many, but the most remarkable were the Lyceum, Academia, and Cynosarges. The Lyceum, a bank on the banks and hills, some say it was built by Pheidias, others by Pericles, others by Lycurgus. Here Aristothele taught philosophy, instructing such as came to hear him as they walked, whence his disciples are generally thought to derive the name of peripateics. The Ceramias without the city was at the distance of fix stadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is some dispute; some affirm, that it was so called from Aradus, an ancient hero, who, when Helen was stolen by Theseus, discovered the place where she lay hid to Polyb and Polyxe, for which reason the Lacedemonians...
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When they invaded Attica, always spared this place. Dicarchus writes, that Coson and Ptolemy had two Arcadian soldiers in their army, the one named Ecclesios, the other Marabon, from the former of whom he says this place took its name, and that the borough of Marathon was so called from the other. It was a marily unwholesome place, till Coson was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleasant and delightful, being adorned with shady walks, where Plato read his lectures, and from thence his scholars were filled with the arts. The Gymnasium was a place in the suburbs, not far from the Lyceum; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnasium erected there, appointed for the special use of such as were Athenians only by one side; in after-times Themistocles devoted to himself the whole, by carrying many of the nobility to exercise with him here, because being but of the half blood he could exercise no where else; in this gymnasium Antiphon instituted a fest of philosophers, who from the name of this district, as many think, were filled Cynics. The havens of Athens were three, first the Piraeus, about 35 or 40 stadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before-mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city; it had three docks, Canterbury, Aphrodias, and Zea, the first was so called from an ancient hero, the second from the goddess Venus, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticoes, which joining together formed one great one called from thence Macra Stoa, or the long portico; there were likewise two great markets or fora, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The second port was Myntidia, a promontory not far distant from Piraeus, a place very strong by nature, and afterwards rendered far stronger by art. It was of this that Epimenides said, if the Athenians ever knew what mischief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away with their teeth. The third was Phalerum, distant from the city according to Thucydides 35 stadia, but according to Pausanias only 20. This was the most ancient harbour of Athens, as Piraeus was the most capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K).

The people of Athens were freemen, sojourners, or slaves, the citizens, called in Greek Polites, were never very numerous, but what may be called strange were as many in the time of Corcyra, as in the most flourishing state of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty-thousand. It was Solon who decreed, that none should be accounted free, but such as were Athenians both by father and mother. After his time it fell into disuse, till revived by Pericles, and again at his instance repealed. After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants Solon's law was restored. A person born of a stranger was filled Natobus, a bastard, whereas the son of a free woman was called Gynos, i.e. legitimate. There was in the Gymnasium a court of judicature, to which

(K) If Athens eclipsed other cities by her fame for arts and arms, she was no less conspicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic testimonies, the accounts given us by ancient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers; we had once an intention of comparing these, but considering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the course of the history, we have chosen to defer the description of Athens, as it now stands, till we come to speak of the present state of the city. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that Thucydides, an author who wrote expressly on this subject, affirms, that Athens in her glory was a day's journey in compass; those who have thought this account too general inform us, that it was one hundred seventy-eight stadia in circumference, that is, something more than twenty-two Roman miles. After it fell from its ancient splendor, it endured great variety of fortune. Sylla destroyed it without mercy, made it #touch overflow with blood, and taught it most lofty buildings to submit to the flames. It provoked Julius Cesar by an obstinate refusall, but when it submitted at last, he contented himself with saying, That he punished the raising for the sake of the dead, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They were with Brutus against the triumvirs, and with Antony, who called himself a Lover of Athens, against Augustus. Tiberius, or at least his son Germanicus, favoured them, but it was to arrive, who had been archon of their city, that the Athenians owed the revival of their ancient glory. The succeeding emperors took a pleasure in adorning it, but the Goths, in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, destroyed it as they did the other cities of Greece. Theodosius the second out of respect to his empresse caused it to be re-edified. This may serve to make the description in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that must be referred to the subsequent part of this history, of which it will be the proper subject; the curious reader may, however, if he pleases, consult the very learned Mommsen, in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).
which causes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmost care was taken to prevent any from being enrolled Athenian citizens, who had not a clear title thereto. 8. The citizens, for at present we will not meddle with the strangers and slaves, were divided by Cecropes into four tribes, the first called Cecropidae from Cecropes, the second Aetolopon, from a king of that name, the third Aetatai from Aetos another king of Athens, or rather from Ata which signifies a shore, the 4th Paraliai, these names were altered by Cranes, and again by Erebonus. In the reign of Erebonus they were again changed, the folders were called Oplitai, the craftsmen Ergatai, the farmers Georgoi, the graziers and shepherds Agiascurai; in this state they were when Solon settled the commonwealth, and appointed the senate to be composed of four-hundred, one hundred out of each tribe. 9. Cecropes increased the number of the tribes to ten, and made the five hundred city of five hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe; in succeeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was subdivided into its Demoi or wards, and with respect to these it was that Solon instituted the public feasts before-mentioned, at which sometimes the whole tribe assembled, sometimes several wards, and sometimes only the inhabitants of one ward. The second fort of inhabitants were mentioned were called Metoeci, i. e. strangers; these were persons who lived always at Athens, yet were not admitted free denizens, for such as did not confoundly reside in Athens they were called Xenoi, i. e. strangers. The sojourners were obliged to humble out of the citizens protectors who were called Patrons, they paid several services to the state, and besides these an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and fix for every woman. But such as had sons, and paid for them, were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were fined by the tax-masters and actually fold for flaves, which, as Diogenes Laertius tells us, was the fate of Xenocrates the philosopher; the sojourners in Athens were under the same law as those in Athens; as to servants, they were free men, who through indigency were driven to wages, and while they were in this state had no vote in the assembly; as to flaves they were absolutely the property of their masters, and as such were used as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear clothes, or to cut their hair like their masters, and which is indeed amusing, Solon prohibited them from loving boys as if that had been honourable; they were likewise debarred from anointing or perfuming themselves, and from worshipping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in most other respects were used as dogs. They dignified them at their pleasure, that is branded them with letters in the forehead and elsewhere; however, Theseus's temple was allowed them as a sanctuary, where if they were exceedingly ill used they might fly, and thereby oblige their masters to let them be turned over; in this and many other respects the Athenian slaves were in a much better condition than those throughout the rest of Greece; they were permitted to get edicts for themselves, giving a small premium to their masters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ransom; they likewise obtained the same favour from the kindreds of their masters, or for having rendered military services to the state; when they were made free they were obliged to chuse patrons, and had likewise the privilege of chusing a curator, who, in case their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them. Having thus spoken of the people in general, let us return to the consideration of the Athenian citizens in their political capacity.


12 In Cecropis's time the citizens were as we have said above, twenty-thousand; under the administration of Pericles, when the Athenian power was at its greatest height, they were not so many (28). When Demetrius the Plataeian professed over them there was an exact account taken of the several forts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by Athenaeus, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand sojourners or foreigners, and four-hundred thousand slaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for without it it would be a difficult matter to account for the smallness of the Athenian armies. At the time of Cecropis's poll the whole number of his subjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens, but when Athens rose in power and glory, they set a high value upon this dignity. Menon, who set them a supply of two hundred horse, was refused the freedom of Athens when he defined it 190, Pericles king of Macedonia, who had done them great services, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus slighted in respect to persons

28 Plutarch. in vit. Pericles. 29 Deisoph. lib. vi. 30 Potter's Arch. Rel. I. p. 44.
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The general assembly of the people, which Solon, as we have shown before, made the derrier resort, was called Ecclesia, and consisted of all the freemen of Athens, excepting such as were atimoi or infamous. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man’s judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place, in the Prytaneum, or in the theatre of Bacchus; as to the latter, the magistrates, who appointed the extraordinary meeting, appointed also the place where it should be held. If any sudden tempest rose, or an earthquake happened, or any sign notoriously inauspicious appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy consequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary course of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the assembly was held, which was done by sprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and that heaven would bestow a happy issue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter exclamation against any who should in that assembly propose what might be disadvantageous to the state; these ceremonies over, they proceeded to business. There were several magistrates who had the overreaching and regulating of these assemblies; there were first the Eupitheoi, or president of the assembly, who was chosen by lot out of the Proedri; his office was to give the signal for the peoples voting; next to him were the Prytaneis, i.e. a committee of the senate, who of course were present on this occasion; by their order a Programma, or scheme of the business to be proposed at the assembly, was previously set up in some public place, that every man might know what business to apply his thoughts to. The Proedri were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the Prytaneis did not belong; they had the right of proposing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the assembly; thereate with them aiforoi, who were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the first step to business was the cryer’s reading the decree of the senate whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in their words: "Who of the men above fifty will make an action?" When the old men had done speaking, the cryer made proclamation again, that any Athenian might then offer his sentiments whom the law allowed so to do, that is, all such as were above thirty years old and were not infamous. If such a one rose up

refers of high quality, they were more pliable to the wishes of the oligarchy. Heuropeis the title was readily admitted a citizen of Athens, but the same favor was granted to all the inhabitants of Naucratis for their favorable action in the Peloponnesian War. It was only the general assembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unless resided in a second assembly, wherein fifty thousand citizens were present. And as this honor was generally held by persons of eminent distinction, the people were divided, some by passing into the latter, others by not, so that no sort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all these considerations, it appeared, that the person on whose behalf it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power vested in taking it away in the court of Areopagus, and in the presence of this court, sitting in the Areopagos. As to the foreigners or fugitives, though they were incapable of the honors belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any criminal action, they had a fort of half freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters, were on the same foot with free denizens; thus they were allowed to keep a slave (32). Such Athenians as through poverty became servants, were called Patres i.e. except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independence, they were referred to their votes, and their freedom was no more impeded to them as a bar to their preference (33). As to slaves, they on their coming to a new place had a handomne entertainment given them, and sweet-meats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service, which, if they fell into good hands, was sometimes easy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.


Having spoken of the people, their privileges, and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which, as we have already shown, was instituted by Solon to prevent the dangerous conseqences of leaving the supreme power in the people; at the same time of his institution it was to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe; it was increased to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten; and when they came to twelve, it was also swelled to six hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of such persons belonging thereto, as were fit for the presidency of each tribe; these names were engraved on tablets of bronze, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amounts of them, among which were a hundred white ones, put into a vessel, ten, the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and such as were drawn by the white beans were received into the senate. After the senate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preside in the senate: these were the Prytanes before-mentioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one vessel, and nine black beans and a white one into another vessel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean answered presided first, and the rest according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they presided was thirty-five days, and was called Prytania, the Attic year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors say, that the first four Prytania contained thirty-five days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation consisted of 352 days; but others affirm, that these four days did not belong to any of the Prytania, but were spent in the election of magistrates, and that during this space the Athenians were without magistrates. The Prytanes while the senate conisted of five hundred were thirty in number; for the farther avoiding of confusion therefore, ten of them presided a week, during which space they were called Proedri, and out of them was chosen, whose office lasted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reason of this was, that he had no one to succeed him; the custody of the public seal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer. The reader must distinguish between the Epitraphes and Proedri last mentioned, and those spoken of in the former paragraph, because though their titles were the same, their offices were perfectly distinct. The senate assembled by direction of the Prytanes, once a day, excepting festivals, and sometimes oftener, in the senate house, which was then called Prytanion. When a member of the senate made a motion as a new law, it was immediately engraved on tablets, and the members when they came next might be prepared to speak to it; at the subsequent assembly the epistates opened the matter, after which every senator that pleased delivered his sentiments, then any of the Prytanes drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote; and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became a law, otherwise it was of no force longer than the senate decree it. The power of the senate was very great, for they took the account of the magistrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the provisions made for the poor citizens out of the public treasure; they had the superintendence of the public prisons, and a power of punishing such as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewise of the fleet, and besides all these they had many other branches of authority, which it is not necessary for us to mention. Before they took their seats they were constrained to undergo a very strict examination, wherein the whole course of their lives was enquired into; and if the least flaw on their reputation appeared they were set aside. When this examination was over they took an oath, whereby they bound themselves to promote in all their counsels the public good, to advise nothing contrary to the laws.
and to execute their functions exactly. The highest fine the senate could impose was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender defereed a heavier mulct, they then transmitted the caufe to the Thejinaebeba, who punished them as they thought fit. The senators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the less to do, they always punished such of their number as they found offended by expulion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled senator was notwithstanding eligible to any other office, the most trivial omission being sufficient to procure a difmission from the senatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes chose their senators they also chose a certain number of subsidaries, out of which when a senator was expelled another was substituted in his place. Each senator was allowed a Drachm every day, for it was a constant rule with the Athenians that the public ought to pay for every man’s time, and therefore such of the poor Athenians as thought fit to demand it had three Oboli for going to the assembly. If during their administration any ships of war were built the senators had crowns decreed them; but if not they were forbid to fuc for them. The senate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the Athenian state, we will now speak of the other.

The court of Areopagus was so called, because it assembled on a hill not far from the citadel called Areos Pago, I. E. Mars’s hill. Some say, that Mars was the first criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who instituted this court; some ascribe it to Cercops, others to Grammos, and many to Solon, among whom though Plutarch and Cicerio are reckoned, yet it is certain, that they were mistaken, for Aristotle affirms directly the contrary; nay, Plutarch himself cites a law of Solon’s, wherein the sentences of the Areopagi are mentioned as things of an old date. The source of this error seems to be Solon’s restoring the power of this court, and making it superior to the Ephesia, whom Draco had made superior to it. It is very difficult to ascertain the number of which this court consisted, because authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though some say only such of the Thejinaebeba, as had given an account of their administration before the Legible, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this senate; this was Solon’s institution, and was strictly observed for a long course of years, whence it became the most sacred and venerable tribunal in Greece. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was seen to be sitting in a tavern or public-house, it was sufficient to bar his admission. Demosthenes affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been questioned. They had cognizance of all capital caufes, and with them the intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect; ’till Pericles lefSen their power they were a check upon the people; they could, if they thought fit, cancel the sentence of an assembly, where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the management of the public funds, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices, to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing of idleness, and, in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he meant, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live disolutely in Athens on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profuion such a person would have been conveyed before the Areopagi. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of myths, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. Plato therefore, having learned in Egypt that there was but one God to be conciliated for terror of being questioned by the Areopagites, and St. Paul was on this account arraigned before them as a biter-forth of strange gods, when he preached Jesus and Anoglogia, i.e. the reformation. As to state affairs, the court of Areopagus rarely meddled in them, unless in times of public calamity, when the citizens fled to them as their last refuge. They met

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met three times every month, viz. on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if any sudden occasion required their assembling, they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is observable, that this court always sat in the open air; secondly, that they decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant, their passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the Baisileus or second archon, who in right of his office had a seat amongst them, but before he took it he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the Areopagus, we shall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occasion to inflict it in a note. All the great men of Athens paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal till Pericles rose, who, because he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took such a pique to them, that he left no means untried to diminish their authority and fink their credit, which by the help of Ephialtes he effected, causing most of the bufins which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, nor without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the Athenians, and, in consequence thereof, the ruin of this state.

We come now, having spoken of the Athenian people, the senate, and court of Areopagus, to the magistrates. The chief of these were the Archons or Archbats, they were, as we observed, nine in number, and were chosen by lot; but after they were chosen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the senate house called Anacrifu, the other in the Forum called Dictynnsio; in these they were asked who were their ancestors, whether by three descents they were Athenian citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to Apollo Patrius, or Jupiter Hercules, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had fared the appointed times in the wars, had the office required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; these questions some think were put to exam all the other magistrates: these demands being satisfactorily answered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in these words: I will be impartial in the observance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this respect, I will for every such default conferate a statue of gold as big as myself to the Delphi Apollo. These ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, some parts of which they executed separately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of punishing with death such malefactors as deserved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, and had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of inquiring into the conduct of other magistrates. As the reward of their labour in the service of the public, they were free from all taxes whatsoever, and if any was so hardy as to strike or affront them, he was punished with infamy. The first of them was sometimes filled Eponomos, because the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all causes between men and their wives, all matters relating to posthumous children, dowries, legacies, and testamentary. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide such disputes as arose between neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feasts and the regulation of stage-plays were also within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature wherein he heard causes; if even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he forfeited death. The second archon, who was filled Baisileus or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controversies among priests, took information on impiety, blasphemy, and such-like crimes; he presided in all the great feasts, and afflicted in all the public sacrifices for the prosperity of the republic. It was required, that his wife should be a citizen of Athens and a virgin, and she too was filled by the Athenians Baisilea. Accusations of murder were first lodged in his court, and then he introduced them into the court of Areopagus. The Polamarchus or third archon had all fairs and markets within his jurisdiction; he was bound also to offer a solemn sacrifice to Mars, and another to Diana, and to take care, that the children of such as lost their lives in the state should duly receive the maintenance settled on them by law. As it often happened, that these three magistrates, by reason of their youth, were not so well skilled in the laws and customs of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their respective offices; they chose each of them two
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a grave and distinct persons who underwent the like examinations with themselves, to mix with them as affoei, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their posts. The other six archons were filled Theofaneis; they had one common tribunal where they heard causes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, settled the court-days in the several judicatures of Athens, took care that no laws should be passed contrary to the interest of the public, and prosecuted such as endeavoured to persuade the people to give their consent to any such laws; they were likewise obliged every year to examine the whole Corpus juris, in order to discover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of statutes about the same thing, or whether there were any so doubtful as to render it impossible to know their true sense, which if there were, then the Theofaneis drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the state of the cause; this was hung up in a public place, and the next assembly of the people voted which of the laws should be preferred, and which repealed or altered. Inference to the archons there were many public magistrates, will be necessary to mention some of them, because they will frequently occur in the course of this history. In the first place they had Nomophylaces, who were also filled the eleventh, because they were so many in number, one chosen out of each tribe, and a clerk or secretary who made up the seventeenth. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to seize robbers and other capital offenders, and if they confessed to put them to death. Dr. Potter thinks they resembled our sheriffs. The Phyarchi were the presidents of the Athenian tribes; but in this time this became a military title. The Philephileis was an officer in each tribe who did the same things within his jurisdiction, as the Bogileis did with respect to the state. The Demarchi were the principal magistrates in wards, the Lexarchi were fixed in number, and were bound to take care, that the people came duly to assemblies; in their custody was the public register of citizens' names; they had under them theis who were executors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their fort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of Aristophanes; they were generally Scythians, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded. The Nomarchi were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and inspect into the laws. There were two forts of orators in the service of the state, for were appointed to defend an old law when a motion was made to repeal it, and that had their fees from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these there were ten settled orators called Retores, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their flat fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus: "Let no one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who hath refused to serve in the army, who hath thrown away his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd women, notoriously effeminate, or has run out his patrimony. If any man who has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him be brought to trial upon the spot." Let an orator have children lawfully begotten, and an estate within Attica: if in his oration he talks impertinently, makes idle repetitions, affects an unbecoming airiness, digresses from the point in question, or after the assembly is over abuses the president, let the Preside fine him fifty drachmas; and if that is not thought enough, let him be brought before the next assembly and fined again." We shall conclude this draft of the Athenian government with an account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the Areopagus, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence filled, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, &c. When an Athenian was at leisure to hear causes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he presented to the Theofaneis, who returned it again with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who presented him a scepter, and gave him admission. When the causes were over, every judge went and delivered his scepter to the Preside, and received a flat fee for every cause that was tried. But as this intended
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intended only to compensate their loss of time, so that there might be no appearance of covetousness, a man was forbid to fit in two courts on the same day. The first criminal court, after the Areopagus, was that of the Ephete, of the institution of which the reader has already had an account; it consisted of fifty-one members, all upwards of fifty-one years old. Draco gave it a very extensive jurisdiction, but Solon took away from them the power of judging in any other causes than those of manslaughter, accidental killing, and lying in wait to destroy; the Baphians entered all causes in this court. The second criminal court was called *Delphiinion*, because it was held in the temple of Apollo Delphinus. *Prytaneion* was the third criminal court, it held plea of such cases where death ensued from inanimate things; causes were heard here with the same solemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occasioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of Athens. This judicature was as ancient as the reign of Erechtheus, and the first thing tried therein was an ox, where with one of Jupiter's priests killed an ox which had eaten some of the consecrated cakes, and who, as soon as he had committed the fault, feigned himself by flight. The last criminal court was called *P预定um*, it sat in a place not far from the sea-shore, and such persons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings of this court were so severe, that they did not permit the criminal to come on shore, but obliged him to plead his cause in his vessel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and seas. Of the judicatures for hearing civil causes, the first was the *Parabolon*, so called, as some think, because in it no matter could be heard, if the cause of action was above one drachm. The *Cainon* or new court was the second tribunal. The third was called *Lycus*, because it assembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whose statue, which was represented with the face of a wolf, was set up in all the courts of justice. The *Trigonon* was so called, because it was triangular in its form. The court *Matthias* derived its appellation from the architect who built it. The sixth and last court was called *Helicon*, it was by far the greatest, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges sitting in the open air exposed to the sun. All the Athenians, as we observed before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to fit in these courts as judges. But before they took their seats were sworn by Apollo, *Patrios*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the king*, that they would decide all things righteously, and according to law where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules of natural equity where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who sat in the court last mentioned, is reported by *Demosthenes* in these words: "I will give "sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of Athens and the "council of five hundred; I will not consent to place the supreme power in the "hands of a single person, or a few; nor permit any man to disturb the com- "mewlock, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such "a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make a "division of lands or house: I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor "pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city con- "trary to the laws and decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor per- "mit any other person to do it: I will not elect any person into any public employ- "and particularly I will not create any man *Areton*, *Hieronemon*, embassador, "public herald, or fynedras, nor consent, that he shall be admitted into any of the "offices which are elected by lots upon the same day with the archons, who "has undergone any former office and not given in his accounts; nor that any "peron shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the same office in one year: "I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit "any other person to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to per- "vert justice in the court of *Helicon*: I am not under thirty years of age: I will "hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in al- "the causes brought before me: I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*, if I
violate this oath or any part of it, may I perish with my whole family; but if I religiously observe it, may we live and prosper." The Hellepontic court confined at least of fifty, but its usual number was five-hundred, judges, when causes of very great consequence were to be tried, a thousand men therein, and now and then the judges were increased to fifteen hundred, and even to two thousand; there were many inferior courts in Athens for the decision of trivial causes, but of these there is no necessity of speaking, since we design no more than a succinct view of the Athenian republic, as it was fettled by, and in consequence of, Solon's laws.

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from Athens to visit foreign climates for the sake of acquiring wisdom. He went first to Egypt, where he conversed with Ptolemy the Heliopolitan and Sonchis the Saites, the most learned priests of that age and country, from these he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things unheard-of by the Greeks, and particularly the situation and condition of the Atlantic life, of which he wrote an account in verse, which Plato continued. From Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof; this prince reigned in a little city called Apedia, i.e. bigb, built by Demophon the son of Theogen on an eminence near the river Clarus, but in a foil craggy and barren. Solon, observing, that there was a very pleasant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. Solon himself assisted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his scheme succeeded so well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to settle themselves therein, whence the king, whose capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it Solos. He is thought to have visited about this time Thales the Miletian, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance; Plutarch hath recorded a very singular passage which happened at this time; Solon enquiring of Thales, why, considering the happy situation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, Thales for the present made him no answer. A few days after he introduced a stranger properly instructed, who said, that he came ten days ago from Athens; Solon immediately asked him what news he brought from thence:

"I know of nothing extraordinary (replied he), except that the whole city celebrated the funerals of a young man, the son of a citizen most eminent for his virtues, who, it seems, went abroad upon his travels." Miserable man, cried Solon: But did you not bear his name? I did, returned the stranger, but I have forget it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice; Was it Solon? (said our philosopher) It was, answered the stranger. Upon this our legislator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himself. But Thales interposing with a smile, addressed him thus: These, O Solon, are the things which make me afraid of marriage and children, since these are capable of afflicting even to wife a man as you; be not, however, concerned, for this is all a fiction. Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, it is uncertain, Solon being deified by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, For this cause I weep. At Delphi he had an interview with the rest of the sibyls, and the year following at Corinth by Periander's invitation; some think, that at this time also he went to Crete and visited Epimenides, he likewise conferred with Croesus king of Lydia, as has been before related in the history of that prince. (M.)

While

(M) The interview between Solon and Croesus, there were in Plutarch's time many who thought it a fiction; and this great writer himself, though he thought it necessary to reject it in Solon's life, owns, that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to give the difficulties in the chronology which attended it. The very learned Mr. Dacier has the following note upon that passage: "Solon, they say, was ar. " when Heracles was archon, in the second year of the 31st olympiad. Now Croesus was not king till the first year of the 56th olympiad, which was twenty-two years after the death of Solon. How then are we to make this voyage of Solon into Lydia fall in with the reign of Croesus? Especially, if according to Plutarch, this voyage was performed even before the tyranny of Pisistratus. This is so full of difficulties and contradictions, that it is impossible to reconcile them, unless we agree with Plutarch, that the ancient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwithstanding the great labour and pains several persons have been at to regulate them (28)." Mr. Stealy fol.

(28) In vit. Solon.
WHILE Solon was abroad Athens fell all into confusion again. The three factions before-mentioned began to be more troublesome than ever; Eucyrus put himself at the head of the country people; Megacles the son of Alcmeon was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and Pisistratus placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of Solon were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, the way how to change for the better none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim Solon returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to bow him the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders of the state. But this, however, he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms, beseeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest.

Pisistratus, among all the principal persons of Athens, seemed to be most affected with Solon's discourses. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great familiarity in their dispositions. Pisistratus was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was blessed with a fair estate, so he was generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. He had always two or three flaves near him with little bags of silver coin; when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any were dead insolvent, he comforted the one with a proper sum, and buried the others at his own expense; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cause, and if it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman; he would not so much as suffer his servants to flout his garden or orchard gates, but allowed everybody to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest; he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. Solon penetrated all these appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to draw him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in Athens; and when he found this made no impression upon him, Solon said the same thing to others, that men might beware of his deceptions, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country.

About this time Theseus, who is generally esteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at Athens, with which the people were nobly charmed. Solon, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new diversion, and after the performance was over, addressed himself to Theseus in these words: "I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great an audience": Theseus replied, That there could be no harm in giving a fictive form to falsity, so that it were in jest; Ah, cried Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, if once we are played with your falsehood in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs.

The mischiefs, which Solon apprehended his kinman Pisistratus would bring upon the state, was not long before it came to pass; that great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use or to keep. With this

this view having wounded himself and (as Herodotus says) the mules that drew his chariot, he lashed into the market-place as if disturbed by his enemies, and shedding his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they deifying loudly their concern, Solon, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, son of Hippocrates, you do not all Homer's Ulysses well, since you deceive your fellow-citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country. A general assembly was presently convened, wherein Aристon moved, that Πιφράτας might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. Solon opposed it; he told the citizens, that if misfortunes befell them, they must not charge the gods with them, but themselves, for such evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to draw lies in the服役ments of truth, and that before they made innovations they should well consider the consequences. After him Πιφράτας spoke, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, Solon contented himself with saying, "You doat upon his words and soothing speech." The meeker sort of people adhering unanimously to the proposition of Ariston, and the richest Athenians remaining silent when they saw how things would go, Solon took his leave, saying, that he was wiser than some, and braver than others; wiser than those who did not penetrate Πιφράτας's design, and braver than those who did not oppose it. When he was gone the assembly proceeded to vote Πιφράτας's guard, and no number is so easily settled; it should seem from Plutarch's account that he had but fifty. Herodotus does not mention any number at all. Polybus makes them three hundred, but Solon himself in his letter to Epimenides says expressly there were four hundred; however, he made use of his guard to feize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to Herodotus and Plutarch, assumed the sovereignty. But Polybus had given us a very singular method of the which he took to put it out of the power of the Athenians to defend themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the Aνατίαν, and directed, that the people should come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, Πιφράτας harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he said, he pretended, that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and advised them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and Πιφράτας then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they listened with deep attention, Πιφράτας's guard conveyed away their arms, so that when he had done speaking, the Athenians saw themselves naked and all power of resistance taken from them. All historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction there was an assembly held, wherein Solon made a speech, inveighing against the meanness of his countrymen's spirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he set down his own arms, and contended himself with saying, To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and for my laws. Plutarch says, that he refused to leave his country, and that on Πιφράτας's sending to know what it was that inspired him with boldness enough to treat him in such a manner, he answered, My old age. But other authors say, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominions of Athens. About this time it is most likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in Cret.

Solon to Epimenides:

"Neither are my laws likely to benefit the Athenians long, nor have you done the city much good by your interruption. For sacred rites and wise lawgivers cannot alone benefit cities, since it is of great consequence, of what disposition those are who influence the common people; sacred and civil laws, if such men execute them well, are profitable, but if not, are of little use. My laws are now in a very indifferent condition, those in whom the government was lodged, making no opposition to Πιφράτας's designs, abandoned the state; this, when I fore-

He Στρατ. lib. i. ubi supra. 4 lib. i. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. Vide Epit. Solon. ad Plin. hist. pol. ubi supra. ubi supra. 5 Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. sect. ii. ubi supra. 6 Dion. Laert. in vita Solon.
The History of the Athenians.  

BOOK I.

"I foretold, I could not be believed, the Athenians crediting rather his flatteries than my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my arms before the magistrates, and said, that I was wiser than those who did not see Pheidippides aimed at tyranny, and flouter than those who were afraid to resist him. For this they looked upon Solon as a madman; however, I hesitated not to make this protestation before I departed; Behold, O my country, Solon ready to vindicate thee in word and deed; they again cried out that I was mad. Thus, finding myself alone in opposing this their tyrant, for you must know, my friends, that the man very artfully pos-

fessed himself of the sovereignty; he compiled at the first with the democracy, afterwards wounding himself, he came into the Euboea, exclaiming, that he was thus wounded by his enemies, desiring, that they would grant him a guard of four hundred men, which they, regardless of all I could say, compiled with; after this he dissolved the popular government. In vain I laboured to befoul free-

don on the manner of people, since now the people of all sorts are become 

Pheidippides' servants."

Pheidippides, in professing himself of the supreme power in Athens, did not overturn the laws established by Solon; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and left nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable. With respect even to Solon himself, he preferred for him the highest veneration, and was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, that he wrote to him the following letter to encourage him to return:

Pheidippides to Solon:

"I am not the only person among the Greeks who have acted in this manner, nor am I without right to the kingdom I profess, being the descendent of Codrus. That which the Athenians swore to preserve to Codrus and his heirs and yet took away, I have recovered. I offend neither against God or man. I take care to see those laws framed for the Athenians strictly put in execution, and suffer no one to do wrong. I claim no other privileges, though a tyrant, and in the honour and dignity, and accept no more than what was thought due to the ancient kings. The Athenians indeed pay the tenth of their effects, and to me, but for the defrauding the expenses of the public sacrifices, the other char-

ges of the commonwealth, and that we may have wherewithal to carry on a war

if we should be engaged in one. I do not at all blame you for discovering my intention; you did it out of regard to your country, rather than out of hatred to me; you were ignorant of the form of government I meant to establish: had you known it, you would perhaps have borne it, and not have gone into banish-

ment; however, return, and believe me without an oath, Solon shall never suffer hurt from Pheidippides; my very enemies have nothing to charge me with of that kind. If you will be of the number of my friends, you shall be the first, for I never observed anything of fraud or falsehood in you; if you are resolved to continue otherwise, live at Athens as you will, only for our sake do not deprive yourself of your country."

Solon to Pheidippides.

"I believe I shall not suffer any harm by you, for before you were a tyrant I was your friend, and at present am no more your enemy than any other Athenian who dislikes tyranny. Whether it be better they be governed by a single person or by a democracy, let both parties determine. I pronounce you the best of tyrants; but to return to Athens, I think not fitting, least I incur censure who settled an equality in the Athenian commonwealth, and would not accept of the tyranny, by returning, I should comply with thy actions."

Solon kept strictly to his word, and returned no more to Athens, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his decease was not agreed even in the days of Plutarch, who says, that H epitodes Ponticus affirmed, that Solon lived a long time after Pheidippides assumed the sovereignty, whereas Plutarch the Epitaphius reported, that he did not live after it quite two years; Aristides agrees pretty well with

3 Plutarch, ubi supra. 

Arist. Polit. lib. v. c. 12, 

Diogen. Laert., ubi eft, 

In vita Solonis, propria.
with this computation, for he says he died a little after, being decrepid with age; Diogenes Laertius informs us, that he reached the age of fourscore; but Lucian, however, will have it, that he lived a hundred and upwards; where he died is another very disputable point; some say it was in Cyprus, others not; Diogenes Laertius informs us, that he directed that his bones should be burnt, and their ashes carried to Salamin and scattered over the island. Plutarch treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the same time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly Aristeas. The Athenians, after the death of Salamin, paid him the highest honours, and erected him in the forum and at Salamin a statue in brails with his hand in his gown, the pofture in which he was wont to speak; which he certainly deserved for the meritorius services rendered by him to his country (N). But

At the very beginning of his administration, Megasles and his family retired out of the territories of Athens, but they did this with a view only to preserve themselves from being cut off to render his principality the furer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correspondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his associates entered into a treaty with Lycurgus and his party, and having brought them into a scheme for overturning Pausippus, they procured this with such effect, that he found himself obliged to retire, and seek, as they had done, shelter in a foreign clime; and the Athenians, notwithstanding all the instances of love they had shewn them, were so far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publicly sold. However, though this resolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no body but Callias who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehension, no doubt, that one time or other he would be revenged.

As Megasles and his party had negotiated with Lycurgus the ruin of Pausippus, so some time afterwards, finding, that Lycurgus and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with Pausippus, and to offer him, in case he would marry the daughter of Megasles, to reinstate him in his principality, to which Pausippus readily assented. It is easy to conceive, that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with success. Pausippus and Megasles resolved

(N) We have already said so much of the genius of Salamin, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we shall therefore take notice only of some remarkable passages which were related concerning his death, give a succinct account of his writings, and of the praises bestowed upon him by the most eminent among the ancient Romans as well as Greeks. The very last day of his life some friends of his fitting in the chamber fell into a discourse to which he listened with great attention; being asked the reason, he answered, I do this, that when I have learned somewhat what is it you dispute about, I may die (31). A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother finding an oec of Sappho, he was so well pleased with him, that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reason of this being also demanded. Is it, returned he, I may learn while I am departing out of this life (32). As to his writings, we find indebted to Laertius for the following account; his laws; orations to the people; poems; the historical history, which was his last work and left unfinished; again attempted by his kinsman Plutarus, and by him also left unfinished. Occasional epistles; amongst these there is the following one, preserved by Laertius, addressed to the tyrant of Corinth, who was esteemed one of the great sages of Greece; it is very short, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.


Solus to Periander.

You fend me word there are many who plot against you; if you should put them all to death, it would advantage you nothing; some one there may be of those whom you suppect not who plots against you, either fearing himself, or dreading you, or desirous to ingatrate himself with the city, though you have done him no injury. It is he, indeed, if you would be free from jealousy, to acquit yourself of the cause; but if you will continue in tyranny, take care to pro vide a greater strength of strangers than is in your own city; so shall you need to fear no man, nor put any to death (33). Plata, in various places, proclaims the wisdom, learning, and genius of Salamin (34); so also does Aristides (35); Dion Chrysostom speaks of him with the greatest respect (36), as an orator and legislator, as a warrior and a patriot; Demosthenes in a few words celebrated his praises (37); Cicero affirms, that before the times of Salamin and Pausippus eloquence was unknown (38); Seneca mentions Salamin with great respect (39), and Valerius Maximus, as he records many things relating to him, so he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, ancient and modern writers agree, that without flattery, Salamin might be filed brave, wise, and honest; how shall we commend him more?
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resolved to rest all upon an expedient which Herodotus styles a ridiculous project; but, as ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman, whose name was Phya the daughter of Socrates, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; she they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before, with orders to speak to the people in these terms, "Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to Pishfratus, who is so much honoured by Minerva above all other men, that the hero's descendants bring him back to the citadel." When the herald had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that Minerva was bringing home Pishfratus, and in the city the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddess, adored her with prayers, and readily received Pishfratus. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of Megdes, and out of gratitude to Phya gave her in marriage to his son Hipparchus.

It was not long Pishfratus enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so oddly restored; he had already observed, that he kept his word to Megdes in marrying his daughter, and it seems Pishfratus conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had children by a former wife, and that Megdes's family were held by the Athenians to be execrable, he never converted with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time he concealed; but at length mentioning it to her mother, the family so highly reented his proceeding, that Pishfratus instantly began to negotiate with the malecontents, which Pishfratus perceived, and seeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he gave more quieted Attica voluntarily, and retired to Eretria. There, as soon as he found himself in safety, he consulted with his sons what course was fittest to be taken in the present situation of their affairs. Hippias proposed the reducing Athens by force, which was agreed to, and immediately Pishfratus applied to several of the Greek cities to furnish him with men and money for the carrying this design of his into execution. Several yielded him their assent as they were disposed, but the Thessalians exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of Argives were quickly levied by the help of these subjects, and all things were much forwarded by the kinship of Lygdamis, a Naxian, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a considerable number of men, and advanced also a large sum of money. In the eleventh year of their settlement, says Herodotus, Pishfratus, with his family and the army he had drawn together, marched from Eretria and entered Attica. The first place they possessed themselves of was Marathon, and when they were encamped there they were joined by multitudes of Athenians, who loved the government of Pishfratus better than a democracy. It seems, the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous steps, though they knew that Pishfratus was raising men and borrowing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards Athens, they assembled all their forces to defend themselves and to repel the invader. In the mean time, Pishfratus advancing with his army from Marathon, arrived at the temple of the Pallas Minerva; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, Amphipolis, a prophet of Aesop, by divine impulse went to him, and pronounced this oracle in Hexameter verse:

The net is spread, and dexterously thrown,
By the clear moon-light shall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered these words, Pishfratus comprehending the oracle, and seeing he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time the Athenians having drawn their forces out of the city and taken their dinner, betook themselves afterwards to dice or sleep. So that the army of Pishfratus, falling upon them by surprise, soon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their escape, Pishfratus contrived an artful stratagem in order to dissuade them from entirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his sons to ride before with speed, and in his name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation. Thus Pishfratus became a third time possessor of the sovereignty of Athens, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly contrary

* Herod. lib. i. c. 51.
* Polyb. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21.
* Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 7.
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a contrary to that which Teles had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of Attica retire from the country, and live together in the city, Pisistratus obliged them to add to themselves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the Athenian territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over Attica, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees. He likewise commanded, that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery. The Athenians being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things right in themselves were commanded by persons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greatest misery. On this account it was, that Pisistratus’s laws against idlemen were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in support of those of Solon. He received as prince of Athens the tenth part of every man’s rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the ancient revenues were, viz. to the service of the state, seemed to the Athenians an intolerable grievance. It happened once, that Pisistratus being in the country, perceived an old man buffy in creeping over the rocks and picking something. Pisistratus asked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. Troubles and a few plants of wild figs, replied the old man, and of these Pisistratus must have the tenth; to which Pisistratus made him no reply, but on his return to the city discharged him from paying this duty. He endeavoured by all means possible to eradicate the fierce men of the Athenians, but to little purpose, for as he was averse to severity, so it was a difficult thing for them to learn submission. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife and infaltered her grossly; the next day, however, when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. Pisistratus heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, I would advise you, gentlemen, said he, to behave for the future more modestly; but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the temple of the Pythian Apollo; and when the Athenians, to show their aversion to him, went and cased themselves there, he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence should suffer death. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of Jupiter Olympus, mentioned before in our description of the city of Athens. He was the first who built a library for public use, and directed, that Homer’s poems should be digested into regular order as we have them at present. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and converted familiarly with Crotoneiates the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts. As to his military virtues, we have already shewn what a share he had in the reduction of Salamis; he is also reported by Herodotus to have conquered the island of Naxos, which he put into the hands of Lygdamis; he also conquered the city Sigeum, and purificed the island of Delos; so that on the whole, it seems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of Areopagus of a murder, he came like a private man and submitted himself to judgment. At another time having some way offended certain Athenians of principal dignity, and they retiring to the castle of Phyle, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back; when they asked him what he meant, Ether, said he, to engage you to go back with me to Athens, or to stay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided. From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty to his death there intervened thirty-three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from Aristeas, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, Herodotus tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, viz. Hippias and Hipparchus.
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parcles, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined. Thucydides more than once affirms that it was Hippias, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross error. Polyeustus says the same thing, and yet Plato is as positive that Hipparchus was the eldest. Allan follows him, and Herodotus Ponticus seems to be of the same opinion. Thucydides supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned Menefre are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better afforted (O).

In Hipparch.


(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of Pissistratus, and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the Athenians in the space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in ancient authors relating to the Pissistratidae should be somewhere preferred and explained. As to the defeat of Pissistratus himself, we see from his own letter to Solon that he was of the mind of the best men of the time. So all Kings of Athens. Ancient authors affirme us, that he was of the same family with Nephos (40), so that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than Pissistratus. His father's name was Hippocrates; being at the celebration of the Olympic games, caught a violence which he had lain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. Chose the last occasion, immediately addressed himself to the Athenians, advising them not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son, to abandon it. Hippocrates did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of Pissistratus, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely, that Hippocrates apprehended why the Lacedemonian gave him this advice, since he called his son after the name of Nephos, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from hence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother, we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following passage, which shews that the lived to be pretty far in years. When her son was possessed of the principality of Athens, she fell in love with a young man, with whom she conceived secretly and with great caution; however, Pissistratus had intelligence thereof; therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they rose from the table, What think you, my friends, said Pissistratus, of your treatment to day? That it was not well, Sir, answered he. Why, then replied Pissistratus, you may be assured, that you shall meet with the like favour every day, as long as you please my mother (42). As to his asperity and generosity we have spoken sufficiently already; but it may not be amiss to note, that the wifel, both of Cere and Roman, have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of Pissistratus, which they agree was the chief instrument he used in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another testimony full stronger than the former, wis. from the mighty
The brothers Hipparchus and Hippias shared, as moft think, the supreme authority between them, for they, that the former only had the title, and others, that Piffaides bequeathed his authority, not only to these two, but also to his third son Thefeus; clear it is, that Hipparchus and Hippias lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a person of great sweetness of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and also himself a very learned man. He directed, that the rhapsodists, a sort of bards by profession, should at the great feast held Panathenaea sing all the poems of Homer, that the Athenians might be generally instructed both in the sciences and in the moral conduct of life. He treated Simonides the poet with great kindnefs, and kept him always near his perfon, and fent a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated Anacreon to Athens. Onomacritus was another of his favourites, but he having been caught in the fact of interpolating the oracles of Mafæus, Hipparchus not only dimifhed him his court, but banifhed him Athens. So affiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he caufed in city and country, but especially in the latter, statues of Mercury to be set up, and certain wife counfels in Eliæus verfe to be incribed on both fides of them. Sometimes there was only a short flaying, fuch as, THIS is the precept of Hipparchus, be thou ftrictly juf, or, deceit not thy friend. On account therefore of these shining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the Piffaidei feemed to be thoroughly and quietly eftabliied. But when it was left expected, a conspiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which succeeded in refpect to Hipparchus, and narrowly mifled with regard to Hippias. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumftances; as to the moft material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are thofe: There were two young men in Athens, Harmodius and Ariftegenes, the former was exquitely beautiful in his perfon, and on that account, according to the infamous custom of the Greeks, violently beloved of the other; this Harmodius was also beloved by Hipparchus, who, if we may believe Thucydides, forced him; Ariftegenes grievously renented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their refentment, Hipparchus finding that Harmodius endeavoured to avoid him, publicly affronted him, by not permitting his fitter to carry the offering of Minerva, as if he was a perfon unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to shew any public figns of refentment, confulted privately with their friends, among whom it was refolved, at the approaching festival of the Panathenaea, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to redore Athens to liberty; the confpirators believing that the people would be unanimous in {upport of a defign fo manifefely calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this defign into execution, and the confpiracy appeared, as it had been agreed on, near the perfon of Hipparchus, they perceived at a distance one of their own number talking very familiarly with Hippias; this amazed them, they were afraid that he had discovered to him the confpirators, taking courage therefore from the duppedoffearemateoftheiraffairs,theyinfantlyfellonHipparchus, and with a multitude of wounds dispatched him. The people, however, did not fe-
cond them in this exploit, but suffered Harmodius to be killed upon the spot by Hipparchus's guard, and having seized Aristogiton themselves, delivered him up. Herodotus, who was very curious in picking up strange stories, relates a very odd one in relation to this transaction; Hipparchus, he tells us, in the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handsome youth standing by him, who repeated distinctly these obscure lines:

Lion unnov'd, sustains the greatest ill;
For punishment attends injustice still.

At break of day he acquainted such as had skill in dreams with what he had seen: what their interpretation was, Herodotus does not inform us; he adds, that at length Hipparchus, defying this omen, went to celebrate the feast, and was there slain in the manner we have related. Hippias behaved on this occasion with great prudence; he dissembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preserve himself and family: he approached the great crowd of people with his guards, and having picked out such as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conspirators, he dismissed the rest. As for the Athenians in general, though they seemed to have made a high eftren for the Pifflatide, and had been governed by them with great gentleness for the space of a long series of years, and had not made any general insurrection in order to favour the attempt of Harmodius and Aristogiton, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths to a height scarce to be accounted for; they caufed their praifes to be sung at the Panathenaic; they eforbad any citizen to call his flave by either of their names; they erected brazen statues for them in the forum, which statues, as Plliny informs us, were the work of Praxiteles; these statues Xerxes afterwards carried into Asia, from whence they were sent back to Athens, either by Alexander, Antiochus, or Seleucus; for authors do not agree which. They likewise granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the dependents of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we shall see elsewhere (P).

The supreme power being now in the hands of Hippias, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity unknown to his family before, and which was the worfe borne, because himself had been so mild a prince. The first effects of this change in his temper fell upon those concerned in the late conspiracy, he ordered Aristogiton to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him the names of those who were privy to this transaction. This man, as soon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named some of Hippias's best friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the same fate, and when Hippias asked him if there were not still some others, he replied smiling, I know of none now, but yourself, that deserves to suffer death. But it was not Aristogiton only who triumphed over the cruelty of Hippias; a woman he kept, whose name was Leena, behaved with no less intrepidity than he. Hippias having directed her to be tortured in order to extort discoveries, the bore it patiently as long as she was able, but when she found she could endure it no longer, the bit off her tongue, and spit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man she loved. The Athenians, conceiving

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(P) The history of Hipparchus's murder is variously reported. Thucydides says expressly, that Harmodius, who was in the flower of his age, was beloved by Aristogiton a citizen of the middle rank, and ascribes the murder of Hipparchus to his rival's hatred (50). Aristophanes calls Harmodius and Aristogiton lovers (51), and so does Maximus Tyrannus (52). Tuflin differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After Pissistratus's death, Dicer, one of his sons, says he, having ravished a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (53). He had this probably from Trogus Pompeius, whose work he abridged; but where he had it is not known. Aristogiton is by some authors faild to have been an humble dependent on Harmodius, and his mistress Leena no better than a singing woman who used to attend at feasts (54). On the whole therefore, whatever honour the Athenians thought fit to decrees these men, their conspiracy feems rather the effects of passion, than any desire to do their country good or at all, the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it filled the Athenians, who were violent enemies to the government of a single person, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.
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It seems improper to set up the statue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themselves with erecting that of a lioness without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraved these words, *Her tongue herself bit off*. This conspiracy being, as Hippias conceived, thoroughly qualified, he took all the measures, which human policy could suggest, to secure himself in the possession of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he increased his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the Athenians to bring in their silver coin at a certain price, and coined new. These violent methods soon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preferred it so long. Hippias held the sovereignty only three years after the demise of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled (Q.).

We have already observed, that Megacles, who was of the family of Alcmeon, the Pismistratus, left his country, when Pismistratus was a second time restored, but he and those who were with him carried away a great sum of money; the Alcmeonidae, for the family of Megacles from their great ancestor Alcmeon were sired, settled at Lipidrium in restored Peonia, and there gave refuge to all who fled from Athens, which were not a few; for Pismistratus, as some say, or as others report, Hippias, banished all that depended on that family, and suffered not so much as the dead to rest in their graves, on the old superstitious account, it may be, of their being thought execrable. This family refilling, as we have said, at Lipidrium, buffeted themselves entirely in contriving means for expelling the Pismistratae, and at last devised a method which proved not unfeasible. They agreed with the Amphictyons or states-general of Greece to rebuild the temple of Delphi; as they were possessed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontispiece with Parian marble instead of common stone, to the use of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public service of Greece, they served themselves too a little, for they corrupted the Pythia, i.e. she who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the Lacedemonians who came to consult the oracle, either on behalf of the state or on their private account, to deliver Athens. This had the effect they expected, for the Lacedemonians, finding this admonition incessantly inculcated, sent Archimolus, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into Attica to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithstanding the Pismistratae were at that time their good friends and allies. Hippias, however, receiving advice of these proceedings, sent to the Thessalians, who were his confederates, to demand their assistance, who readily sent him a thousand horse under the command of Cineas one of their princes. A short time after, Archimolus with his fleet arrived on the Athenian coast, and immediately after the army landed and encamped. The Pismistratae did not, however, abandon Athens, but Hippias, having cleared the adjacent country in such a manner that the Thessalian horse might act with ease, attacked the Lacedemonians suddenly, routed the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the Pythian Apollo; the inscription on the former the Athenians demolished, but that on the latter they suffered to remain, which run thus: This monument, during the time of his majesty, Pismistratus the son of Hippias placed in the temple of the Pythian Apollo. It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, because the year in which he was archon could not be fixed; however, the authority before produced may be assiduously relied on. The excelles committed by Hippias, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildness of the administration preceding it; for few things that he did would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with what we were told by Archimolus, that the people of Megissa, when they were the most affected, like Pismistratus, to leave the popular magistrates and the senate in the nominal possession of their authority, tho' at the same time he held the supreme power himself.

*Plut. de Garr.*  
*Herodot. lib. v. c. 45.*  
*Suidas.*  
*Herodot. ubi supra.*

(Q.) It may seem a little strange, that in speaking of the government of the Pismistratae we have alluded to the Achiviadai, that they did not greatly violate the laws or constitution of their country. In order to explain this, we must defend a little into the particulars of Pismistratus's policy. He pretended, as we see in his letter to Solon, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magistrates of the commonwealth, but suffered them to continue vested with the same power they had before, taking care, however, that the archon should be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on, so that he at once preferred that superiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was so pleasing to them. That all the family of Pismistratus had in their turn a share in the administration, might be made appear from various testimonies; at present we will insist only on one. Pismistratus, the son of Hippias, and grandson of the great Pismistratus, as we learn from Thucydides, placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the

(55) Thucyd. lib.
routed them with a great slaughter, slew their general Anchimolus, and obliged the shattered remains of his army to betake themselves to their ships. The body of the Spartan general was honourably interred near the temple of Hercules in the Gymnasion. The Lacedemonians, incensed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to send another army into Attica, which accordingly they did under their king Cleomenes, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the Athenian territories defeated the Thessalian horse, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made use of this opportunity to besiege Hippias, who had retired within the Pelopis wall; this siege, however, could not have produced any great misfortune to Hippias and his forces being well provided with all things within, Cleomenes and his army delitute of all things without; but an accident changed the face, and army destitute of all things without; but an accident changed the face, and

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Cleomenes and his troops to retire, together with Ilagoras and his friends, into the citadel, where they besieged them for two days. On the third the king of Lacedaemon, being now convinced that force would do nothing with the Athenians, surrendered upon these terms, that all who were in the citadel should have leave to retire out of Attica unmolested. The Athenians, however, fell upon such as were separated from them, and put them to death without mercy; amongst these was Timesthenes the brother of Cleomenes, so that the Athenians no longer kept any measures with the Lacedaemonians, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things sought to subvert that democracy, of which they were so fond, and to constitute an aristocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the Spartans, who, where-ever they had authority, set up that form of rule. One reason of which among others was this, that they could better depend on the friendships of such states than such as were governed by the people, who very seldom know their true interest, and are frequently prevailed on to change their councils. But to return to the current of our history.

Cleomenes and his Spartans had no sooner quitted the Athenian territories, than the people of that country recalled Clybhenes and all the families they had sent into exile, that they might be the better able to support a war which they foresaw they should be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, Cleomenes raised forces throughout all Peloponnesus, though without declaring positively his intention, which was to make Ilagoras, who was still with him, tyrant of Athens. When all things were ready, the Lacedaemonian king engaged the Boeotians on one side, and the Chalcidians on the other, to attack the Athenians, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of Eleusis. The Athenians, knowing that it was impossible for them to set on foot armies sufficient to look all their enemies in the face, resolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the Boeotians and Chalcidians, and with all the forces they could draw together to march against Cleomenes. This resolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution, but before the armies were ready to engage, the Corinthians, who were among the forces of Cleomenes, began to doubt the justice of their cause, and, thinking it false not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. Damarethus the son of Ariflon, the other king of Sparta and college of Cleomenes, was also against this expedition; and his opposition was the more remarkable, because till then he had never differed with his colleague. The conciliates observing, that neither the Lacedaemonian princes could agree amongst themselves, or prevail upon the Corinthians to remain with the army, began to dictate this business; and, dropping off by degrees, put the Athenians out of fear.

When the Spartans and their allies were withdrawn, the people of Athens determined to revenge themselves upon the Chalcidians against whom the army marched immediately; but finding the Boeotians had assembled a considerable body of forces between them and the Euboeans, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with such success, that the Boeotians were entirely routed, a great number of them slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners. This victory opened a free passage into Euboea, whither the Athenians puffed over the same day, and falling upon the Chalcidians, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vast number of prisoners, whom with the Boeotians they carried back with them to Athens, leaving in Euboea four thousand men. All the prisoners taken in this battle the Athenians put in irons, though they afterwards let them at liberty on receiving two Mines for each man by way of ransom. The feters, however, they hung up in the citadel, and having confiscated the tenth part of what they received for their ransom, they purchased therewith a chariot with four horses abreast, which they set up in the portico of the citadel with this inscription:

Warm with just rage, when the Athenian youth O'ercame Boeotian and Chalcidian bands;
Their foes in fetters bound; to Pallas then
Thefe, as the tenth of all their spoils, they plac'd.

This happy success of the Athenian arms falling out in a short time after the expulsion of the Pythiad, Herodotus makes the following observation thereupon; thus the affairs of the Athenians flourished, yet they are not the only example of this kind. For all places abound in instances of the prosperity that attends an equal distribution of power. Under their tyrants indeed they were not inferior.
The History of the Athenians.

The war with Egestians.

The Ionian war.

inferior in war to any of their neighbours: But they had no sooner freed themselves from that servitude, than they far surpassed all the rest, and became the principal nation of Greece; which manifestly shows, that as long as they were oppressed they acted remissly, and would not exert their courage to the utmost; because they knew their victories could only redound to the advantage of their matters, whereas, after they had recovered their liberty, every man contended who should do best, because they fought for themselves. And such was the state of the Athenian affairs.1 That Herodotus had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from the subsequent conduct of the people of Athens, who, forced to be both quiet and submissive, made prisoners by the Athenians, resolved to revenge themselves; and, as the miles from that coast. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the Athenians, while the people of Athens bent all their attention towards the Boeotian war, The Spartans, repelling the formidable force sent by Hippias from Sicily, in order to reinforce his principality. He readily obeyed their summons, and, though it cost him a long voyage by sea, came in person to Lacedaemon, where the kings of Sparta, and the deputies of the allies in alliance with them, were in deep consternation. Sosicles the Corinthian made a long harangue against the proposition for restoring Hippias, which was such an influence on the deputies from the rest of the federates, that the Lacedaemonians found it impossible to engage them in this design, and were therefore constrained to abandon it themselves, so that Hippias was obliged to return to Sicily, without relinquishing, however, his hopes of one day reducing Athens. Aristagoras the Miletan, having set on foot a revolt in Ionia, and having failed in his attempt to engage the Lacedaemonians to abet it, came to Athens, and, as Herodotus observes, found it easier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to persuade the Lacedaemonian king. In consequence of his fine speeches, they decreed, that twenty ships should be sent to the assistance of the Ionians under the command of Melanthius, an Athenian nobleman universally esteemed; by the assent of which fleet the Ionians did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked Sardis, of which when the Persian king had advice, he declared him his sworn enemy of Athens, and solemnly besought God, that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the fource of those wars which followed afterwards between the Persians and the Greeks, and which were fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the Ionians were unsuccessful, and the Persians reduced them again under their yoke.

When the Ionian war was ended, the Persian king sent to demand Earth and Water, as tokens of submission, from the Greeks, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at sea, most of the islanders yielded, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of Egyine. The Athenians, as soon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads, that this nation had submitted themselves to the great king, that they might.

1 Herodot. Ib. v.
be at liberty to act against the Athenians, under colour of their being subject to the Persean crown. On this account they, that is the Athenians, sent embassadors to Sparta to accuse the inhabitants of Aegina of treachery towards the Greeks. The Spartans upon this complaint sent their king Cleomenes to Aegina, who on his arrival attempted to seize the persons principally concerned in making their submission to the Perseans. But when he attempted this, Cirus the son of Phercyx interposed, and told him, he should not carry away any of his countrymen, because he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commissio from the Lacedaemonians. This exceedingly irritated Cleomenes, who notwithstanding was constrained to return without effecting what he designed; his colleague Demeratus having accused him at home. But having after he came back procured his colleague to be deposed, and his own kinsman Leotychides to be crowned in his stead, he brought the last mentioned prince with him into the island of Aegina, and having seized ten of the principal persons of that island, and amongst them Cirus before mentioned, he brought them away prisoners, and delivered them up to the Athenians. Not long after having in his phrenzy killed himself, all his tyrannical acts were disapproved by the Spartans, who on the inhabitants of Aegina's accusing Leotychides for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who, however, desired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to Athens in order to solicit the release of Cirus and his associates. When they arrived there the Spartan king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the hostages were only deposited by him and his colleague in Athens that they might be safe, and that, now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the Athenians did not, or would not, understand, so that the war between them and the people of Aegina was still carried on with various success. The latter being informed, that the Athenian galley, which went annually to Delphi, lay at anchor at Saunium, they resolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many persons of distinction aboard it. The Athenians, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one Nicodromus, a person of great interest in Aegina; he had been formerly banished his country by those who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them resolved to betray it to the Athenians. The Athenians for this purpose fitted out a considerable fleet, but not thinking it sufficient for this purpose, Aegina being then mistress of those seas, they had recourse to the Corinthians for their assistance; this, being the fait friend and ally of Athens, did not give her a denial, but alleged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ships; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the Athenians obtained what they wanted; and yet the Corinthians did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ships in consideration of their paying them five drachmae for each. The length of this treaty frustrated the Athenian hopes, for Nicodromus, depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed seized on the old town and declared for the Athenians; but he and his party not being able alone to reft the whole force of the island, they were obliged to secure themselves by flight, which they did the very day before the Athenian and Corinthian fleet appeared before Aegina. This defection of Nicodromus, however, proved very beneficial to the Athenians, for they having attigued to him and his associates land on the shore opposite to Aegina, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the issue was of this war, Herodotus does not inform us: It is generally conceived, that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the Athenians and for Greece in general, for it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little understood. When the first news came, that the Persian had in view the conquest of Greece, the Athenians and the inhabitants of Aegina, as well as the rest of the Greek states, compromized their differences, that they might be the better able to reft the power of the great king, who threatened at least the liberties of the Greeks in general, in revenge for the Athenians affailing the Ionians when they fought to recover their freedom.

We have already taken notice of the displeasure which Darius had taken against Histiaia eon account of the sacking of Sardis; but we hitherto forborne to mention the intrigues of Hippias in order to obtain by force the principality of Athens, referred to the principality of Athens.
from whence, as we have before related, through the affixture of the Lacedemonians, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from Lacedemon to Asia, went to Artaphernes, governor of the adjacent provinces for the Persian king, and pressed him to make war upon his country, promising, that himself would be Speedily removed to Daris, and greatly further all his designs, in case he could be restored to that dignit, and to Artaphernes, Governor of the adjacent provinces for the Persian king, and pressed him to make war upon his country, promising, that himself would be immediately removed to Daris, and greatly further all his designs, in case he could be restored to that dignity. But Artaphernes, conceiving that it would be more for his interest to have a prince governing Athens, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, answered the Athenians haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive Hippias and obey him; but this was so dishonourable to the Athenians that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of Daris the use of the whole fleet, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut them off completely. And so it was that they had an opportunity to attack the Athenians, the son of Artaphernes, and the son of Mardonius, to revenge him of the insults which he conceived had been put upon him by the Greeks, but Mardonius and his troops, through a storm at sea and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, Artaphernes and Artaphernes, who were commissioned to do what he had been ordered to do, were sent against the aid of the Eretrians, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were not ready nor prepared; one party was for receiving the Athenian succours, and the other for betraying their country to the Persians for the sake of private advantage. Euthenes, the son of Nestor, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the situation, and having been informed of the arrival of the Athenian fleet among the Cyclades, sent to demand assistance from the Athenians. That state, with a magnanimity, was prepared to do all that would be compatible. They ordered the four thousand men whom they had left in the Chalcidian territory to defend the city and hold out to their last extremity; a second was for abandoning the city and retiring to the mountains of Euboea. A third party fought to defend their country, and the Persians were ready to make war on them. The Athenians, who, as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themselves, and perceiving another when they wanted foreign war to employ them, united now with great zeal and energy, when they heard that the Persians were to happen. They raised with the utmost expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not draw together above nine thousand men, Thessaly, with a thousand Plateans who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these were Miltiades, Aristedes, and Themistocles, all of them men of distinguished valour and great abilities. But it being generally conceived, that it would be impossible for them, with their small forces, to give any interruption to the Persians, they sent their noblest citizens, upon which turning about, he beheld the god Pan, who, after asking him why the Athenians held him in no greater esteem, assured him, that he had deserved very well of their state, and would continue to do so, of which the people of Athens had information, they causeth to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thenceforward with annual festa,

\* Id. ibid.
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Chap. 18.

The battle of Marathon.

Year after the flood, 2509.

Before Christ, 490.

The Athenians, being encamped at the temple of Hercules, were there joined by a thousand men, the whole strength of the little city of Platea, which the now hazarded in the cause of Athens out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held here, the generals were very much divided in their opinions; some were for fighting, others not; Miltiades, observing this, and considering the great importance of the matter in debate, addressed himself to Callimachus of Abydus, who was Polemarch and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals, in these words; "You alone, O Callimachus, must now determine, either to see the Athenians reduced to the condition of slaves, or, by preserving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monument of your fame, surpassing the glory of Heracleus and Aristegiton. For the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. If they fall under the power of the Medes, one may easily imagine what ulage they must expect from Hippias: But if they conquer, Athens will be the principal city of Greece. To let you know then by what means these things may be effected, and from what cause the fate of Athens is now in your hands, I shall acquaint you, that we are at this instant divided in opinion touching a battle; some of us propelling to fight, and others advising the contrary. If we decline a battle, I foresee some great dishonour will be done to the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes. But if we fight before the corruption flies into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope from the equity of the gods to obtain the victory. All these things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the resolution you shall take. For if you would support my opinion with the ac-

(R) The city of Iatis was in old times free. Herodotus has given us a very full account of the reasons which induced its inhabitants to raise their utmost force in the cause of Athens. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words; "The Plateans were already under the protection of Athens, and the Athenians had gone through many dangers in their defence. For when the Plataeans saw themselves oppressed by the Thebans, they first offered their submission to Clonoeus the son of Ampharete and to the Lacedaemonians. But they rejected the offer in these terms: We are placed, said they, at such a distance from you, that in time of necessity our forces will prove ineffectual. For your country may be frequently evacuated before we can be reformed of your danger. We advise you therefore to put yourselves under the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and sufficiently able to defend you. This counsel the Lacedaemonians gave, not out of any good will to the Plataeans, but because they were determined to see the Athenians weakened by a war against the Boeotians. However, the Plataeans, approving their advice, went to Athens, and arriving there, when the Athenians were met to sacrifice to the twelve gods, they fat down by the altar in the presence of suppliants, and made their submission to that place. Which when the Thesbians heard, they sent an army against Plataea, and at the same time the Athenians marched to assist the Plataeans. But as they were ready to engage in battle, the Corinthians apprehending the consequences, interposed their good offices to reconcile the contending parties, and, with the consent of both sides, determined the dispute on this agreement; That the Thebans should permit all those Boeotians, who would no longer be accounted members of Boeotia, to do as they thought most convenient for themselves. After this reconciliation the Corinthians returned home, and as the Athenians were retiring likewise, the Boeotians fell upon them in their march, but were repulsed with loss. Upon which thebes the Athenians enlarged the frontiers of the Plataeans, and instead of that appointed bi the Corinthians, fixed the limits of the Thebans at Apa and Mygdon. In this manner the Plataeans came under the protection of the Athenians, and joined their forces at Marathon (55)."
The History of the Athenians.

Book I.

For the affection of your vote, you will see your country free, and Athens the most illustrious city of Greece: But if you join with those who would disgrace us from a battle, you can expect no other consequences than such as are most contrary to these hopes. Callimachus, whole voice was decisive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but Aristides giving up his day to Miltiades, the rest did not too. That excellent perfomance accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but he would not fight till his own proper day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty. But when the day before-mentioned came, he, without waiting for any further succours, dispersed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his strength in the wings. Callimachus, as Polemarch, commanded on the right, the Plateans posted on the left, and the sacrifices being offered, they began instantly to advance with inexpressible ardour towards their enemies. The Persians army was ranged in battle a mile off, and when they beheld the Athenians running towards them, they imputed it to folly and ignorance of military discipline, and were convinced of this, when they observed that they had neither horse nor pikemen. However, they soon found their error when the charge began: For the Athenians and Plateans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the Barbarians were forced to yield on both sides. The Persians and Sassan, however, perceiving that the Athenian center was weak, charged with such force that they broke through it: This the on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as fast as they could, to their fleet, whither the Athenians pursued them. When therefore the Persians in haste hurried on board the booty they had acquired in the Erates, and fought to escape by sea that ill-fate which attended them on shore; the Athenians, in order to hinder this, began to set the ships on fire, and to board such as lay nearest the shore; in which bold attempt, though they had some success, yet the Persians at last got under sail, and bore away for Athens. It was reported in those times, that the Alcmeonid encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal; however it was, the Persian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of Sestium with a view to surprize the city of Athens before the army could return. But Miltiades seeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving Aristides with a thousand men to guard the prætorium and the spoil, marched at the head of the other nine thousand with such diligence that they arrived at the temple of Hercules in Cyngarion, which was but at a small distance from the city, before the Barbarians were in a condition to attack it.

Which when the Persians admiral had notice of, he failed from the port of Phalerum for Aegina, and so put an end to a very unfortunate expedition.

The battle of Marathon makes deservedly a great figure in history; Cornelius Nepos affixes a just reason, because never before had so small a body of forces overcome so vast a host. Herodotus tells us, that six thousand three hundred of the Persians were slain there, and of the Athenians one hundred ninety-two, which is infinitely more probable than what Justin relates of the Persians losing two hundred thousand men in the battle and by shipwreck. The same author says, that the Athenians took many of the ships, and destroyed many more; Herodotus says, there were only seven ships taken. Certain it is, that the Athenians behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that several amongst them distinguished themselves in a most extraordinary manner. Callimachus the Polemarch, after having done all that a brave and wise officer could do, lost his life in the field; Stauros the son of Thrasylus, one of the ten commanders, was also killed; Cynegyris the son of Exkylus laid hold on the prow of one of the Persian ships with both his hands, and having them struck off by an ax died of his wounds; this is Herodotus's account. Justin carries matters much farther, he says, that Cynegyris, having done wonders in the fight, pursued the Persians to the shore, and laid hold of a ship ready to fall.
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3. With his right hand, when that was cut off, he seized it with his left, of which being likewise deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his spirit being such, that, untrammelled by the obscurity and the loss of both his hands, he, with the rage of a wild beast, fought at left with his teeth. *Herodotus*, who speaks so modestly of Cynegyrt's bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one Epizelus the son of Cephazerus, he says, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a sudden lost his fight without receiving any blow, and continued blind the rest of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed that he heard this man declare, that he thought he saw a man of uncommon height standing by him in complete armour, holding a shield, which was covered by his beard, and that this phantom afterwards, passing by him, killed the person who was posted next to him. Whatever we may think of the Athenian story, this must be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus* account of this battle deserves credit in all probable circumstances, since what he relates he had from the mouths of those who were eye-witnesses. The numbers of the Persians is very differently reported; *Justin* says, that they were six-hundred thousand; *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the Athenians, that is one hundred thousand, which is probably not far from truth.

Amongst the many eminent persons who were present in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the son of *Pissistratus*, who hoped through the power of the Persians to be reftored to the principality of Athens. He it was, who, as we have said before, conducted the Barbarians into the plains of Marathon, when, as *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded, that he should be restored and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was busy giving direction as to the dispositions of the army, when *Herodotus* tells us, he fell off from his horse upon the sand, for which when those about him had long sought in vain, *Hippia* fetching a deep sigh, said, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be inhabited by us, and I shall have no other part hence than that where my teeth lie.* This was his second, and, as it happened, the more just conclusion of his dream. As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are silent thereupon. *Justin* *and some other later authors say, that he was killed there; if he was, the Athenians lost in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving mischief against them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting.

*Arístides,*

*In vit. Mithrid. ubi supra. ubi supra.*

(8) We have more than once in the text promised to speak of the family of *Hippia*; he married *Marisina* the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had also another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charisius* (57). Amongst these children was *Pissistratus* junior, with whom we have before mentioned; he had also a daughter whose name was *Aearchidice*, who married the son of the tyrant or prince of Lampsacus. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inscription to the following effect: This earth covers Aearchidice the daughter of Hippias, a man in his time famous throughout Greece, who died her father, husband, and brothers were princes, sufferers not her mind to be edged therewith (58). *Hippia* visited her before he went to the Persian court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehension that the expedition, in which he was about to embark, might some way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recounted was certainly, according to the usual rules of interpretation, fortunate, and to it was accounted to *Julius Caesar* (52); but it may be that this interpretation was with so much perturbation, that the phenomenon dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas *Hippia* at the time of this dream was in the Persian host warring against his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deserves any further account, viz. that among the Persians it was held ominous, and a sign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* speaks of it in these terms, *Nysianus Hippias Pissistrati filius, qui in Marathone fugae cecidit, arma contra Patrionem feruit* (61). *Tertullian* speaks of it likewise (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another story; he says, that the Barbarians being routed, *Hippias* retired to Lampsacus, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes brought on a miserable and painful death, which he reckons a punishment for his having conducted the Persian forces into the plains of Marathon. The reader will pardon the length of our history of the *Pissistratidae*, when he considers, that, from the time of *Pissistratus* his assuming the sovereignty to the death of *Hippia* at the battle of Marathon, there intervened upwards of fourscore years.

The History of the Athenians.

Book I.

Aristides, who remained on the field of battle while Miltiades marched back to Athens, discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity; for there was much gold and silver in the Persian camp, and though the tents and ships they had taken were full of riches of all sorts, yet he neither took any thing for himself, nor omitted to the utmost of his power the necessary precautions to prevent other people's meddling therewith. Yet some there were, who, in spite of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themselves by private plunder, particularly Callias the torch-bearer, Aristides' cousin German (T). For this man having long hair and a fillet about his head, one of the Persians took him for a king, and falling down at his feet discovered to him a vast quantity of gold hid in a well; Callias not only seized it and applied it to his private use, but most inhumanly put to death the poor man who showed him. To prevent this discovery what he had done. By this action he not only blighted his own reputation, but tranquillized infamy to his poverty, who, notwithstanding their eminency in the state, were filled by the comic poets (Luccepluti), i.e. enriched by the well, an example which merits consideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in history. The Athenians in token of their respect towards those brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inscriptions containing their names and the names of their tribes and families. At some distance they erected other monuments for the Plataeans, Boeotians, and others, who were slain there. They likewise caused this battle to be painted in the Persian portion, where the Plataean auxiliaries were represented, as well as the Athenian soldiers, and at the head of these their ten captains, Miltiades holding the first place, which was all the reward they bestowed upon them.

It cannot seem strange, that the Athenians were highly elate on this victory. In the first transports of their joy they granted all the Plataeans the freedom of their city; as for Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, who had exceedingly distinguished themselves in the service of their country, they were for the present treated with all the marks of gratitude and respect they could have wished, though in their turns we shall see them all flighted, proscribed, and condemned. While Miltiades was thus high in the people's favour, he proposed in a general assembly of the people, that he should be intrusted with a fleet of seventy ships well manned and provided, promising them, that he would put them in possession of great riches, and make the expedition in other respects turn to vaunt account. The Athenians readily embraced this project, and fitted out such a fleet as he defined, of which Miltiades taking the command failed to Persia. The reason he pretended for invading this island was, that the inhabitants thereof had affifsted the Persians with ships in the expedition of Marathon, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one Lysagoras a Persian had done him ill offices with Hydarnes the Persian. As soon as he arrived on the island, he sent heralds to the capital cities, requiring a hundred talents to be paid him, threatening in place of refusal to besiege the city, and, in case he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his followers. The Persians however, were not to be terrified; they refused so much as to deliberate on his proposition, but, on the contrary, provided themselves the bell they could for an obstinate defence. Miltiades caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one Timo a Persian woman, who was a priestess,

(T) Torch-bearers, filled in Greek Didachai, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even into the most sacred mysteries. On this account, Pausanias speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office (63). We have observed in the text from Plutarch, that Callias was mistaken for a king, because of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in use among the Eastern nations; the reason of this was, that among the ancients it was an opinion almost universally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and priest; on this account the Romans preferred the title of Rex among their sacred officers when they expelled the Tarquins, and the Athenians, as we have heard, filled their second archon, who presided in the public sacrifices, Balthys, so that in affairs relating to the gods, both the Athenians and the Romans, though they hated monarchy, made use of kings. The same notion prevailed through the calf, for we find Jeroboam, standing by the altar at Bethel, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64.) And Zedekiah's king of Judah, when he had been victorious over the Philistines, Arabsians, and Ammonites, was lifted up his heart, and desired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being priest of the most High God (65).

(63) In Atticis. (64) 1 Kings xiii. (65) 1 Chron. xxvi. 16.
Chap. 18. The History of the Athenians. 455
prietes, pretended to inform him how he should take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of 
Coras the 
Erechtheus, and not 
being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being seized with a sudden horror and resolving to go back, he re- ascended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot slipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or dislocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was constrained to raise the siege, after having lain twenty-six days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without effecting any thing to Athens. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and Xenibippos the father of the famous Pericles accused him to the general assembly for deceiving the Athenians, as Herodotus says, of treachery, as Cornelius Nepos informs us; or rather of peculation, as 
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The History of the Athenians.

BOOK I.

The people of Athens, being now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, as well as from the divisions among themselves, they were divided on the old subject, whether all things should be in the power of the people, or whether the state should be governed only by the best. Aristides, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and Themistocles was chief of the other. It will be necessary to say something of the character of each of these great men, that the nature of their disputes and the consequences of them with respect to the state may be the better known. Aristides was the son of Lyphmachus, of the tribe of Antiochus, and ward of Alcmeon. Themistocles was the son of Nicocles of the tribe of Leontes, by his mother's father a stranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family. Plutarch tells us, that they were both together, and that they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but even in their sports and plays; nor could it be otherwise, for Aristides is said by him to have been firm and steady in his behavior, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even in jest; whereas Themistocles was of an impertinent nature, full of spirit, sullen, daring, complimentant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he spent, even his times of recreation in study, and was wont to divert himself with composing orations, in which he either excused or accused some of his companions, whence his schoolmaster pronounced thus of him: Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary person, but wilt at some time or other become an orator of a mighty orator, or an oratorious orator to thy country. As they grew old, they differed still more in their sentiments and conduct; Aristides studied the laws of Lycurgus, and by the reasoning of that great man became a proponent of justice. Themistocles, rather out of spleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cause of the people: and thus childish quarrels, rising into a strong aversion in the breasts of two private men, created great disorders in a peaceful state, and shook the very constitution of Athens.

How much more the divisions between Aristides and Themistocles might in fact injure the Athenian state, and how ready fonder they might be to oppose each other, even in points where they were conscious that what they opposed was right, yet...

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yet it must be owned, that they sincerely loved their country, and were affianced and forry for the very things they did. Aristeides was the honefast man of the two, and therefore the most frank. When Themistocles had one day proposed to the assembly of the people something much for their advantage, Aristeides made a long oration against it, which so far milled the people, that they rejected what Themistocles had proposed. Aristeides was, however, so much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the assembly he could not help saging. The Athenians can never be perfectly safe, till they have sent Themistocles and me to God. We have before shewn, how not only men of rank in Athens, but all Athenian citizens, had fears in courts of judicature. As these rivals differed in every thing, so they were opposite in their notions of what a man’s duty was in such a faction. Aristeides conceived, that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and passion; whereas it was a common saying with Themistocles, God forbid, that I should ever sit on a tribunal, where my friends should not have more favour than strangers. Aristeides’ conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himself so much upon acting strictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the finame of just, and was looked upon as the most worthy and virtuous of the Athenians. Themistocles, instead of repining, rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an easy thing to destroy a rival arrived at so high a reputation.

The ofreicinium was already introduced into the Athenian state, though it is not certain by whom, some say by Pissistratus, or rather by his sons; others by Clisthenes; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the ofreicinium till we come to a particular instance of it. By this men, eminent to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years. Plutarch says, this exile was not a punishment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, used as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people for those apprehensions with which they were so often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the ofreicinium was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place which was inclosed with rails; and then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells; for if they were less than six thousand, the vote did not take place; but if they surpassed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells was of course exiled for ten years, with free leave, however, to make what use he thought fit of his estate.

It may seem strange, that Themistocles could raise the popular resentment against a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he effected it by causing it to be whispered abroad, that Aristeides, having


(X) The ofreicinium makes so great a figure in all the Greek history, and occurs so often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit, that we should give the reader a more particular account of it in state, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from ofreio, which signifies a skillet, because at full the names of persons banished in this manner were wrote on pieces of skillet, or broken earthen vessels. Aristocles Siculus says, that such as were ejected from their country by the ofreicinium were allowed to return in five years; but in this he is mistaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whose punishment fell to quit the Athenian territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule is, telling the exact number of the shells, and rendering the ofreicinium void, if they did not amount to five thousand, was a great point in favour of eminent person, done in a city where they were not above 18,000 free citizens, it must not have been a very efficacious thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon such a design. It may seem strange, that the author of so extraordinary a law as this should not be known; and yet it is certain, that about no historical point author differs more. Aristocles ascribes it to Clisthenes already mentioned (71); Dionysus Siculus says it took place under the Pissistrati (71), and many are of that opinion I am among. For Plutarch reports, that Hippias was banished under their administration (72). Hippias thus fixes this general affection to Hippias, whom he expressly declares the author of this severe practice (71). Plutarch, in his account from Plutarch Hippiarchus, ascribes it to Aesicles the son of Lycon (73), but Suidas and Eustathius both set it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, c.e. under the regia of Themistocles. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no dispute, that it ended in the banishment of Hippias. This practice Aristocles seems to attribute to all the democracies of his time (71), and we are assured by various authors, that the Aetians (71), Philippians, Megarians, and Sicyonians left the same law, though under different titles, under them.

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Book I.

affirmed the name of juft, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending
parties, had indubitably erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards, for
the safety (said the agents of Themistocles) confitutes a tyrant but giving laws? On a
cloth (said he) they would neither write nor read, brought his shell to Aritides, and said, Write me
who could neither write nor read, brought his shell to Aritides, and said, Write me
Aritides upon this. Aritides surprized asked him, if he knew any ill of that Arbe
nian, or if he had ever done him hurt. Me hurt! (said the fellow) no, I don't so
much as know him, but I am weary and sick at heart on hearing him every where called
the juft. Aritides therefore took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it. This
was certainly a strong proof of his firmness of mind, but he gave yet a greater. It
When the magistrates signified to him that the eftacrism fell upon him, he retired mo
defly out of the forum, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said,
I beseech the Gods, that the Athenians may never see that day which shall force them

to remember Aritides.  

The war against the inhabitants of Aegina revived after the battle of Marathon, the
the nobles and their part
was carried on by both parties with great animosity; the nobles and many of them to death,
and had fallen upon the remains of Nicodromus's party, and put many of them to death
with such circumstances, as not only irritated the eiders, but made many of their
own citizens uneasy. The Athenians had revenged the death of their confederates
in several expeditions, but the inhabitants of Aegina had in their turn done the fabre
deeds of Aitienus considerable damage, which was entirely owing to their power great
at far, their fleets being more numerous, and their ships better, than their neighbours.
Thebes having concluded this continually exhoited the Athenians to observe and weigh
in their minds. He also gave them to understand, that in his opinion the Persien
war was so far from being ended that it was but begun, because it was unreasonable
to suppose, that Aegina, who succeeded his father in his empire, would not also succe
ceed him in his hatred to the Grecians, from whom the honour of his empire had
suffered so much. Having often infisted on these topics, he had at last the boldnes
of telling them, that he had divided among themselves, should be applied to building ships, with which,
being thoroughly possessed of the nature of the thing they, compiled, and a hun
dred gallies were immediately put upon the stocks; and this sudden increace of the
Athenian fleet, with their adding themselves continually afterwards to maritime
affairs, proved the means of prevailing, not only Aitienus, but all Greece in the en
joyment of its libertys, as Thebes having rightly forew a it would be.

The Greeks propose to think the Persians, the

By this time, that is, about three years after the banishment of Aritides, the
Athenians found, that Thebes had spoke the truth, where he affirmed that the
Persian war, instead of being ended, was but just begun; for Aegina, after having
made prodigious preparations for the total conquest of Greece, sent messengers with
to a Greek interpreter to its several cities, and ordered him to make the breach still wider between these two nations, engaged the
Athenians to use the interpreter, and put him to death, for presuming to publish
the decrees of the king of Persia in the language of the Greeks. This act of severity
was followed by another; one Aristides of Zela a town in Thraces had settled at Aitienus,
and had an high freedom granted him; this man, having received large sums of
money from the king of Persia, endeavoured to corrupt some of the principal perfous of the city therewith, for which Thebes procured him to be banished
Aitienus by found of trumpets, and his family to be degraded. Lastly, with
the assistance of Cleobulus the Aegian, he engaged the several states of Greece to lay
afide their quarrels, and to provide for their mutual defence.

When it came to be debated who should be appointed the general of the
Athenians, in case the Persians should invade them, one Epicydes, a great orator,
but a man otherwise little capable of the charge, influenced the people so
much by his speeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that
important office. Themistocles, being the danger of his country and knowing the
man to be covetous, framed his own circumstances and bought him off. By en
gaging him to defeat, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then
left capable of contending with him; he was presently elected.  

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The History of the Athenians.

Chap. 18. 469

When news came to Athens, that the Persians were upon the point of invading Greece by the straights of Thermopylae, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, Themistocles advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their galleys, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a distance; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himself at the head of their army, and having joined the Lacedaemonians marched towards Tempe. But when advice came, that the straights of Thermopylae were forced, and not only Thessaly, but Boeotia, had yielded to the Persians, the army returned without effecting anything 1.

The Athenians in this distress sent messengers to the Delphian Apollo, who, on their arrival having performed the usual ceremonies, sat down in the sanctuary, and there received from Arifontica, who was at that time priestess, the following oracle.

Fly to the fairest regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and thun' th' impending ill,
Fly from your houses, and defert your walls;
For total ruin shall subvert that place.
An angry Mars in Asia born shall come,
And all your stately piles, and temples burn.
I see the sacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with sweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate 1.

The Athenian deputies were extremely amazed at this answer, they therefore humbled themselves in a most extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, befeeching a better answer, or vows remaining in the temple till they died. The priestess, feeling herself a second time inspired, delivered at length the following response:

Pallas in vain has used her utmost art,
To pacify the wrath of angry Jove.
So that my present answer must again
Of almost adamantine hardness be.
Yet for Minerva's sake the god will give
A safe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of Cerrops, or Cithern's sacred hills,
Thence, these alone impregnable shall prove,
But never stay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight,
The divine Salamis shall lose her sons;
The' Ceres be brought home, or left abroad 2.

The Athenian deputies having wrote down this answer brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at Athens, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning, many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understand, because, as we observed before, it was palisadoed, but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles, however, declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alleged, that if the oracle had intended to foretell the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were fulfilled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians who were scandalously effeminate. All different people concurred in their sentiments, that Themistocles had most judiciously interpreted the oracle, and that the Athenians could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The many, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto, the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder; their having the tombs of their ancestors and the temples of their gods hardest of all. But Themistocles had a set of arguments in store for them, he made the very notions which

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8 Id. ib.  
1 Herodot, ubi supra.  
2 Herodot, ubi supra.  
3 D
which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over
the priests who attended in the temple of Minerva, he caueth them to give out
that the dragon refused to eat, that the offerings set before him were found untouched,
that at last it disappared, so that without doubt the gods had quitted the city,
and taken her flight before them towards the sea. By degrees the populace were
intoxicated with these pious frauds, that they made no manner of question of the
Persians being defeated, and that Salaminis would be the place. They therefore de-
creed, that the city should be recommended to the protection of Minerva, that all
such as were of age to bear arms should embark on board the fleet, and that all pos-
cible care should be taken for the preservation of children, women, and slaves.
One Cyrus an orator vehemently opposed the decree, he urged all the common
topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpless infants;
but the Athenians, conceiving that the falling in with his proposition would betray
a mean desire of preferring life, tho' at the expense of liberty, floned him in the
midst of his discourse, and the women, to shew how little they relished such argu-
ments, and how far they were from desiring that the caufe of Greece should suffer
for them, floned his wife. And thus Themistocles not only perfuaded his country-
men to do what he conceived was expedient for their safety, but even induced into them
the same spirit with which he himself acted.

The Athenians were not such as to withold their aid to the foreigners, who, from funds to us unknown, distributed eight
brigades to every man who went on board; but this sum not being sufficient, Themis-
tocles with his usual quickness devised an expedient for furnishing the rest of the
money. He gave out, that in the present hurry somebody had stolen from the flame
of Minerva her shield, whereon the head of Medusa was engraven, and having au-
thority granted him to search for it, under colour of this he took away all the money
he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the use of the public. The people, in
this their great distress, began to lament the loss of Artifides, and to express their
 apprehensions, left he, to revenge himself of the ingratiditude of his country, should
go over to the Persians. Themistocles thereupon proposed a decree, that all who
were banished might return again in order to affright the Greeks with their counsels
and perons; thus he who had been banished by the artifices of Themistocles was re-
called by his virtue. Artifides, on his return, behaved himself with more than
ordinary civility to Themistocles, and did not suffer any aversion to that general's
person to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs.

Notwithstanding the Athenian fleet was superior to that sent by any of the
confederates, nay to all the rest of the fleet taken together, yet such was the power
of the Lacedemonians, that the command thereof was committed to Euribides a
Spartan, a man either unskillful, or wanting fortitude enough for such an undertaking;

(V) At the same time that the Greeks thought of defending the pas of Thermopylae by land, they
sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the Persians through the straits of Euboea, which fleet run
增添text at Artemision. We have taken no notice of this in the text, because we shall be obliged to
enter into a detail of this matter elsewhere; but in
asmuch as the Athenians sent a squadron of ships, and on board them Themistocles, to this place, we
are obliged to take some notice of his conduct here.

The Euboeans, not being able to prevail with Eur-
bicides to remain on their coasts till they could carry
off their wives and children, addressed themselves
to Themistocles, and made him a present of thirty
talents. He took the money; with five talents he
bribed Euribides. Then Adrananthus, the Cornelian
being the only commander who inlent on the weigh-
ing anchor, Themistocles went on board him, and
told him in few words, Adrananthus, you shall not
abandon us, for I will give you a greater pretext for
doing your duty than the king of the Medes would giv
you for deserting the allies. Which he performed by
founding him three talents on board. Thus he did
what the Euboeans requested, and put it into his pocket. In the succeeding engagement
Themistocles and all the Athenians behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the
applause of all Greece. At length, when it was
thought necessary to retire from Artemision, The-
mistocles caused certain flotes to be set up in all the
ports, with inscriptions, intreating the Ionians either
to desert the Barbarians and join the Greeks, who
were fighting for their liberty, or at least to act
but faintly in the cause of their masters, remember-
ing, that they were originally Greeks themselves,
and that this very quarrell began on account of the
affinity given by the Greeks to them. This he
did with double intent; first to influence the Ionians
to set him as his dead; secondly to give the Persian
monarch a jealousy of them, that he might be the
less inclined to trust those in whose power it was
to do him most service, since the Ionians were by
far the best seamen in his fleet.

(65) Herod. ib. vii.
The History of the Athenians:

...for he, when danger approached, was for standing away for the gulf of Corinth in order to join the land army; which when Themistocles vehemently opposed, Euribiades was pleased to say, Such as rise up before the rest at the Olympic Games are left. To which the Athenian wisely answered, But they that are left behind are never crowned. Euribiades at this lifting up his baton, as if he would have struck him, Themistocles cried out, Ay, strike if you will, but hear me; upon which Euribiades laid down his staff, and patiently attended to his discourse. One of the Lacedaemonians, however, who had not so much sense as the admiral, replied to Themistocles's oration, that it did not become such, as had neither house nor home of their own, to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habits. Themistocles, taking fire at this, said, We have indeed, base fellow, left our houses and our walls, not thinking it fit to become slaves, for the fake of those things that have neither life nor soul, and yet our city is the greatest of all Greece, as consisting of two hundred galleys, which are here to defend you, if you please; but if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the Greeks will soon perceive, that the Athenians can find for themselves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have left. In a word, he took such pains to demonstrate this assembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madness to think of fighting anywhere but where they were, that the wise of the Greek captains concurred with. The chief of his arguments were these, he showed them, that if once they retired from Salamis, the fleet would never fight at all, because being made up of quotas from different states, the several squadrons would immediately sail back to their own ports, and leave the common cause of Greece without defence; that fighting before the isthmus, which was the object of the opposite party, would be attended with two dreadful consequences; the one, that Salamis and Ægina, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other, that with a small fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open sea; that, on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of Salamis, the Persians would not have near so great an advantage from the number of their ships, because the front of the line would be on both sides nearly equal, that fighting here would effectually save Peloponnesus, whereas retreating to the coast thereof would draw the Persians thither, and induce all those consequences which those that proposed it fought to shun. As to the wall built across the isthmus upon which some depended, he showed, that it was a foolish and ridiculous defence, in case they yielded the superiority of the field to the Barbarians, who would then make their descents on every side of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. These arguments, with the dread Euribiades was in, that in case he took other measures, the Athenians would defect him and fail to Italy, as Themistocles had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this resolution they remained for some time.

The courage of the Athenians on this occasion can never be enough commended, since the chief cause of that fear which spread itself among the rest of the Greeks was the miserable destruction of the city of Athens. We have already given so full an account of this matter, that there is no necessity of repeating it here. We shall content ourselves with noting two or three things, which will illustrate the history now before us. Such of the Athenians as had fled to the Acropolis or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the sword. The Persians, with whom the descendants of Pisistratus returned, showed no mercy to such as obstinately refused to submit themselves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples and setting fire to all the sacred things, which gave such high offence to the Greeks, these were not so properly to be ascribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to their zeal; for we have shown before, that the Persians were deists in the strictest sense, and looked upon temples, images, and altars, as they were the marks of polytheism, to be so many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cause that they destroyed them without pity, as their resentment of the injuries done them by the states of Athens engaged them to shew no mercy to such of its people as fell into their hands.

When Xerxes drew down all his land-forces to the sea-side, and at the same time Deocrates cauised his fleet to approach that of the Greeks, the Peloponnesians, who were in that among the generals of the Greeks.

> Herodot. ubi supra. Plutarch. ubi supra.
navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to Pelo-

pompeius from 1

Pompeius from 1

being ravaged. To this end a council of war was summoned.

for, for they would neither listen to arguments, nor pay any respect
to authority. Themistocles therefore, seeing his opinion set aside by the
PepolomeANAE, resolved to take measures for forcing them to yield; for,

as Herodotus informs us, withdrawing privately from the assembly, he sent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a small vessel, properly instructed, the name of this man was Sicyon, he was uncer
to Themistocles's children, and every way capable of being made the instrument of
great things. When he arrived in the Persian fleet, he was conducted to their council
of general officers, to whom he delivered the following message, as from Themistocles,

sires your affairs may prosper rather than those of Greece, has sent me privately

away with orders to let you know, that the Grecians in great con
ternion have
determined to betake themselves to flight, and that you have now an opportunity
of achieving the most glorious of all enterprises, unless your negligence opens
a way to their escape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not oppose
your forces, but you will see those who are your friends fighting against those
who are not of your party. This message had its desired effect, the Persians
conceived, not without some show of reason, that the Athenians, finding it to no
purpose any longer to opppose the great king, were resolved by this piece of intelli-
gence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and
country to be restored. They therefore made all the preparations necessary for
flitting up the Grecian navy, and reckoned that they were already so many prizes,
and that now they should regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the
lofs which they had sustained at Artemisia. Aribises was the first who perceived
what the Persians aimed at; he immediately went to Themistocles, and when they were
alone he addressed him, if we may believe Plutarch, who in the mean time is sup-
ported by Herodotus, in these terms: If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall now
for ever lay aside that vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between
us, and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by contending which of us
shall do most towards the safety of Greece; you by performing the part of a
wise and great general, and I by obeying and affixing you with my perdon and
advice. I understand, that you alone have determined rightly, advising to en-
gage in the conflicts without delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but
the enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your advice; for the sea
all round us is covered and shut up by their fleet, so that they who have oppossed
coming to an engagement must be forced to fight, and they themselves men of
courage, there being no room left for flight. To this Themistocles replied,
I am anhanced, Aribises, at your having got the start of me in this noble
emulation; I shall use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning, which is so
much to your honour, and to obscure, if possible, this glorious step of yours by
the lustre of my future actions. At the same time Themistocles acquainted him
with the stratagem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures they did,
and which in fact compelled also the Grecians to take those which were most advisable
for their own interest, and to which he had so often pressed them, though to little
purpose. Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputation, whose
new cemented friendship proved of the utmost consequence to the cause of Athens
and of Greece.

The detail of the battle of Salamis is unnecessary here, since the reader has met
with it before in our account of the Persian affairs. We shall therefore content our-
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ourselves with observing, that the Athenians received the highest honour from their behav

our on that remarkable occasion, though Herodotus is for bestowing the palm on the
inhabitants of Ephesia. We have more than once noted, that till Themistocles
persuaded the Athenians to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this
little isle were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered, that their long expe

rience enabled them to perform great things in a sea-fight, of which the Persians
emperor was a spectator in person, and on the event of which their own liberty and
that of all their confederates depended. The Athenians, after the Persian fleet was
once


2
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Chap. 16.

Once broke, drove their scattered ships towards the coast of Attica. The squadron of Themistocles, stretching out to sea, got on the other side of the flying Periscans, and sank many of their vessels which outdistanced the Athenians. Thus the skill and conduct of these two nations preserved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewise obliged the Periscans to account it a great happiness, if, after this extraordinary defeat, they preferred any part of that navy which had so lately darkened the coasts, and struck a panic through Greece.

The morning after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks, perceiving the enemy’s land-forces still encamped in the fame place, conjectured, that their fleet was retired into the Phalerum, one of the ports of Athens; but they were mistaken, for Xerxes had given orders, that they should fail with the utmost diligence to the Hellepont, while himself with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial Isthmus in order to unite the island of Salamis to the continent of Attica. The Greeks in the mean time were for purifying the Persian fleet, in hopes of taking straggling ships in order to increase their booty; but coming to Andros without discovering any of the enemy’s ships, they there called a council of war, in which Themistocles gave it as his opinion, that they should shape their pursuit by the way of the islands, and make all the sail they could for the Hellepont, in order to destroy the bridge which Xerxes had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch’s communication with Asia. Plutarch says, that he communicated this to Ariiades, who opposed it; but Herodotus, with greater probability, attributes this opposition to Eurybiades. That Themistocles communicated his sentiments to Ariiades might be, but that he informed Eurybiades of them is morally certain, because he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not Ariiades opposed the carrying them into execution, because he thought, that standing Xerxes into Europe with such a mighty army would be to compel him to repair his former omissions, and to exert himself with vigour against the Greeks. When Themistocles perceived that this reasoning prevailed, and that the Grecian chief-foremen were likely to come into it unanimously, he formed another scheme, which, Plutarch says, he likewise communicated to Ariiades, and that was this; he sent a trusty messenger to Xerxes to inform him, that the Greeks intended to break down his bridge over the Hellepont; wherefore he advised him to march back with the utmost speed, promising to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. Herodotus says, that he actually advised the Athenians to give over the pursuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houses, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wish for a quiet retreat, after having so long endured so violent a tempest; but at the same time our author intimates, that Themistocles had in view the safety of the Periscans, and not the interest of the Athenians, which he attributes to his forethought of following misfortunes, and his willingness to secure an asylum, when the envy of his countrymen should doom him to banishment. These sort of censures are the tribute paid by the great for the lurtre of their actions. Whether Themistocles really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is universally allowed, and that this advice suited his scheme of making Xerxes of his own accord abandon the war in Greece, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarnish his glory by receiving such imputations, and we had better suppose, that he did not foresee his disgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminish the reputation he acquired as a true patriot.

Herodotus relates another thing of Themistocles; he says, that while the Grecian fleet and army were employed in besieging Andros, this general sent to Paros and other islands, and extorted from them vast sums of money, which he infinates he applied to his own private use. Plutarch relates another passage, which must have happened pretty near this time, viz. that when the Grecian fleet was arrived at Pigea, a maritime town of Magnesia, where it wintered, Themistocles made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared, that he had it in his mind to do some thing which would prove of infinite consequence to Athens; but that it was of such a nature, that he could not communicate it to the assembly. Upon this the Athenians directed him to communicate it to Ariiades only; and in case he approved it, to...
to put it in practice. When therefore these great men were alone, Themistocles discovered in few words, that his scheme was to burn the rest of the Grecian fleet, which would leave Athens mistress of the seas. Aristides made his report to the people, that what Themistocles intended was indeed the most advantageous thing that could possibly happen to them, but at the same time it was the most unjust; upon which they readily directed him to think no more of it, extenuating it far better to sacrifice their interest to their fame, than for the sake of present advantage, how great forever it were, to hazard the censure of succeeding ages, and the name of infancy never to be blotted out.

When the fleet was returned to Salamis, and the booty was divided amongst all who had served on board it, the Greeks resolved to fall to the Ithynian in order to confer there the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of the chief had deserved best, and these being assembled in the temple of Neptune, and directed to write down his name who deserved best, and allow him who deserved best, each chief put down his own in the first place, and the name of Themistocles in the second, whereby, without designing it, they unanimously proclaimed him the most worthy of the Greeks. From thence he went to Lacondemno, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect, and the Spartans, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valor to Eurypides, argued that in prudence to Themistocles, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta, and when he returned to Athens he was escorted by five hundred horse, an honour never paid to any stranger but him.

On Themistocles's coming back to Athens, there were not wanting some who endeavoured to intimate, that his receiving such high honours from the Lacondemnians was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated these clamours with contempt, and contented himself with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired and the respect paid them by all the states of Greece. About this time some of the families of the Athenians returned from Salamis to Tyre, where they had taken refuge while the Persians ravaged Attica; the former belonged to the Athenians, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children who came to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid also the best school-masters they could find for taking care of their youth; such a high regard had the generosity of the Athenians in abandoning all for the sake of liberty drawn from every fowl in Greece. The Persians themselves were no less ready in preferring them to all the Greeks: Mardonius, whom Xerxes had left to command the army, determined for carrying on the war, chose to treat with the Athenians, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made use of Alexander king of Macedon, a person well known and highly respected at Athens. Him, as a tributary and ally of the Persians, he sent to make proposals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his master. When he arrived the Athenians entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foreboding, that the Lacondemnians would not be long after hearing this news before they sent embassadors, which accordingly came to pass. They then appointed a day for Alexander to have audience of the people, on which, as Herodotus informs us, he spoke to this purpose: "Athenians, I am sent by Mardonius to tell you, that he has received a message from the king in these words:

"I forgive the Athenians all the injuries they have done me, and therefore, Mardonius, observe the following orders: Reinstate them in the possession of their own territories; give them moreover whatever other country they shall claim; let them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, if they will come to an agreement with me. Having received these orders, I am obliged to put them in execution, unless you prevent me; and now myself would ask you, what madness prompts you to make war against a king you will never conquer, nor always be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the numerous forces and great actions of Xerxes; you have heard of the army I have, and if you should happen to be victorious and to defeat us, which you can never hope to long as you have the life of reason, another much more powerful will come against you; suffer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country, and continually alarmed for your own lives, by measuring your strength with the "king;"
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"...and be reconciled to him, since you have now so favourable an opportunity in your hands from the present disposition of Xerxes. Enter therefore into an alliance with us sincerely and without fraud, and continue to be a free people. The Athenians, are the words which Mardonius ordered me to say to you: For my own part, I shall not mention my constant affection to your state, because you have had sufficient proof of that in former time. I believe you then, hearten to the counsel of Mardonius; for I see you will not always be able to make war against Xerxes. Had I not known this, I should never have undertaken to bring you such a message; but the king’s power is incomparably greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach so extensive, that, unless you immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the consequences to you, who lying in the way of danger more than any other of the confederates, and possessing a country placed as a prize between the contending parties, must be always most exposed to ruin. Let these reasons prevail with you, and consider the important advantages you will receive, if the great king forgives you alone among all the Grecians, and becomes your friend.” The Lacedaemonian embassadors spoke in their turns, as soon as Alexander had made an end of his oration; they said, “that they were commissioned to exhort the Athenians not to listen to the proposals of the Barbarians, because it was a thing unreasonable on many accounts; First, because the original quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians, into which the rest of the Greeks were drawn merely through their respect to them; Secondly, that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty, which it would not become them now to defect: Thirdly, that there were no grounds to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a people they so much hated, when occasion would serve; that the Spartans were excessively grieved for their misfortunes, and as a mark of their regard were in conjunction with their allies take care of their wives and children till this war was at an end, and gave them what other assistance was in their power.” The Athenians, having deliberated on this proposition, answered first that of Alexander. They said, “we were well acquainted with the great power of the king, but that they were also well assured of the justice of their own cause; that as long as the sun and moon endured they would never desert the cause of Greece, nor forget the injuries done them by the Persians.” To the Lacedaemonians they answered, “they were sorry they should conceive so meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare interest with glory; that they would continue firm to their confederates without being a burden to them; but that, it being probable Mardonius would be ready for action in the spring, they hoped the Lacedaemonians would think it more reasonable to meet him with united forces in Boeotia, than to suffer him to ravage Attica again.”

What the Athenians foreknew came exactly to pass; Mardonius, according to the Athenian orders of his master, marched directly into Attica, and began to waste and plunder time after time, and the ground hard as the Athenians had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to Athens, which its inhabitants were forced a second time to abandon, the Spartans sending help to the city. When the enemy arrived long before their confederates, so that the Athenians were constrained to retire with their families to Salamis, and to send the army which they had raised, under the command of Aristides, to join that of the Spartans and other states of Greece, which, under the conduct of Pausanias tutor of king Tigranes, was preparing to refit the Persians. This army soon after advanced into Attica, where they fought the famous battle of Platea, in which they made a far greater slaughter of the Persians than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our present purpose to say anything more of this battle here, because it was fought out of the territory of Athens, and the Lacedaemonians had the supreme command. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that Aristides, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with such bravery and resolution, as procured him the praise of all the Greeks who were their cotemporaries, and hath transmitted their fame, both for valour and prudence, even to this far distant age. The same day that the battle of Platea was fought in Greece, the Persians were also defeated at Mycale in Ionia. The Grecian fleet confi ded that of two hundred and fifty galleys, under the command of Leontidas the Lacedaemonian and Xanthippus the Athenian. It

1 Herodot. ubi supr. Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. & Themist. Justin. lib. ii.
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It is universally allowed, that the Athenians behaved better than any of the rest of the Greeks in this engagement, of whom, Herodotus says, that Harmodius and the young Thukydides, a famous wrestler, deserved the first place. When they had defeated the Persian navy, the Greeks had the boldness to land and to attack the forces they found on shore, whom having also routed, they plundered all the country, and carried off an immense booty. Having done this they failed to Sparta, where it was decreed in their council, whether or no it would be fit to transport the Ionians into Greece and leave Ionia to the Barbarians, since it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, for the Athenians, or indeed for the rest of the confederates, to affright them at all times, and in case they were not protected, their present revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewise proposed, in case they were transported to Greece, to give them the territories of such Greek states as had in this war sided with the Persians; but after all the Athenians changed their minds, and showed a visible reluctance, when this design should have been put in execution. They were apprehensive, that if the Ionians were transported into Greece they would rival them in point of trade, or at least throw off that obedience and respect which hitherto they had paid Achaians, as their mother city and constant protectors. They were likewise uneasy at the Peloponnesians interfering in matters relating to their colonies, and as the Athenians were at this time the state of greatest consequence in Greece, their confederates thought it necessary to satisfy them by their particular conciliation in this point, and therefore, after promising the Ionians such advantages as they should have occasion for from time to time, the fleet left their coast. The Lacedaemonians failed back to Lacoon, but the Athenians, under the command of Xenophon, resolved to make some farther attempts before they quitted these seas.

This resolution being taken, the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and besieged Sestos. It was a strong place, and had a great garrison under the command of Artaytes, a Persians, whom Herodotus represents as a man of very different morals. The siege was long and troublesome, and autumn drawing on, the Athenians were very desirous of returning home, but their general Xenophon declared, that he would not depart till he had either taken Sestos, or was recalled by a decree of the Athenian people, because Artaytes had been guilty of sacrilege in riding the image of Proteus, and taking thence a vast sum of money. At last, the garrison, being pressed with hunger and having no hopes of relief, resolved to quit themselves, and accordingly made their escape in two parties, the one led by Oibazus, the other by Artaytes; Oibazus and his party were overtaken by the Athenians, who, after surrounding him and his guards, killed most of them, and took him and his family prisoners; after which they sacrificed him to Phoebus a Thracian god, and put the rest of their captives to the sword. The Athenians, as soon as they were masters of the place, sent out detachments to scour the country, and one of these coming up with Artaytes and his corps of troops, near the river Angis, engaged, routed them, and made him and his son prisoners. When they were brought back to Sestos and put under a guard, Herodotus relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the sacrilege before-mentioned. He says, that one of the Athenian soldiers, to whose custodv this Persian general was committed, broiling some dried fish, saw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been put into the water, upon which Artaytes addressed himself to them in these words: "Athenian friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned in this prodigy. Proteus, though dead and embalmed at Eleus, adorns me by this sign, that the gods have given him power to revenge the injury he has received: Resolving therefore to make him reparation, I will conjugate a hundred talents to his divinity, instead of the riches I took out of his temples, and I will give two hundred talents to the Athenians, if they will spare my life and the life of my son." But their general Xenophon would not be persuaded by the promises, partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the people of Eleus, to avenge the injuries done to Proteus, earnestly solicited him, that Artaytes might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the shore, where the bridges of Xerxes terminated, or, as others say, to an eminence standing near the city of Midea, they caused him to be impaled on a stake fixed in the ground for that purpose, and at the same time flayed his son before his
his eyes. When the Athenians had done these things, they returned with their fleet to Greece, carrying, besides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to be consecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year. (7).

The victories of Plataea and Mycale sealed the freedom of Greece, and particularly sated the Athenians with their apprehensions; they therefore brought back all their families into Attica, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmost expedition, but also with some degree of magnificence. The people were more elate than ever; they were conscious of the mighty share they had in driving the barbarians back into Asia, and were therefore resolved to preserve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had so warmly contended against strangers. Themistocles, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in these expectations, and Aristides, having thoroughly considered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they so much desired, than to hazard new disturbances by the rising up of different factions. He therefore proposed, that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people without preference or distinction; with this the commons were satisfied, and the men of figure were also contented. Themistocles proposed also at this time, that Athens should be infantly fortified in the best manner possible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately sustained by the sudden invasions of the Persians. He had other views than this; but they were not then ripe for discovery, so he contented himself with moving that first which was first to be put into execution. The Lacedaemonians, as soon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in Greece, and were, of consequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore sent embassadors to Athens, who, on their arrival declared to the archons, that the Spartans, having nothing in view but the general good of Greece, could not avoid remonstrating against the proceedings of the Athenians in fortifying their city, since it was clear to them, that this measure must prove very disadvantageous to their confederates, because if the Persians should again make an irruption into Asia, with the fame success as before, and possess themselves of a fortified city, they would make use of it as a bridle on Greece, and fill it with such a garrison as would render it inextinguishable. These arguments seeming to have no great weight with those to whom they were urged, the Spartan embassadors proceeded to exert an authority which had been admitted in other Greek cities, that is, they absolutely forbid the Athenians to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the same time doubtful how it might be remedied, listened readily to Themistocles' advice, which was to the following effect: He said, that considering their own insecurity and the power of Sparta, they were in this case to make use rather of prudence than proofs. That to free themselves from the Lacedaemonian embassadors, who were but a kind of spies, they should promise not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an emphybi of their own they should give satisfaction to Lacedaemon and the rest of their allies. He then offered to go himself at the head of that emphybi, and undertook to bring all things to a happy conclusion.


(7) The story of Artayctes' sacrilege we have from Herodotus, who relates it thus: "The government of the whole province was in the hands of Artayctes, a person of prowess and detestable manners, who had been placed in that station by Xerxes, and, by impelling a fraud upon him, when he marched to Athens, had rifed the treasures of Protissus, the son of Iphictes, which were at Eleus. For in the city of Eleus in Ch及其 there was the temple of the Chorus of Protissus was erected in the midst of this temple, and a great sum of money, gold and silver plate, vellums of books, and other offerings, were taken from thence by Artayctes, in virtue of a grant from the king, which he obtained by this artifice: Sir, said he, "here is the habitation of a certain Grecian, who having entered your territories with an army, perfidious as he was, defrauded. Give me the house of this man, that for the future none may dare to invade any part of your dominions. By this representation he doubted not to obtain the house from Xerxes, because he could have no suspicion of his project; and told him Protissus had invaded the royal dominions, because the Persians imagine that all Asia is the property of their kings. Thus after Artayctes had obtained his equal, he brought away the treasure to Egypt, converted the face place into pasture and arable land; and when he was at Eleus, lay with divers women in the sanctuary (76)."

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Themistocles, according to his own proposal, being named with some other Athenian embassadors to Sparta, he let out before the rift, having intimation to the senate that it would be for the interest of the state, if they delayed as long as possible finding the rift of the embassadors to Sparta. When he arrived at Lacedaemon he put off some time receiving audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his colleagues. They in the mean time exhorted the Athenians to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, fiasing neither houses nor sepulchres for materials, while women, children, strangers, servants, and citizens, all wrought night and day, so that in a short space the walls were almost finished. The Lacedaemonians having received advice of this, and the colleagues of Themistocles being arrived, they summoned them before the Ephors, who began immediately to exclaim against the perissodactyles of the Athenians in thus violating their promise. Themistocles denied the charge; he said his colleagues affrighted him of the contrary, that it did not become a great state to depend on flying rumours, but that the Lacedaemonians ought to send deputies back with the Athenian embassadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himself remained as a hostage to be answerable for the event. This being agreed to, Themistocles engaged his associates to advise the Athenians to commit the Spartan embassadors to safe custody till he should be released. He then publicly avowed the whole transaction as Lacedaemon, took the scheme upon himself, and said, That all things are lawful for our country. The Spartans, seeing no remedy, concealed their resentment, and let him home in safety.  

The next year, which was the last of the seventy-fifth olympiad, Adicaeus being archon, Themistocles opened himself further to his citizens, as to the schemes he had formed for raising their power, and increasing their wealth. He observed, that the port Phalereum was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore advised them to make the Pyreum the port of Athens, from whence he said that he was told, that great advantages would accrue to the state, but that it was not proper for him to disclose them to the assembly, or to lay down publicly the methods, by which his design might be carried into execution. He intreated them therefore to chuse two persons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The assembly thereupon made choice of Aristides and Xanthippus, to whom Themistocles freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the Pyreum the most capacious haven in Greece, and to unite the city thereto by long walls, for he did not conceive it fit that the port should be made part of the city, because, knowing that sailors are generally dissolute, he was afraid, that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He observed, that the Ionians were originally from the same stock with themselves, and that of consequence, if Athens were mistrels of the sea, they would attack themselves to her rather than to Lacedaemon, which he said would be the case of the islanders also, who, having no idea of a land-force, would fix for protection to that state whose naval power was greatest; he concluded with the eaffines with which his scheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept secret, and that there would be of its coming to nothing, if the Spartans had once an idea of what was intended. Aristides and Xanthippus went then out to the people, and told them, that Themistocles's project was of the utmost advantage to the state, and yet might be performed with the greatest ease. This, instead of satisfying the assembly, inspired them with new suspicions, they therefore directed Themistocles to apply himself to the senate, and if they approved his design, they empowered them to furnish him with what he wanted; accordingly Themistocles addressed himself to that venerable body, and they went unanimously into all his measures. In the first place embassadors were dispatched to Sparta, to intone there how fit it would be for the Greeks to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety in order to watch the desings of the Persians; having thus prepared the Lacedaemonians not to take offence at their first preparations for enlarging and establishing the harbour of Pyreum, Themistocles took such care, that every thing was finished, and the place in a posture of defence, before it was well known at Sparta what the Athenians were about.

The Greeks continuing the war all this time against the Persians, Aristides and Cimon the son of Miltiades were lent commanders of the Athenian forces, Persianians the Lacedaemonian

Chap. 18. The History of the Athenians:

Lacedaemonians having the command in chief. This Pausanius, elate with the success he had had at Platea and full also of new designs, having engaged in a transfonnable correspondence with the Perisan king, treated all the captains under his command with such hautains and state, that they were not able to bear it; for he never spoke to them but in very harsh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themselves or their soldiers, till his Spartans were all served. As for the private men, under colour of preferring discipline, he treated them as if they had been all slaves, making them for the smallest offences stand with an anchor bound down on their shoulders, so that it almost sunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the justice of Arisides and the candour and generosity of Cimon attracted the hearts both of the captains and soldiers, they faw, that the Athenians were far more powerful at sea than the Lacedaemonians, and that the authority of the latter was founded only in their pride; they therefore applied themselves first to Arisides, to defire, that he would interpose with Pausanius, in order to hinder him from behaving to roughly; but when Pausanius turned from him disdainfully, and said he was not at leisure to hear him, they unanimously besought the Athenian commanders to take them under their protection, promising for the future to acknowledge Athens as the first city of Greece. Arisides, upon this proposition told them, that he saw clearly not only the fitnesse, but the necessity, of what they proposed; but as he would never hazard either the safety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not succeed, so he would never comply with their request, till by some public act they put their sincerity out of question, and fix the concurrence of all the troops beyond a possibility of retracting. Upon this Ulysses the Somnian and Antegeonas of Chios, having agreed together, ran foul of Pausanius's galley as the rode at the head of the fleet before Byzantium, and upon his threatening to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only flighted his menaces, but also told him in answer, that the best thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at Platea, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from retaliating and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the Lacedaemonians left that pre-eminence which they had hitherto maintained, and the supreme command was transferred to the Athenians 1.

The conduct of Arisides derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the states of Greece saw very clearly, that it was necessary for them to be always on their guard against the Persians, and they had already learned, that war was to be made without money; they therefore inferred, that a standing fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the settling the proportions of this fund, according to the abilities of the several states, seemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all Greece call her eyes on Arisides; they demanded him of the Athenians as the only person who could be intrusted with such a plentitude of power. He executed his commission in such a manner, that his taxation was unanimously filled, The happy lot of Greece, all its states being perfectly well satisfied with the sums he allotted them to pay. The gross account of this tax was four hundred and fifty talents. When he had finifhed this business, he discharged all the people of Greece to swear to the obervation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himself taking the oath in the name of the Athenians, throwing at the same time pieces of red-hot iron into the sea, when he pronounced curses against all such as should violate any article of the alliance they swore to. Afterwards indeed, when necessity compelled the Athenians to act a little against the letter of that treaty, Arisides advised them to transfer the curfes on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the punishments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the state. Themistocles saw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and, in order to letten his reputation, he was pleased to pay in a public assembly, that the praises bestowed on Arisides were not praises worthy of a man, but of a money-cheft, which safely keeps what is depofited therein. But this did not avenge him of an observation which Arisides had made on a former speech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greatest excellency in a general to penetrate the designs of his enemy; to which Arisides replied, that it was indeed a most necessary qualification, but that there was

was another equally illustrious, which was to have clean hands, and not be a slave to a
money. Thus when the Athenians were free from foreign wars and from any con-
frontations with their confederates, they were continually employed in domestic quar-
rels, the divisions of eminent men were never failing to raise disturbances among
their fellow citizens. An observation which we shall content ourselves with making
here once for all, though the verification thereof will occur to our readers in almost
every page of the Athenian history*

The Lacedemonians, though at first they made a semblance ofsubmitting to the
pleasure of the Greeks, who transferred the pre-eminence with respect to maritime
affairs from Sparta to Athens, yet in a short time they began to look on this as a
mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it,
because it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware, that
they enjoyed not half an empire, yet their anger being moderated by the wisdom
of some of their citizens, they had aside all thoughts of war, and the Athenians,
who had provisionally built some stout galleys, reapplied thereby some advantage from
their threatening. There seems just reason to believe, that the Lacedemonians acted more
threatening. There seems just reason to believe, that if they had taken arms; for a little after they
accused Themistocles to his countrymen of having conspired with their king Periander
to betray the cause of Greece.

When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed
appear, that Periander had discovered his intrigues to Themistocles; but it appeared
likewise, that Themistocles did all in his power to persuade him to let them fall, for
he was acquainted with this accumulation with honour. But the minds of the people
that he was acquainted with this accumulation with honour. But the minds of the people
who accused them of the reasons which induced the people of
Lacedemon to hate this great man, there remains yet one more, which deserves the rea-
ger's notice, because of all others it exasperated them most. A little after the battle
of Plataea, it was proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, or states-general of Greece,
that all the cities as had not fought against the Persians should lose their right of
funding deputies to that assembly. This Themistocles opposed, for he foresaw, that
if the cities of Thebes, Argos, and many others should lose their right of sending a
representative to this assembly, the Lacedemonians would rule all; wherefore he
represented to the members there present, that there were but one and thirty cities,
and most of them very small ones, which had concurred in the war against the
Persians, and that if the deputies of those only had sufficiency in their council, it would
undoubtedly come to pass, that this august senate would be entirely under the influ-
ence of two or three great cities, which would be at once disadvantageous and dis-
honourable to Greece. These suggestions of his having destroyed the Lacedemonian
scheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of Themis-
tocles, and sought to bring him into odium with the Athenians. Timostratus the Re-
dian, who was a famous poet in those times, wrote libels against Themistocles and Ari-
fides, and Cimon promoted exceedingly that spirit of jealousy which began to sprout
up against him. Themistocles himself gave them no handle, by erecting near his
own house a temple which he dedicated to Diana, the giver of the beef council, intim-
ating, that himfibbi had given the beef council both for the safety of Athens and
Greece. The end of these disputes was, that the Athenians by the orificial banished
Themistocles. The Lacedemonians, not satisfied with this, accused him anew of having
been concerned in Periander's conspiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from
one place to another, and at last to take shelter in the court of Admetus king of the
Molossians, but the Spartans sending embassadors thereto to threaten that king with
the Greeks making war upon him by a confederacy, he furnished Themistocles with
money to make his escape into Asia, where learning not only the Persians manners,
but the language also, he raised himself to greater favour with Artaxerxes, than any
of the native Persians, so that in time he bestowed on him a Persian wife, a large
estate, and great privileges which descended to his posterity, inasmuch, that Phu-
tarch affirms, that he knew one of them, whose name was also Themistocles, who lived
at Magnesia in full possession of them, above five hundred years after the ingratiate-

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1 of the Athenians sent this excellent person to receive his bread from strangers, and which Greece was no longer worthy (A).

The

Corn. Nepos in vit. Themist. Dio. Dor. Sicul. (A)

As far as the affairs of Themistocles were mingled with those of the state of Athens, we have followed his various fortunes in the following pages. Now, when they are no longer connected, we think it necessary to throw together some memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that Themistocles when banished had any deign either to mend himself or to take refuge in the court of the king of Persia. The Greeks themselves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedaemonians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their persecution, after he was banished, he was never suffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into Persia, if we may believe Plutarch, was very dangerous; the great king having promised by proclamation to no hundreds for apprehending him. Niagenes the Athenian found means to convey him to court in safety, for having put him into a close litter he caused the servants who attended him to give out that they carried a sick Greek lady out of Italy to a nobleman attending on the king's person; thus he arrived safely at the court of Artaxerxes, where he addressed himself to Artabazus, and informed him, that he was a Greek, who by the king's command was expected to address himself to an audience of the king, Artabazus having promised, demanded whom they should say was; for you feem, said he, to be no ordinary person. Themistocles answered, no man must be informed of this before the king himself. When admitted to the royal presence, and commanded to declare who he was, he spoke thus:

' I am Themistocles the Athenian banished and persecuted by the Greeks; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty monarch. The evils I have done to the Persians are easily to be forgiven, in consideration of the many achievements performed for them when I hindered the Greeks from pursuing the Medes after the fatal battle of Salamis and Plataea; when having freed my country, and placed the Greeks in safety, my ambition led me on to greater enterprises; in which being successful, I granted the far extended Persian empire, and extinguished sacrifices acceptable to the greatest prince on earth; Since all things having conpired to augment my present calamities, suitable to such a condition, I come hither hoping to receive mercy from a great and mighty prince, the greatest prince on earth. He is a man of former evils; humiliating your majesty, that taking the Greeks for witnisses of the sacrifices I have done for Persia, you will make use of this occasion to show the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather than the greatness of your resentment. Hereby you will preserve an humble suppliant; if otherwise, you destroy a servant of the Persians, and a public enemy of the Greeks (57).'

Themistocles mentions a letter sent by Themistocles to Artaxerxes, differing very little from this speech, attributed to him by Plutarch. Cornelius Nepos hath copied this letter from Thucydides; and all agree, that the Persians much received him with great kindness. Plutarch says, that he was so well pleased with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his face, I have Themistocles the Athenian (78). The reception giving the king for him, and as from the first compliments were over, said, I am in your debt to hundreds of talents, for so much I promised to him who brought Themistocles; he likewise promised him for greater favours, and desired he might speak his mind freely of the affairs of Greece.

6 G

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BOOK I.

The popular party in Athens carried all things before them, after Themistocles was banished; and such a number of futile wits and arks, that those who were most concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. Aristeides alone, when things came to extremity, threw him more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to Themistocles; he refused to join with Alcmaeon and Cinna in prosecuting him capriciously, and was so far from indulging him in his misfortunes, that he spoke of him with greater respect than ever. The war with Persia was not yet: let fall, the Grecian and that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, especially the Athenians, who, by means of their great force at sea, were continually enriching themselves at the expense of some or other of the Persian emperor's subjects. They therefore devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and enrich themselves, by the skill and valour of their troops and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the Grecian cities in Asia as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the Athenians, and no less grateful to the Greeks in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, by the daughter of the king of Thrace, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in the succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary that we should give the reader his character here. Cimon's abilities were fair and full, y. e. less for his virtues; his father had distinguished himself by the fame of his courage, Themistocles by the strength of his judgment, Aristeides by his probity, Cimon was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper, which made him above deceiving, the only bias on Themistocles's character; and an indefatigable honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this Cimon whom the merciful Athenians put in chains for his father's sake, and for whole rebel his father gave up her charms to Callias, remarkable only for being at the same time worthless, and worth money. In his youth Cimon did not promise much, he was little inclined to learning, which in an Athenian was a strange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were also thought blameworthy by many nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to understand that the greatest virtues are not the fittest men; for, when on the first news of the Persian invasion, Themistocles advised the Athenians to quit their city, and go on board their galleys, and was thereupon univerally decried, Cimon was immediately to the temple of Minerva, and offered up a bridge, to dignify the heroines were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships, after which he went charitably about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. Aristeides, observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to himself; that his courage might have the craft of Themistocles, in which he succeeded very happily, for Cimon only of all the Athenian generals was always beloved, and never suspected. In this expedition he took the city of Eion from the Persians, but with little advantage to the Athenians, because he, who commanded in that city for the Persian king, set fire to the place, and burnt himself, his garrison, and all the riches that were therein; however, Cimon sent colonists in that neighbourhood after revenging himself on the Thracians, who had assisted the Persians in Ionia with provisions. He afterwards reduced the island of Syres, from whence he brought the bones of Theseus, which were honourably interred at Athens. After this he returned to Athens, and having increas'd his fleet to three hundred
hundred sail, he proceeded for the coast of Caria, and having performed great things there, he sailed for Cyprus, where he was informed the Perseans fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river Erymanthus, their land-army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. Cimon, though the fleet was much stronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obstinate engagement, gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ships, their crews abandoning them to seek refuge on shore. Unfurnished with this, he debouched his forces, and attacked their land-army; the Persians fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the Athenians prevailed, and not only routed the Persians, but possessed themselves of their camp with all the riches contained therein; thus in one day he gained two important victories, one at sea, the other at land, equal to those of Salamis and Platea. Plutarch says, that he afterwards made himself master of eighty Phoenician vessels which lay in a port of Cyprus, and were intended to strengthen that navy which Cimon had destroyed. However it was, he gained such an immense booty, that the Athenians were enabled thereby to build the fourth wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of those far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a moist ground, they were first of all forced to sink great stones, that they might have whereon to erect a superstructure, besides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and besides what Cimon himself did out of his proportion of the spoils, which were very great; for he adorned the forum with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleasant fountains. The wealth of Cimon, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, so it likewise put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he so much affected; he therefore demolished the inclosures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleased; he likewise kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the poorest Athenians eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was constantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dressed, and whose pockets were well furnished with money. But if by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered suit, he made some of his domestics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the person rendered that kind of unsuitable, he took a sum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the distressed person privately. Thus, as one of the ancients said of him very justly, he gained riches that he might use them, and used them so as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing these things from a desire of becoming popular; on the contrary he sided always with the nobility, and opposed openly such as sought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches, which his victories poured into Athens, brought along with them their constant attendant corruption; but though the tide was strong, yet Artsides in the midst of a voluntary poverty, and Cimon who lived with the greatest magnificence, escaped it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money. The affairs of Athens were now in such a prosperous condition, that they would not suffer any thing to be transacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The Persians having invaded the Chersonesus, and by the help of the Thraceans made themselves entirely masters of it, Cimon was sent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ships, so that the Barbarians and their allies looked upon this as a very rash attempt; however, Cimon, falling upon them suddenly, took thirteen of their galleys, and afterwards reduced all Chersonesus under the Athenian power, after which he went against the Thessalians, who, revolting from the Athenians, had made themselves masters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers Nyssis and Syrmus, which tempted the Athenians to fall upon them. But before we enter into the

The event of this war, it may not be amiss to observe, that Cimon put the Athenians into a method of becoming irresistible at sea, and of having their neighbours, not at their own expense, but at the expense of those they avied. It was thus. Many of the Greek states, who, by the treaty concluded with Artaphernes, were bound to furnish men and galleys, as well as to pay the tax for their support, were unwilling to have themselves out of danger from the Barbarians, were very unwilling to their quota of men and ships; this mist of the Athenian generals, thinking they would have compelled them by high fines to remedy, but Cimon took a contrary course, he permitted such as were desirous of fleeing at home to remain there, and took a certain sum in lieu of a gally completely manned. By this means he insured the Athenians, whom he took on board his galleys, both to hardship and discipline, while the allies, who chose to excuse themselves in this manner, were enervated and shamed. The people of Thebes, perceiving this, thought to have shaken off the Athenian yoke; but Cimon proved too strong for them, though the Thebans behaved very bravely; for having first sustained a great loss at sea, they afterwards shat themselves up in their city, and made a very obstinate defence; while in the mean time they sent privately to the Lacedaemonians, and endeavoured to stir up their neighbours, sent to demand aid from Athens, which produced very great disputes there. Euphiletus, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, opposed the motion for sending, as the Spartans desisted, an army to their affiance. Cimon, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the Lacedaemonians, finding themselves extremely vexed by their Helots, who were revolted from them, and were supported by the Megarians and some of their neighbours, sent to demand aid from Athens, which produced very great disputes there. Euphiletus, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, opposed the motion for sending, as the Spartans desisted, an army to their affiance. Cimon, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the Lacedaemonians, finding themselves extremely vexed by their Helots, who were revolted from them, and were supported by the Megarians and some other cities, sent a fleet to Athens to lay claim to their assistance. The Athenians, however, waited rather to Cimon than to his adherents, and full of a generous concern for Greece, sent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the affiance of Lacedaemon, which service he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour, some time after, the Lacedaemonians, being engaged in the siege of Ithome, sent again to the Athenians for succour, and money, being again relieved, Cimon marching with a numerous body of troops to their affiance; but the Spartans, finding that their other confederates had sent troops insufficient to enable them to make an end of the war successfully, dismissed the Athenians from their succours, as being either afraid of them, or caring least to be obliged by them. This grievously offended the people of Athens, who thenceforward not only hated the Lacedaemonians, but all of their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to that state.

The Athenians engaged themselves in two new wars, one against the inhabitants of Aegina, who, having been always free, bore very ill those acts of sovereignty which the Athenians exercised over them, as well as the rest of their allies; the second was against the great king in Egypt, which now revolted from him, and kept an army for king. The fleet which the Athenians sent hither performed wonders for they enabled the Egyptians to beat the Persians in the field, and to subdue two districts of the great city of Memphis; but the third, which was called the small, they could not reduce, the Persians who retreated thither, having carried with them a vast quantity of provisions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a siege of three years; but this affair being already exactly related in our account.
of the Persian monarchy, we need lay no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the Athenians.

Their great business abroad did not so much take up the time of the people of Athens, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, Pericles and Ephialtes; the former of these was the son of Xanthippus, the famous Athenian captain who won the battle of Mycale, by Agaristhe the niece of the celebrated Clytemnestra, who had so great a hand in expelling the Pisistratides. He studied under Damon and Anaxagoras; from the former he learned politics, through he pretended to teach him music, and from the latter natural philosophy and the art of speaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence superior to that of any of his contemporaries; but he was obliged to conceal these shining qualifications, because the Athenians had taken it in their heads that he resembled Pisistratus very much in his face, and still more in his eloquence, which was so nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the surname of Olympias. Notwithstanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good estate, and many relations who filled the first posts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined standing for public employments, but even speaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himself the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles in banishment, and Cimon, generally speaking, employed in foreign affairs, Pericles began to apply himself strictly to public business, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of Athens had acted; for, instead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himself wholly to the lower sort of people, notwithstanding that it was contrary to his natural disposition, which by no means inclined him to a pliable infatuating behaviour. The reason was, that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could possibly attain to that eminence and superiority which he affected. Cimon, by the greatness of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate had placed himself at the head of the nobility, and was by them considered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and clemency. The multitude therefore were the sole resource of Pericles, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresew exactly the dangers he must be expoted to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the Prytaneum or assembly; he preferred an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed, before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as Cimon, to whom though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expense. He encroached the salaries given to such of the Athenian citizens as sat in courts of justice, the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in theatres (C).

Inasmuch

The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered Aristides's subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the high he had, like the rest of the great men of Athens, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen. In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. Plutarch tells us, that one Aristides, a historian of Historiarum, as M. Dodier will have it, of Cassius, that the contention between Aristides and Themistocles took rise from their being both envoys of Sigeion of the island of Cees, the most beautiful youth of his time, in which if there be any truth, it is an inconceivable argument, that the morality of the Greeks was far from being pure or perfect, since Aristides, who valued himself so much on his probity, could perish in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his contemporaries had of the rigid virtue of Aristides, is better known to us from an accident, than from all the fabulated panegyrics of the writers of history. It happened, that Aristides was present the first time that Ephialtes's tragedy was played, which has this title, The siege of Thebes by the seven captains. A courier being therein introduced, relating to Sigeion the names and qualities of those that commanded, thus

Inasmuch

Plutarch, in vi. Pericles.
The History of the Athenians.

B O O K  I.

INASMUCH as Pericles never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of consequence be chosen a member of the court of Areopagus, whence it came to pass, that he disdained their authority, because he knew they could not be well pleased with his endeavours to transfer all things to the general assembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himself the displeasure of the most venerable council among the Athenians, he encouraged Ephialtes his intimate friend to stir up the people against the Areopagites, and to make them believe, that this tribunal was the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty which their friends wished to put into the hands of the commons of Athens; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expense of the ancient constitution and of the safety of the state, as the course of this history will shew o.

When things were in this situation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the destruction of Cimon. In order to this a prosecution was commenced against him for treason against the state; this treason was pretended to consist in receiving pretents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the manifest opportunity he had to inlarge his conquest, after he had taken from the Persians the gold of Sardis in Thrace. Cimon, in defence suitable to his character, he said, that he had professed to the uprightness of his power the war against the Thracians and other enemies to the state of Athens, but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into Macedonia, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their earnings, just in their dealing, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the Athenians; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he must abide their judgment, he could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiss. Elpinice his sister engaged herself warmly in his behalf, soliciting all such as the thought might either influence.


thus describes the genius and temper of Amphiarautus. He aims at real worth without the show, Reaping those fruits which in his rich mind grow.

Wherefore fuge advice and noble actions flow.

As soon as these words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon Aristides, to show that in their opinion this was his character. He was appointed treasurer, of Athens, and executed that office with great integrity; but as the public money, he had professed of the Thespian's family, that artful politician accosted him of misappropriating public money, and whether nothing was fuller than this charge, got him condemned. But, the court of Areopagus interpreting, his fine was remitted, and he chosen treasurer for the next year, when he suffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit, who therewith extolled him to the skies, and, when the end of the year came, would have persuaded the people to chuse him a third time, when Aristides rising up, addressed himself to the assembly in these words: When I discharged my office with care, and managed your treasure faithfully and like an honest man, I was reviled and evil spoken of; but now when I have taken care of all, but left it to the discretion of their public robber, I am, it seems, an admirable treasurer, and a most excellent patriot; therefore, declare to you, that I am more afeared of the honour done to me this day, than of the sentence passed upon me last year; and with indignation and concern I fear, it is more meritorious with you to oblige ill men, than to deprive well of the commonwealth. The day before the battle of Plataea, a conspiracy being discovered among the Athenians to introduce a democracy, Aristides, who commanded, would not suffer to be looked into, for fear it should occasion some confusion in the camp; but consented himself with telling such as were suspected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might justify themselves, and how much they were indebted to their country. It is certain, that in this bold Aristides proved himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, and gave as noble lessons of his valour as he had ever done of provoke and justice; he lived but four years after Themistocles was banished, and notwithstanding he had exercised the greatest offices in the commonwealth, yet it was so poor that he was unable to make a figure himself, or to leave anything to his children, even the honour of being defended from Callicles, which procured them a maintenance from the public; we will indulge but one thing more in relation to Aristides, which respects at once his poverty and virtue, and to conclude. His cousin Callias, under a prosecution, the order who spoke against him observed, that though he was impenetrably rich, he suffered his cousin Aristides to labour under the deepest necessity. Callias receiving that this made more impression on his judges than the excuse for which he was accused, summoned Aristides, who owned, that Callias had often professed to accept money, and that he had as often answered, it better becomes Aristides to make a show of his poverty, than Callias to make an impression on his judges than the excuse for which he was accused. Callias, of his riches, there is scarce one to be found who bears witness with an equal mind. He died in the second year of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad, 467 years before Christ. 48.
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The people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest he addressed herself to Pericles, who was one of the Persians appointed by the people to accuse Cimon at his trial. Pericles heard all he had to say patiently, and then, answered with a smile, "You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these." Pericles was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that Elpinice had made any impression upon him; for it was observed, that when the trial came on, Pericles spoke but once, and then not only treated Cimon with great respect, but touched theibus of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that Cimon escaped capital punishment, though he was banished by the ofraicus, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people.

The disposition of the Athenians appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, Ephialtes took this opportunity to humble the court of Areopagus, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the cauæ which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the Athenians have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, Ephialtes did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by Aristocles and Tanagrian, as Aristophanes reports, induced thereto by the nobility, though Ictenomenes of Lampiacon, an author quoted by Plutarch, ascribes his murder to Pericles, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way.

A war breaking out between the Corinthians and Epidaurians on the one side, and the Athenians on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the Athenians conceiving, that the inhabitants of Aegina had some way or other been helpful to their enemies, sent Lecrotas their admiral at the head of a great fleet to punish that Island, which had always been troublesome to the Athenians. The inhabitants of Aegina, vainly trusting to their skill in maritime affairs, ventured with a small fleet, made up for the most part of new-built ships, to hazard a battle with the Athenians, in which, however, they suffered dearly for their rashness, being totally defeated with the los of seventy ships, so that they were constrained to submit themselves to the Athenians, and to purchase peace at the expence of honour and independence.

The states of Peloponnæus, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatness of the Athenians, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when she was engaged in troublesome affairs, and seemed to be less able to refit them. On this account the Corinthians attacked the Messenians, whom they knew to be the allies of Athens, while the Athenians upon some fresh provocation were laying siege to Aegina; but this warlike people, far from being frightened at the number of their enemies, sent Myronides their general, at the head of a considerable army, to the assistance of their allies, without deferring in the mean time from any of their former enterprises. Myronides behaved so well, that after several engagements the Corinthians were glad to return, so that this attempt to check the Athenian power failed, as many others had done, only to increat it.

The Lacottiomontes having sent a great army composed of their own troops and the Athenians thole of their allies to the assiffance of the Dorians against the Phocians, the Athenians beat at Telea pagus. Year after the flood. 2541.

and the Spartan army commanded by Lysander consisted of eleven thousand five hundred men; he did not, however, suffer rashly to a battle, but turned aside to Tanagra a city of Baeotia, where such of the Athenians as inclined to an aristocracy entered into some correspondence with him. But before their designs ripened, the A'henian army marched with great expedition.
expedition to Tanagra, so that a battle became inevitable. When the Athenians
were disposing themselves in battle, Cimon presented himself on a sudden completely
armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. But those of
the popular faction, forgetting all respect to their country and minding nothing
but their private resentments, raised a great clamour, allying that he came with no
other view than to put himself at the head of his own party in order to allure the
Lacedaemonians; they therefore insisted, that the general should not receive him, his
time of banishment being not near expired; and Cimon being informed of this,
rather than make his countrymen uneasy, voluntarily retired, but before he with-
drew, he addressed himself to Euthippus and the rest of his friends, who were charged
with being in a conspiracy with him, earnestly beseeching them to behave in such
a manner as might wipe off the aforesaid, and convince the Athenians, that they had
not amongst them either braver or honefter men than Cimon and his friends. Eu-
tippus and his companions made him no other answer than desiring him to leave
them his armour, since their generals would not permit him to serve at their head,
which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the Thebans
forsook, defeating the Athenians at the beginning of the action, added great weight
to their enemies; however, the troops of Athens and their confederates fought obsti-
nately, particularly the light body commanded by Euthippus, which, drawing close
together and having Cimon’s armour in the midst of them, charged amongst the
thickest of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all slain. In the end, how-
ever, the Athenians were routed with a very great loss. This unfortunate battle
was followed shortly after by another unlucky accident: a great convoy coming
out of Attica, the Thebans marched suddenly in the night to attack it. The Ath-
enian escort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of Tanagra,
received the Thebans as friends. But they suddenly falling upon them, the Athenian
guard stood on their defence, and made a very gallant resistance, till at last their
own army came to their aid, who quickly routed the Thebans with great slaughter;
and there in the end being sustained by the Lacedaemonians, the engagement became
again doubtful, till at length both armies being sufficiently tired, and the night
coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a short truce, that after
such rude encounters both sides might have time to recruit their forces.

The Thebans, who on account of their having joined Xerxes in his war against
Greece, had lost the government of Boeotia, applied themselves now to the Laced-
aemonians, entreating them to assist their recovery of it, and promising to be for
ever their faithful allies against the Athenians. The Spartans, conceiving this to
be a very seafarable proposal, readily complied with it, and entered into a close
league with the Thebans. By their assistance Thebes was restored to her ancient lustre,
rendered the head of Boeotia, and one of the first cities in Greece. The Athenians,
however, were so much displeased at the conduct of the Spartans in this matter, that
they resolved to send an army into Boeotia to overturn all they had been doing. My-
ronides the son of Callias was chosen general in this expedition, and he appointed
day certain when he would march against the enemy; when that day came, many
whose names were in the mutter-roll did not attend; Myronides, however, began his
march, and when many persuaded him to wait a little, such as had been negligent
might have time to come in, he answered roughly, that it did not become a general
to wait for such people, since it was to be doubted whether they would behave as ill
towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had
with him, in their early appearance in the field had given such a testimony of their
courage as seemed to promise victory. The Thebans and their allies, making up
a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched without scruple to meet Myronides
and his handful of Athenians; but the event did not answer their expectation, for
after a long and obstinate engagement Myronides prevailed, gaining a glorious and
complete victory. It is indeed surprising, as Diodorus Siculus long ago remarked,
that ancient authors have parted ever to highly this victory of the Athenians, which
in some sense was more glorious to them than either that of Marathon or Plataea.
In both those they fought against Barbarians, and were assisted by their allies; in
this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a superior army composed of the
bravest of the Greeks. The first ufe which the Athenian general made of this victory
was

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was to march to Tanagra, where the Athenians had been so hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by storm, and, that he might make even the deficits of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all Boeotia, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the Lucrians, then penetrated into Thessaly, where having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery to the Athenians, he returned home laden with riches and glory 1.

The next year Tolmides the Athenian admiral, piqued at the great actions of Myronides, prompted the people to give him power to invade Laconia, a thing hitherto attempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, Tolmides, after but for a thousand men, which were readily granted him; but he, well knowing that this was too small a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending, that he would chuse the thousand men out of the strongest and bravest of the youths of Athens, he privately solicited all such to give in their names voluntarily, suggesting, that it would be a plain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thousand to give in their names, he then chose another thousand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thousand men on board his fleet, which consisted of fifty sail of stout galleys, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at Methon in Laconia, he took it, but the Spartans sending a speedy succour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at Gythium, another sea-port belonging to the Lacedemonians, which he took and burnt, with all the shipping and naval provisions that were therein; he likewise waited all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he failed for Zacynthus, which he reduced together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then failed over to Naupactus, which he took by composition, and, having ejected the Lacedemonians, settled there a colony of Messenians, whom the Athenians had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no less to the honour of the Athenians, than those undertaken in former years against the Spartans and their allies 2.

On the very back of this, Pericles was sent with fifty ships and a thousand soldiers to invade Peleponnesus, which he did with great good fortune, burning, spoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before said, but a thousand men, for the very fame of the Athenians half discomposed their enemies, and the reputation of so great a general took away almost the power of resistance. On his return to Athens he found the people not a little out of humour, because Cimon remained still in banishment; the death of his friends in the battle of Tanagra fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been banished, and therefore we need not wonder, that all Athenians looked upon it as an act of justice due from their state to recal him. Pericles, conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately took the thing upon himself, and drew up an act for his restoration, which Cimon took so kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of scandal among the ancients, for some such there always were, as it is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to posterity, that this reconciliation between Pericles and Cimon was brought about by Euphorion, who, they say, stipulated for her brother, that he should be content with commanding abroad, and allow Pericles to be at the head of the administration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace with Persia and Sparta, and generously preferred the Greeks from falling upon each other 3.

Cimon, rightly judging that it would be impossible for the Athenians to lie still, equipped two hundred galleys with an intent to make a fresh attempt upon Cyprus, Peræa.

Year after the

The Athenians

Conclusion of

The Peace with

Cyprus.

Before Christ, 2550.

While the Athenians, or, as Diodorus Siculus says, made himself master of Citium and Malea; after which he defeated the Phoenician fleet, beat the Persian army commanded by Megabyzus, which


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which lay encamped in Clitius, and after re-embarked his forces, and returned to Cyprus, where he besieged the capital city. But the Persian monarch, finding no ease from the Athenians, and no hopes of subduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, sent orders to Artabazus and Megabyzus his commanders to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the Athenians having named on their side Callias the son of Hipponicus their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finished; the principal articles of which were, first, that all the Greek cities in Asia should be free and governed by their own laws; secondly, that the Persians should send no army within three days journey of the sea; thirdly, that no Persian ship of war should fall between Phaselis and Cyrene, the former a city of Pamphylia the latter of Lycia. Articles most glorious for the Greeks, and not a little acceptable to the Persians, since the Athenians on their side undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, Cimon died at Citium, whether of sicknels, or of a wound he received at the siege, authors were not agreed in the time of Plutarch. His death was as honourable as his life, and his last act the most glorious of all; for when he found himself about to expire, he sent for the principal commanders, advised them to embarque the men, to conceal his decease, and to sail home, being afraid that if his death was known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the last great captain of Athens, the rest were solders and of heroes too, but not patriots like Cimon; for they, flattering the humour of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight against their brethren, and most cruelly employed the widows, powers, and wealth of Greece against herself. Whereas Cimon curbed the vanity of his countrymen, he told them it was lawful to make war and to spoil the Persians, who had destroyed their city and carried away all they had: but he diffused them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the Greeks, and vehemently inveigled against that propensity they had to sacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On such occasions he was wont to say, "The Lacedaemonians would not do this; which at last provoked his countrymen to banish him, to his immortal glory and their shame. We could not avoid this clogium, because we knew that we should otherwise have occasion to speak of a man equally admirable for his Abilities and his virtues, and for applying them constantly to the service of the public, and to the aggrandizing of himself or his family."


(D) The most memorable occurrences in the life of Cimon, regarding to the Athenian state, have been already related in the course of our text; and as to his character, his disposition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them also more than once; this note therefore will contain only such passages in relation to the life of Cimon as did not fall properly within our notice, either in speaking of the public or of him. First then, Plutarch and Valerius Maximus from him, report Cimon in his monæge to have been suspected of folly, and to have been nick-named from these Causes, as his grandfather had been before him; but Valerius Maximus says rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefited the Athenian state, and that his subsequent behaviour constrained those who thought him a fool to condemn themselves of folly. The truth seems to be, that he did not affect learning, which seemed to shun to the Athenians, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; Corinbas Nepos, however, commends him for his eloquence, which some have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which perhaps they are mistaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence, so there is also a natural ability of speaking, which custom improves into nearly persuasive oratory, more pleasing to an moved audience than the most artificial and regular speeches; and this we may suppose was that kind of eloquence in which Cimon excelled. He went while a very youth into the army, and learned under the most experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of distinguishing himself as a great commander. His perfon was handsome, his figure just, his aspect manly, his hair had not curled, his behaviour affectful, his temper severe, and his mind honest. But as all men have their faults, so this great Athenian wanted not his, which were a strong passion for women and an inclination to feasting and good company; besides his love Elpis, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had several other mistresses, yet he was particularly fond of his wife, whose name was Socrates, the daughter of Euripylus the son of Megacles; when the Athenians were in humour with him they over look'd these faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they stifled their poets to treat him with great rancour. As for example, Epoxis, about the time of his banishment, wrote a piece in which were the following verses relating to Cimon:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach, But he is indolent, and will despatch; He's gone to Sparta, and was so unkind, To leave his poor Elpis behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to observe, that Plutarch treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that Cimon never suffered his passions to interfere with the business of the state, of which it seems his victories should be an incontestable proof. His attachment to the Lacedaemonians was the sole cause of his banishment; for, as we observed in giving our readers his character, he was never suspected by the people of having any design to aggrandize himself at their expense; true it is that...
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The affairs of Athens began to be suddenly and forebodingly disturbed after the death of Cimon, for, being alike hated by their enemies and their allies, the Left unlucky accident furnished a handle for new revolts or invasions. The Megarians were the first in this business, their little state, which lay in an angle of Attica, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion, of Athens, and had brought them into several quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it seems, those of Megara, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the Athenians, or else conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, disclaimed all dependence on Athens, and entered into a fierce league with her constant and avowed enemy Lacedaemon. The Athenians, as soon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the Megarians in their city. The Lacedaemonians quickly refuted this proceeding, and hearing that Pericles the Athenian general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into Attica and did abundance of mischief; upon which Pericles, who was marched against Euboea, was recalled in haste to assift his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the Lacedaemonian army; but considering that it was led by a very young man, Phileonax then king of Sparta, who had with him one Cleonidides for a tutor, he sent the latter a considerable sum of money, and thereby procured the return of the Lacedaemonian army without blows. When Pericles came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents, laid out in a fit manner on a proper occasion; at another time the Athenians would not have borne with such an article on a public account, but Pericles had such an ascendency over them, and they were too thoroughly sensible how this money had been applied, that they passed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to prosecute the expedition against Euboea, in which he had been before employed.

While Pericles was at home in the winter, Tolmides, who had done such great things for the Athenians, resolved to make an expedition into Beotia, with a small body of troops and in a very advanced season of the year; a great number of the bravest Athenians readily engaged to serve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet Pericles was constantly against it, speaking Tolmides to wait a little, and to join in his conduct prudence with valour. But he learning to take this advice, and not greatly to relish another's meddling in his affairs, Pericles told him calmly, If you will not listen to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiss if you wait twice a little while, who, if I tell you, Sir, is the wisest of all counsellors. This saying being presently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to Pericles; for Tolmides, after doing great things in Beotia, was attacked by the confederate army, composed of the quotas sent from all the little states of that country, killed, and his army routed at Chaeronia. This defeat

he had a most extraordinary affection for that nation, ruling not only a great deal of them, but from the honesty of his temper, which conformed better with the severe virtue of Sparta, than with the sprightly levity of the Athenians.

One thing is exceeding odd in Cimon's conduct, that he gave his children such names as did not seem to speak them Athenians; for he named his three sons, Lacedaemonius, Eleus, and Thebanus; most able are of opinion, that he had the thee by a woman of Clitumnus, though Diogenes the geographer af-

firms, that they were the children of his wife Hikete. It is clear from all the writers who men-

tion this great man, that even his banishment neither altered his conduct towards the Lacedaemonians, or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter against the former at the battle of Tanagra; he had interred enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which proves how ready he was in his conduct, when a high opinion all his contemporaries con-

firmed of his virtue at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his last expedition are preferred in history; the first, that when he was about to embark for Cyprus he dreamed, that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midst of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet shortly shalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Aphysios of Ptolemais interpreted this dream thus: A dog, said he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be killed a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking, which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed signified the Medes, whose armies were confinately made up of Barbarians and Greeks, yet in spite of this he felt fail and proceeded in his expedition. The second circumstance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at Cyprus, having formed some great project in his head, he sent persons in whom he could confide to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon as to his success, the oracle readily gave him this answer: You may return, for Cimon is already a city. The messengers on their return found that Cimon was at that time dead; he was somewhat younger than Themistocles, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (62).


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Book I.

defeat terribly humbled the Athenians, for, in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of Boeotia; and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the Athenians.

Pericles, notwithstanding all these checks, marched with an army into Euboea, from whence a new revolt of the Megarians caused him to be recalled, but within a short time he re-entered that ifand, and made himself master of the city of Hymettus, the inhabitants of which, to terrify the rest of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of Athenians in their stead. A short time after the rest of Euboea submitted, and, the Lacedaemonians finding it no longer for their interest to carry on war, a negotiation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, Callias and Chares being plenipotentiaries for the Athenians.

About this time Pammenes, king of Lybya, or, as Plutarch calls him, of Egypt, sent by way of present to the Athenian people forty thousand bushels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for Pericles, out of spite to Cimon's family who had children by an Arcadian woman, had preferred a law, whereby Athenians of the half blood were disfranchised; this law, on account of the division of the corn before-mentioned, was prosecuted with such severity and effect, that less than five thousand persons, who till then had been considered as freemen, were sold as slaves, a most exorbitant stroke of arbitrary power, punished afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all Pericles' children of the whole blood, and obliging him to inter dict the Athenians to cancel this law out of pity to him and his family, who, without the least compassion, had suffered five thousand men to be made slaves at once, under colour thereof. One thing this severity of his produced, which has been extremely useful to the critics, viz. the settling exactly the number of the Athenian citizens at this time, when, in the midst of so many enemies, Athens ought think of finding out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy. This number, as it is set down by Plutarch, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons.

The year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth olympiad, the Sybarites, a people of Italy, being a second time driven from their city by the Crotonians, sent embassadors into Greece, and humbly besought the Lacedaemonians and Athenians to restore them, and to send a colony to share with them the new city they resolved to build. The Lacedaemonians rejected their request, but the Athenians, who delighted much in such applications, readily yielded to it; and not only dispatched ten ships, with a considerable body of men on board, under the command of Laco and Xenocrates; but also caused a proclamation to be made throughout all Peloponnesus, that such as were willing to go and settle in Italy, might do so under the protection of their fleet, and abundance of people accepting the propinon, the Sybarites, by the assistance of these new comers, re-established their city, and built a new city which they called Thurium, in which themselves were afterwards settled Thurians.
At the close of the eighty-fourth olympiad, according to the computation of Diodorus Siculus, and six years after the conclusion of the peace between Athens and Sparta, as Thucydides relates, a war broke out between the Samians and Milesians about the city of Priene, seated under mount Mycale in Ionia; how this war came to affect the Athenians is not very clear; Diodorus says, that the Samians, who were victors, conceiving that the Athenians favoured their enemies, revolted from them; Thucydides says, that the vanquished complained to the people of Athens, who were likewise defied by some Samian malcontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government and settle a democracy. Plutarch intimates, that the Athenians having directed both parties to lay down their arms and submit to their decision, the Samians refused to do so, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason alluded to, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that Pericles engaged the Athenians in this war to gratify his relatives Aigeus and Aigisthenes, one of the handmaidens women in her time, and who had such an ascendancy over Pericles, that for her sake he sacrificed his family and his peace (F). However it was, war was decreed against the Samians, and Pericles was sent to

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The seventeen able to raise no more than 10,000 drachmas; however, valour prevailed over numbers, and the Corinthians, having beaten the Syracusans, killed all without quarter, and in the end sacked and destroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the Isthmian olympiad. In the fourth year of the Isthmian olympiad the city of Syracuse was rebuilt by the Ten Thousand, but in the first year of the Isthmian olympiad the Corinthians overpowered it again. To this a new revolt of her citizens made the application mentioned in the text to the Spartans and Athenians. Lampon and Xenocrates, who commanded the Athenian squadron, found it no difficult task to collect volunteers in Peloponnesus, when the Pythian oracle had declared that the city should be exceedingly purged if they furnished it, where the water was fresher and bred without miasma. When they arrived there in Italy, and began to search through the territory of Syracuse for such a place as could furnish the oracle, they found at a small spring which was called Tharsis, the water of which was conveyed through a bronze pipe that was called Mithridas. Conceiving, however, that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring beforehand called Tharsis. They who had the direction of the building contrived to cover the streets in length, called Hetaeris, Agapephala, Olympaia, and Dismisura, and three in breadth, viz. Tharsis, Thespis, and Tharsis. When the situation was executed according to this science, and the city completed, it appeared wonderful most everywhere, and every thing being in its appointed to be as well-arranged and commodious. Peace did not long hinder their various employments, the volunteers, connecting with others in their own country they endeavored to make all others to have an equal share in the advantages and honors, which were distributed among them, who were by far the most industrious, that they might not lose any thing by the diseases, compared them, and found for them. From the Tharsis of Greece, is divided into various parts on their diversities, their disposition, the inhabitants. The subsequent history of Tharsis will be found in its proper place. It is often said here, the circumstances attending the various colonies will be fully related in the following book, and the circumstances leading to their establishment from small sections of the land, which have been mentioned in the last book. In conclusion, I shall not enter into a deep description of the people, a thing not wonderful in itself, and have to what most writers report the opinion that he was of a very great influence in the state, that they regarded an orator and an orator. In my opinion,
fent against them with a fleet of forty sail; he presently brought them into subjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing first, that the government should be democratical for the future, and that fifty hostages of principal persons should be delivered to him with as many children. Plutarch says, that all imaginable methods were tried to soothe Pericles upon this occasion; the hostages offered him a talent a-head by way of ransom; those who disliked the democracy professed him a large sum if he would leave the government as he found it, and Pissithmus, the governor of Sardis for the Persian king, thinking an aristocratic government in Samos more advantageous to his matter, would have given ten thousand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the Athenians; but Pericles, having no respect to money, carried away the hostages to Lemnos, and eablified the democracy in Samos as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force seldom last long, the Samians fell into mighty ditfentions as soon as Pericles was gone home. Some of them who had retired to Pissithmus, having procured from him an aid of seven-hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, those of the opposite party were ejected and the Athenian garion expelled; they procured also their hostages to be privately sent away from Lemnos, and having drawn the Byzantines to their party, they declared themselves open enemies to Athens. That city, unful to bear infinits, immediately equipped sixty galleys, and sent them under Pericles to subdue the Samians a second time.

When Pericles was at sea with this fleet, he found it necessary to detach fourteen ships, as well to gain intelligence of the Phoenician fleet, as to haunt the auxiliary squadrons he expected from Chios and Lesbos; with the forty-four remaining vessels he engaged the Samians and their allies, though their fleet consisted of seventy sail, and beat them. Being afterwards strengthened by a reinforcement of forty ships from Athens and twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos, he besieged Samos by land and sea. Receiving intelligence that the Phoenician fleet was coming to its relief, he waited with sixty ships to meet it. During his absence the besieged fell upon the remainder...
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remainder of the Athenian ships under the command of Tisagogas, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained masters of the sea, during which space of time they furnished themselves with whatever they wanted. Plutarch censures Pericles’s conduct on this occasion, and attributes the loss which the Athenians sustained to his leaving the siege; but there seems to be no foundation for this, because fighting the Phocian fleet at sea, rather than in the neighbourhood of Samos, was certainly his interest. On his return to the siege, having received a further reinforcement of fourcore ships, according to Thucydides, of ninety, as Diodorus tells us, he assisted the Samians more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept seven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refresh themselves. At length after nine months siege the Samians surrendered, upon which Pericles demolished their walls, seized their ships, and mulcted them in the whole expense of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder.

When Pericles returned from this war, he procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the publick oration in commemoration of such as fell in this war, which he did with such eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where such public declamations were delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongst the rest Euphronice drew near him, but not with the same intention with the rest, for the address she had to him in these words:

"These are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, and such certainly as deserve these wreaths of glory, who have deprived us of so many worthy citizens, not in a war against Phocians or Medes, the natural enemies of our country, for such my brother Cimon waged; but in the overthrow of a city that was in alliance with us, whose people spoke the same language and were of our kindred." Pericles gave a strong instance of his great composure and readiness of mind on this occasion, for he repeated carelessly the following verses from the poet Aristeides:

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to shine;
You should not powder thus your hair,
Nor should your ungents taint the air;
Follies which suit the young and fair.

In recording these passages we had the reader’s profit as well as pleasure in view, for they shew, that as absolute as Pericles was become in Athens, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could, and durst, distinguish between the services done the state by a patriot general, one who fought nothing but to exalt the interest and glory of his country, and him who had the preversation of his own power chiefly in view. They shew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in Pericles, who was not to be ruffled even by the shrewdest speeches, but maintained always such an equality of temper as enabled him to make such an answer as was most proper on every occasion. It is on all hands confessed, that Pericles valued himself very much on the reduction of Samos, and Thucydides gives us a great reason to believe, that the Athenians conceived highly of him for that exploit; the Samians at the time he destroyed them being one of the most flourishing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wresting from the Athenians the dominion of the sea.

The war between the Corecyrians and Corinthians commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the Athenians into those engagements, which at last proved the ruin of their state. There is a necessity therefore that we should give here a succinct account of the causes of this war, and of the methods by which the Athenians were drawn to take part in it. An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia founded by the Corecyrians, one party called in the Ilyrians to their assistance, and the other, finding themselves straitened, applied themselves for aid to the people of Corcyra. They neglecting the busines, the people of Epidamnum sent to Corinth for succours, owning her for their foundress, because the Corecyrians were a colony from Corinib. The Corinthians, partly out of pity to the Epidamnians, and partly out of spleen to the Corecyrians, sent a very great fleet to the assistance of the former, which thoroughly established that party which had applied

2 Plutarch. in vit. Periclie. b de Bello Pelop. lib. i.
applied to Corinth; this being resented by the Corecyrians, they sent a fleet to Epidamnum to support the exiles, who on its arrival at that port did not act offensively, the chief commanders having instructions to propose an amicable composition of all differences, into which the Corinthians would by no means come. The next year the Corecyrians beat the Corinthians and their allies at sea, and took Epidamnum by force, after which they wanted the dominion of the confederates of the Corinthians, which greatly exasperated the latter. At Corinth therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and prefixed their confederates to do the same, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had lost, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to invade her mother city. When the Corecyrians received advice of these proceedings, they instantly dispatched embassadors to carry their complaints to Athens, and the Corinthians, on the receipt of this news, dispatched theirs likewise; both on the same errand and with equal hopes 1.

There could be nothing more glorious for the Athenians than such an application as this, which seemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this state had always affected. Thucydides therefore, who begins his history with the story of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the Corecyrians as of the Corecyrian embassadors, to which we must refer our readers. At first the Athenian people approved the caufe of the Corinthians, but they soon changed their minds, and took part with the Corecyrians, yet they did not make a league offensive and defensive with that state, because by such a step Athens would immediately have broken with Corinth and all her allies; they contented themselves with making a defensive alliance only with the Corecyrians, whereby both parties reciprocally promised to affit each other in case either should be attacked. It does not appear, that the Athenians entered much into the merits of this caufe; they were become too great politicians for that; the reasons assigned by Thucydides, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are these; first, Corecy was a very great maritime power; secondly, this island lay very convenient for affiting Athens in her designs on Illy and Sicily. When the Corinthian fleet therefore was ready to sail, the Athenians, according to their treaty, sent ten galleys to Corecy under the command of Lacedemonius the son of Cimon, with whom were joined Diotenes and Procles as co-legates. Plutarch says, that Pericles, by sending this small squadron under Lacedemonius, intended to affront him, or at least to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the ancient splendor of his family, against which that great politician had always a pique. But there seems to be very little colour for this. Thucydides says, that the Athenians, who were indeed under the direction of Pericles' counsels, did not intend the Corecyrians any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the Corinthians and Corecyrians weakened and wasted each other. The Corinthians, as soon as the faction of the year permitted, made for the coast of Corecy, with a fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail under the command of Xenocrates, affited by four other Corinthian admirals, each squadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The Corecyrians prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to sea a fleet of one hundred and ten galleys, which by the Athenian ships was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as soon as the navies were in fight, they prepared for an engagement. The Corecyrians gave the right wing to their allies, the Athenians ranging their own fleet in three squadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The Corinthians gave their right wing to the Megarians and other of their allies, disposed the rest of them in the centre, and placed their own galleys in the left, that they might engage the Athenians. The action was very brisk for a time, the Corecyrian right wing broke the left of the Corinthian fleet, and forcing some of the ships on shore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of prisoners; on the other hand, the Corinthian ships in their left wing beat the right wing of the Corecyrians, whom the Athenians, according to their instructions, aided but faintly; at last the Corinthians charging them briskly, the Athenians were obliged to defend themselves, which they did so well, that the Corecyrians were glad to retire, which accordingly they did, after taking up part of the broken ships and most of their own dead. The next day the Corinthians resolved to attack the Corecyrians again, who prepared

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a prepared on their side to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the Corinthians of a sudden retired, which the Corcyrians knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty sail from Athens put it out of doubt, that the Corinthians, seeing them, and fearing there might be more behind them, had wisely chosen to withdraw. The next day the Athenian and Corcyrian fleets went and bravd the Corinthians in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, because all the ships from Athens were clean, and the Athenians, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to Peloponnesus. Both sides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at Sybota. The Corinthians, because they remained masters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the broken vessels, made a thousand prisoners, and sunk seventy of the Corcyrian ships; the Corcyrians, because by the assistance of the Athenians they had sunk thirty of the Corinthian vessels, taken some spoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greatest sea-fight, which to this time had happened among the Greeks, there being no less than two hundred and seventy vessels engaged. The Corinthians complained loudly against the Athenians, as if they had broken the peace; the Athenians on the other hand alleged, they had only assisted their allies; and thus these states began to hate each other. As for the prisoners made by the Corinthians, they sold eight hundred of them for slaves, the rest they treated kindly in hopes of making use of them for facilitating a peace.

b The Corcyrian war was followed by the revolt of Potidea, a town in Macedon. The revolt of Potidea, founded by the Corinthians, but joined in alliance to Athenians. As soon as the Corcyrian war broke out, the Athenians sent orders to the citizens of Potidea immediately to demolish a part of the walls of the city, to send back the magistrates whom they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their own behaviour. Pericles king of Macedon, hating the Athenians, took this opportunity to persuade the Potidaeans to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they sent ambassadors to Athens to entreat the revocation of the orders sent them; but in the mean time they sent deputies to Sparta, to join with the Corinthians and Megarians in their complaints of the Athenians. The Athenians in the mean time sent a considerable fleet against Macedonia, and some time after another, with a considerable body of land troops on board, under the command of Callias, a man of great quality and courage. The Corinthians on their side dispatched Aristeus with a considerable force to the assistance of the Potidaeans. Not to detain the reader too long with a detail of all the little circumstances of this war, which may be found in the accurate history of Thucydides, we shall content ourselves with observing, that an engagement happened before Potidea, in which the Athenians were victors, but with the loss of their general Callias. Phormio, who succeeded him in his command, invested the city in form, and shut up its port with his fleet; but the Potidaeans, dreading to fall into the hands of the Athenians, made a moat obstinate, defence, while in the mean time they warmly solicited the Corinthians to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of Peloponnesus in their quarrel.

c While affairs abroad were in this condition, the Athenians were very far from being quiet at Athens. Pericles had attained such a superiority as had never been seen in Athens since the days of Pisistratus; the last competitor with him for the favour of the people was Thucydides, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications suiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmost to hinder those alterations in government which the popular party sought to bring about, and more especially opposed Pericles, who, perceiving that one of them must give way, put the matter to the test by procuring an opposition, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that Thucydides was exiled by the people. From this time forward Pericles altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his disposal, and took the whole management of the Athenian affairs at home and abroad upon himself. When the state of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the Athenians apprehended a war, in which they should be obliged to contend, not for spoil, for glory, or authority; but for their lands, and houses; and whatsoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with Pericles, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them.

**Notes:**


2. Diog. Lib. xii. Vol. ii. 6 L
them to say of him. For example, when Menon, one of Pheidias’s workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent statuary with divulging a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the statue of Minerva; many reasons induced such as disliked Pheidias to adopt this prosecution, among the rest these two; first, they conceived that they should try the minds of the people by this step, and discover whether they were at present disposed to bear with the prosecution of Pheidias or not; secondly, they thought to revenge themselves on the statuary, for having incurred a picture of Pheidias fighting with an Amazon in the shield of the godess. But in the end this business had an issue little expected, for Pheidias having declared that by Pheidias’s direction the gold was foil’d on that, the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be just. However, Pheidias either died in prison, or was banished; Plutarch says, that he was persecuted by the procurement of Pheidias’s enemies, who afterwards sought to charge it upon him. *Hermippus next accused Aphiæa of impurity or irreligion, as also for being a bawd to Pericles, and, as such, inducing the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens; Diogenes preferred a *plebeian or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, i.e. the Areopagus, against such persons as defaced the religion of their country, or taught such things, under colour of natural philosophy, in relation to celestial bodies, as were inconsistent therewith. This was known to strike at Anaxagoras the preceptor of Pericles, and even at Pericles himself. The people afflicted thereto, and, in consequence thereof, Anaxagoras was judicially accused (G). To wind up Pericles’s troubles, Dracoaddes moved, that Pericles might bring in his accounts, and that the final decision of his cause should be committed to judges, who should write their suffrages upon tablets taken from the altars. Our great orator found means to disengage himself from all these fears, he appeared in person for Aphiæa, pleaded her cause as an advocate; but in the midst of his pleadings left fall a shower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, because he

—DIODOR. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUTARCH, in vit. Pericol. • DIODOR, ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

(G) It is not clearly exprest by Plutarch, on what account either Aphiæa or Anaxagoras was accused of impurity; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that persons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and their great knowledge in natural philosophy, should be suspected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Hesiod’s time they had no less than thirty thousand deities, for whose honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to Anaxagoras, we shall have elsewhere occasion to mention him and his opinions; at present we will tick to the point before us, and say nothing but what relates to this prosecution, its causes, and consequences. *Laertius reports from one *Selinus, who wrote a book of the succession of philosophy, that Anaxagoras was accused by Cleon of impurity, for affording the fun to be a burning plate; but that, being defended by Pericles his scholar, he was tried five times, and banished, whereas *Sophocles reported, that he was acquitted by *Thucydides, not only of propagating impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the Peripatæans, and in his absence sentenced to die. *Hieronymus wrote, that Pericles brought him into court in proper garments, and much broken with fickness, which moved his judges to compassion. *Suidas is positive, that he was call’d into court for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature, and banished, notwithstanding Pericles undertook to plead his cause. *Julian tells us, that the Athenians believing the fun to be a god, and he affirning it to be without sense and knowledge, they adjung him to suffer death as a blasphemer. None of these opinions quadrated with Plutarch’s account, and, which is full worse, Plutarch does not agree with himself; for though speaking of his retirement from Athens, he affirms it to Pericles’s precaution, yet he elsewhere admits, that Anaxagoras was accused. The truth seems to be, that the whole tenor of Anaxagoras’s philosophy was, according to the religious notions of the Athenians, impious. For he taught, that matter was composed of infinite similar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were disposed in the frame we see them by an infinite self-moving mind; whence he acquiesced, from the novelty of his doctrine, the ignorance of the *Nous, i.e. the mind. He lived after his banishment at *Lampsacus, and was so much affected therewith, that when a person told him one day, *You are deprived of the Athenians: he answered, *You are mistaken, friend, you are deprived of me. As to his notion of the fun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning plate, many times bigger than *Peloponnesus, and that its revolution was occasioned by the repulse of the northern air; he hold the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her surface. He affirned likewise, that the stars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, because they were all contrary to the Athenian religion. His scholars were the greatest of men of Greece, but all suspected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus the philosopher, *Euphides the tragic poet, *Socrates the famous moralist, who heard both him and Aphiæa; some say, that *Democritus was also his hearer; but *Laertius affirms, that Anaxagoras could not endure him, which *Plato-virius likewise affirms (88).
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He had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the sight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit him. As for Amasis, he was afraid to trust his eloquence with the defence of him, whose wisdom was his only crime, and therefore he wildly sent him out of Attica, with this mark of respect, however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact economist, he was able to shew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as Thucydides observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and, thro' the innocence of his actions in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calamities that could be raised against him.

The Spartans having heard all that the little states of Greece had to say against the Athenians, and lait of all the Corinthians; embassadors were sent to Athens, to demand reparation for those injuries, or to denounce war in case of refusall. Thucydides, war, of all ancient authors the most to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the first place the expulsion of those Athenians who were tried execrable on account of the old bufinets of Cylon and his associates, because by his mother's side Pericles was allied to the family of Megacles; they next insinfted, that the siege of Potidea should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Egin should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, should be rescinded, and the Grecian states fet at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens. It is certain, that Pericles persuaded the Athenians to reject these terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted; some say, that he thought the din of war would diffigate that cloud of Impediments which his enemies were framing against him; others, that personal injuries done to him and to Alcibiades provoked him to fall into these measures; the most probable seems to be, that he advised the Athenians according to his apprehension of the affair, and directed such measures as he thought fittest with the dignity of the Athenian state. The harangue attributed to him by Thucydides, and which we have no reason to doubt is to the same effect with that which he delivered, offers the following arguments to the consideration of the Athenians. That whatever the Lacedemonians might pretend, as to the complaints of allies and injustice of them, the true ground of this resentment was the prosperitie of the Athenian republic, which they always hated, and now sought an opportunity of humbling. That it must be the fault of the Athenians themselves, if they succeed in this scheme, because, for many reasons accurately and judiciously stated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expensive war, than the Peloponnesians; that therefore it should be proposed as the most feasible, and at the same time the most equitable satisfaction that could be given, that they would reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedemonians would allow free egres and regres in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided, the Spartans would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitrations. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war, telling them, that they ought not to think they ran such a hazard for a trifile, or to retain a scruple in their minds, as if a small matter moved them to it, because on this small matter depended their safety and the reputation of their constancy and resolution; whereas, if they yielded in this, the next demand of the Lacedemonians would be of a higher nature; for having once discovered, that the Athenians might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude, that they durft deny them nothing, whereas a slight denial in this instance would teach them to treat Athens for the future on terms of equality. He enforced these reasons, by shewing, that their ancestors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all cafes preferred their glory to their cafe, and their liberty to their posftions. Diodorus informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, putting them in mind, that the treasure brought from Delos amounted to ten thousand talents, and that though four thousand had been expended on the stately gate to their citadel, yet that six thousand were still in hand, that they were also entitled to the subsidies paid by the confederate states, that
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that the flames of the gods, the Periphan lipois, and other marks of their magnifi-
cence were worth immense sums, that private men were arrived at vast fortunes, and
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...them, or because they apprehended that in time they would. With the Spartans joined all the Peloponnesians, except the Argives and part of the Achaean; without Peloponnesus the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Boeotians, Aetolians, Aetolians, and Aetolians, declared themselves on their side. On the other hand, the Cibans, Lacedaemon, Plataeans, Messenians, Aetolians, Coreanians, Zacynthians, Dorians, Thessalians, the islands for the most part, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melos and Syros, with Euboea and Samos. The Lacedaemonians assembled their army at the Isthmus, but Archidamus, the Spartan king and commander in chief, dispatched a herald to Athens before he would enter Attica; his herald was sent back without an answer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the Lacedaemonians resolving to act immediately offensively, and the Athenians preparing to defend themselves as well as they could.

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, so his wisdom seems to have been the only resource they had in it. He was aware, that Archidamus, being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his estates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and, to cut all grounds of suspicion, declared, that in such a case he made a present of his lands to the public. He then advised, that, without thinking how to defend their country-seats, they should turn all their care to the city, bury themselves especially in equipping their ships, and settle a thorough resolution, not to be intimidated with the first evils of war. The Athenians came readily into all that he proposed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To say the truth, the Lacedaemonians themselves afflicted his rife, for their ambassadors continually attacking him, the Athenians apprehended from thence that he of all others must have the greatest regard for their interest. When, however, the Peloponnesian army advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the largest boroughs in Attica, and at a very small distance from Athens, the Athenians began to grow very discontented, and to clamour exceedingly against Pericles, for no so much as attempting to drive them away. In which, however, he showed his judgment, for that army consisting of no less than sixty-thousand men, the Athenians were unable to fet on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore, when some hot heads prefixed for an engagement, Pericles very prudently said, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a short time; but men, once loaf, cannot easily be recovered. By degrees the madness of the people grew still more violent, so that he was persecuted with libels of all sorts, and even his own friends prefixed him earnestly to alter his conduct, and to attempt something for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midst of this storm, purified the plan which he had laid down in spight of the clamour raised against him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity.

He sent, however, a fleet of a hundred galleys with fourteen hundred land-forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty vessels from Corcyra, coasting the Peloponnesian shore, did infinite mischief, so that its inhabitants had no reason to boast of their expedition into Attica, since they left their own country to feel those miseries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another Athenian fleet infested the Locrians, and because Argos had been a principal occasion of the present war, when the fleet returned from Peloponnesus it ejected all the inhabitants of that island, which was repeopled from Athens. They likewise reduced Cephalonia, and several towns in Aetolia and Locris, while in the mean time Pericles refreighted those who were shut up in the city with distributions of public money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever else he could think of to amuse and divert them. In the autumn, when the Peloponnesians were retired, Pericles, at the head of a great army, entered the Megarian territory, and did all the mischief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this was, because on their account the Lacedaemonians pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this first year the Athenians made up accounts as it were with the Peloponnesians, and repaid them those mischiefs, insults, and ravages, which they had committed in Attica at the beginning of it.

In the winter of this year the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war after this manner; first, their bones were laid...

Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. Init. Dio. lib. xii.
Thucyd. ubi supra. Dio. ubi supra.
Thucyd. ubi supra. Fl. ubi supra. Vol. II. 6 M
laid in a tent to be seen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their last offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypress coffin or coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for such whole bodies had not been recovered, and consequently could not have those honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentation for them. They were then interred in a public sepulchre in the Ceramicus, and after burial, a perion, appointed by the senate of Artaepagi, made a funeral oration to their honour; the perion appointed on this occasion was Pericles. How he discharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from Thucydides, who, if he has not preferred the description of Pericles, has undoubtedly kept strictly to his sense, since he wrote and published his history within so short a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been disclosed, if in all its circumstances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to Athens; nature afflicted her at home, and the Peloponnesians, under the command of Archibamus, waffed all things abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will easily perceive from the description of Thucydides, who was sick thereof (1). Pericles

(1) This plague in Athens makes so remarkable a figure in history, and the description of it by Thucydides has been so much commended, that we should deal unjuttly with our readers, if we either omitted the description of this plague, or gave it in other words than those of that accurate historian. But then the plague which began among the Athenians, the Peloponnesians had not been long in Attica; but so great a plague, and so fatal as this, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. Formerly there were the physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died faulted themselves, as being the men that most approached the sick, nor any other art of man availed whatsoever. All supplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatsoever means they used of that kind, proved all unfruitful; in such as, subdued with the greatness of the evil, they gave them all over. It began, by report, first in that part of Euboia which lieth upon Egypt, and thence fell down into Egypt and Africa, and into the greatest part of the territories of the king. It invaded Athens on a sudden, and touched first those that dwelt in Pyrene, insomuch as they reported, that the Peloponnesians had call poison into their wells; for springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faster. Now let every man physician or other, speak concerning the ground of this sickness, whence it sprang, and what causes he thinks able to produce so great an alteration, speak according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only such things as one may take his mark by to discover the same; if it come again, having been both sick of it myself, and seen others sick of the same. This year, by confection of all men, was of all other for other diseases most free and healthful. If any man was sick before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly without any apparent cause preceding, and being in perfect health they were taken first with an extreme ache in their heads, redness and inflammation in the eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew extremely bloody, and their breath noisome and unfavorable. Upon this followed a freeczing and hoariness, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breadth; and when once it was settled in the stomoch, it caused vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that physicians ever named. Most of them had also the hiccoughs, which brought with it a strong convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch were neither very hot nor pale, but reddish, lively, and belowe of little flesh; but so burned inwardly as not to endure any the lightest cloths or linens garments to be upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedness; but rather most willingly to have set themselves into a heap of cold water; and many of them that were drunk, or looked to, possessed with infantile thirst, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being fill from ease and power to sleep as far as ever. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies would not, but relived the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, that most of them either died of their inward burning in nine or seven days, whilst they had yet strength; or if they escaped that, then the disease falling down into their bellies, and causing there great exhalations and immediate looseness, they died many of them afterwards through weaknesses. For the disease which took first the head, began above, and ran down, and passed through the whole body; and for the recovery of it, was yet marked with the loss of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loss of those escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, and many that presently upon their recovery were taken with such an oblivion of all things whatsoever, as they neither knew themselves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of fickleness which far surpassed all expression of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherin it handled each one, and appeared otherwis to be none of those diseases that are bred among us, and that especially by this: For all, both birds and beasts, that are fed to human life, though many men be abroad unburied, either came not at them, or tarrying perished. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifest defect of such fowl, which were not then seen, neither about the carcases, or within the houses of men, but only by the dogs, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seen much clearer. So that this disease, to pass over many strange particulars of the accidents that some had differently, and others in general thus as I have shown, and for other usual fickleness at that time, so man was troubled with any. Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some again with all the case.
in the midst of these distresses retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuse it into his countrymen, though he held them to the observance of the same rule which he had prescribed before, and would not suffer them to stir without the city, either to escape the plague or to attack the enemy. He caused, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and did in all together fifty vessels of the allies of Athens, on board of which, and of a hundred Athenian galleys, he embarked three hundred horse, and four thousand foot, with which he failed to Ephidaeum. The Peloponnesians, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is, withdrew their troops out of Attica, after they had waited it for forty days. Pericles, however, did no great matter, the plague raging amongst his soldiers and seamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of Agias and Cleomomus was sent against Chalce and Patara, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, so that after a short stay they returned from thence, also bringing back to Athens about fifteen hundred men out of four thousand, the rest being lost through pestilence and war. These evils drove the Athenians to madness and despair. In vain Pericles made use of all his eloquence to appease them; they sent embassadors to Lacedaemon to desire a peace, which the Spartans were much too proud to allow; after this fruitless negociation, Pericles harangued the assembly atreth, and with the utmost force of reason fought to combat their apprehensions and fears; when he had done speaking, they confessed he was in the right in advising them to begin the war; yet, distracted with the evils it had brought, they disunited and fined him; yet, with an incongruity natural to a people, they in a short time recollected him, and vouched him with almost absolute authority. But the forms in his family did not blow over so easily; his son Xanthippos quitted his house, because his father would not allow him more money than his estates would bear; but to conceal the true cause, the profligate youth gave out his father converted criminally with his wife, while this quarrel was open, Xanthippos died of the plague; shortly after him Pe-

care and physic that could be used. Nor was there any, to say certain, medicine, that applied must have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weakness, that was able to refurbish it; but it carried all away what physic forever was administered. But the greatest misery of all was the dejection of mind in such as found themselves beginning to be sick, for they grew partly desperate, and gave themselves over without making any resistance; as also their dying thus like sheep, infected by mutual imitation. For if men forbore to visit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the hewmet men: For out of shame they would not spare themselves, but went in unto their friends, especially after it was come to pass, that even their domestics, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatness of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But those that were recovered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sick; as having both known the misery themselves, and now no more safe from the like danger: For this disease never took them as the second death, so to be mortal. And these men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves through excess of present joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of this sickness hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their flames into the city, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For having no houses, but dwelling at that time of the year in drighting booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the streets, and men half dead about every conduit through desire of water. The temples also where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careless both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws, which they formerly used touching funeral, were all now broken, every one burning where he could find room. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having call those men whom he carried, go his way again. And the great locusts which ate all the others in the city, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dwell, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuously, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their estates: insomuch, as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not before they achieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, aved any man. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike, to worship or not worship; from fearing that alike they all perished: Nor the later, because no man expected that his life would last till he received punishment of his crimes by judgment. But they thought that was now over their heads; some far greater judgment decreed against them; before which fell they thought to enjoy some little part of their lives. (93).
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Pericles' sister died, after her almost all his relations and friends, left of all his second son Paralus. At his funeral, Pericles lost his heroism quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpse, he burst out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his house closely, and abandoned himself to melancholy. It was then, that the Athenians invited him to accept of those honours of which they had stripped him. At the perfusion of Alebiades and others of his friends he came abroad, and shewed himself to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his request cancelled that very unjust law, which they had made at his motion, for baitarding all children of the half blood; and hereupon he enrolled a son of his by Alphasia a freeman of Athens, by the name of Pericles. In the summer of this year, a Peloponnesian navy of a hundred galleys waited the island of Zacynthus, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themselves. Towards the end of the summer they sent embassadors to the king of Persia, to intreat his assistance against his ancient enemies the Athenians; these embassadors had it also in commission to make application to Sitaetus king of Thrace; but his son Sadocus, being a citizen of Athens, seized them and delivered them to the Athenians, who put them to death, to teach the Macedonians more mercy than they had shewn of late in killing such as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to Athens. In the winter the Athenians sent Melanippe, with a fleet of twenty ships, to Caria and Lycia, where he was slain. About this time Pheidias, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human flesh, yielded to the Athenians, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from Athens. Such were the events which fell out in the second year of the war.

In the spring of the third year, Arcidamian king of Sparta came with a great army and besieged Platea. The Plateans infested, that Pausanias, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predecessors had solemnly established; but Arcidamian infested, that they should forsake the side of the Athenians, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promise of having all things restored to them when it should be over. The Plateans were so far from accepting these terms, that they resolved to abide all things rather than desert Athens. Arcidamian then wafted their country, but not with impunity; for those of Platea made continual fallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then caused the city to be set on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to ashes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore he was constrained to turn his siege into a blockade, and having thrown up a retrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a sufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to Peloponnesus. In Thrace and Acrania the Athenians fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of Phormio gained two small victories at sea. But the great event of this year was the death of Pericles, which happened in the end of the summer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body else; for whereas it hurried off others suddenly, it destroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the constitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an instance of this last observation, Pheidias says, that when he drew near his end, he shewed some of his friends an amulet or charm which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he must be very sick indeed when he suffered such a remedy to be applied. In his very last moments, some of his friends, sitting by his bed-side and conceiving him to have quite lost his senses, arm'd themselves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a sudden he raised himself on his bed, and turning to them, said, I wonder you should commend these things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing else, and which have happened to others also, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the rest; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account. Thus Pericles died as he lived, as much superior to the greatest men of Athens as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that the fame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preservation; only it must be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and that while he was
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exalted the Albanian state and adorned its capital, he deplored the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious spirit of dominion, instead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by Aristides and Cimon (? K).

In the summer following, the Peloponnesians, under the command of Archidamus, invaded Attica the third time, destroying the ripe corn, and waiting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the Albanians, though without profit to themselves. In the mean time, the whole isle of Lesbos, the city and district of Methymna only excepted, revolted from the Albanians, who thereupon sent a fleet of forty galleys under the command of Clippiades and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of Mytilene, to demand that the citizens should pull down their walls and deliver up their ships, which if they did not do, they were then too act offensively. The Albanians endeavoured to allure the Albanians, and to that end procured a truce till they sent embassadors to Athens; but in the mean time they dispatched other embassadors to intreat aid of the Laconians, who directed them to make their solemn application at the Olympic games to the several states of Greece, which accordingly they did, and were therewith admitted into the alliance formed against Athens. The Spartans meditated another inroad into Attica, and actually advanced as far as the Ilissus; but their allies not sending their quotas as they had promised, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an Albanian fleet had appeared on the coast of Peloponnesus. Yet the Peloponnesians, in pursuance of their promise to the Albanians, sent a fleet of forty galleys to their assistance; but they were able to effect little, because the Albanians had sent a hundred galleys on that coast. Hitherto they purified the maxims of Pericles, and cultivated a naval force; but as this cost immense sums of money, they were constrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raise that tax which Aristides had imposed with the content of the Greeks, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 galleys. The Albanians and the rest of the Lesbians, greatly incensed at this of Methymna.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greatest men of Greece, will not be very long, because we have had occasion to say so much of him in his history, that very little remains unsaid. He was very learned, especially in useful science; and there is a story related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it must have been within a year or two of his death at farnace, which shows what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from most of his countrymen: just as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipse of the sun happened, which flung all the seamen with amazement, and terrified his own pilot so much that he knew not what to do. Pericles perceiving this, instantly pulled off his cloak, and muf- fing up the man's face in it, asked him if that was true, and whether he drew any ill omen from such a sight. He answered, No. Why then, said Pericles, what difference can you make between one dark sky and the other, except that what shades the sun is bigger than my cloak. And he took up the pilot and rowed to their enemies again. How much he owed to Anaxagoras appears from this, and indeed from almost every great circumstance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he bestowed upon the oracle of Delphi, that throwing himself on the ground, and muffing his face in his cloak, he took a resolution of fasting to death. When Pericles was told of this he ran to him in all haste; yet instead of lamenting his death, he fell to bewailing his own life, in case he should be deprived of so wise a counsellor; to which Anaxagoras, opening his cloak, answered with a low voice: Theft, Pericles, who kept not of a lamp, fly him it with oil. Whereupon the three men took him home, and used him better for the future. It was at his motion that the Albanian state and adorned its capital, he deplored the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious spirit of dominion, instead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by Aristides and Cimon (? K).

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Book I.

Methymna for remaining steadfast in their duty to the Athenians, made excursions into their country, whereupon the Athenians invaded the city of Mitylene, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themselves, instead of offending their neighbours. Plataea was all this time blocked up, its little garrison, consisting of four hundred natives, and four core Athenians, having then long withstood the whole power of Peloponnesus; but finding it a vain thing to hope alliance from Athens, and being very much frightened for provisions, they took a desperate way of forcing a passage through the enemy's lines, which, when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred, however, perfidiously in their intention, and fell with such fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a passage and marched to Athens, the rest were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth year of the Peloponnesian war.

In the very beginning of the next year the Peloponnesian sent forty ships to the relief of Mitylene, and at the same time entered with a great army into Attica for the fifth time, under the command of Cleomenes. The Athenians were exceedingly distressed by these cruel ravages; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in Lesbos. Paciach, who commanded before Mitylene, obliged it to surrender before the Peloponnesian fleet, sent to succour it, could arrive; he likewise chased the fleet, and returning to Lesbos sent the Lacedaemonian minister, whom he found in Mitylene, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to Athens, where the Lacedaemonian was immediately put to death; and in a general assembly of the people it was resolved, at the motion of Cleon, that orders should be sent to Paciach to put all the Mitylenians, who were at man's estate, to death; and to sell the women and children for slaves. The next day, however, they reconsidered this decree, which Cleon still supported with all his eloquence; but Diobos, an orator of a milder disposition, having shown how injurious it would be to the Athenians glory to deal so severely with persons who had surrendered at discretion, it was carried by a very small majority to reverse the decree. A clean ship was immediately dispatched to Lesbos to countermand the orders that had been sent to Paciach the day before, and instructions were given to the commander to make all the sail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ship, which, though he strongly endeavoured, he could not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to save the Mitylenians from utter destruction, for Paciach, being a man of great humanity, took a day to consider the orders he had received, and in that space the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The Athenians, however, did not wholly pardon the Mitylenians on the contrary, they put a thousand of the bravest of the rebels to the sword, demolished the walls of the city, took away all their ships, divided their lands among themselves, and let them again to the Mitylenians at very high rents. The same summer they made themselves masters of the Island of Minos, lying over against the territory of Argos; they seized likewise the port of Nisyros, and fortified it, which acquisitions were of mighty importance to them. The Plataeans, driven to the last extremity, surrendered, and by the judgment of the Lacedaemonians were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five Athenians, put to death, and their women sold for slaves. Such was the end of one of the bravest and most generous people of Greece. Their city was some time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the Thebans, who left only an inn to shew where it stood. The same, however, of its ancient inhabitants moved Alexander the great to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous sedition in Corcyra, from whence future seditions, when their chiefs rendered them terrible, were called Corcyrian. Thucydides hath inserted a very copious description thereof, its causes, and consequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the Athenians, we are bound to insert a succinct relation of it here. We have already observed, that the war waged by this state against the Corinthians induced the Peloponnesian war; and in speaking thereof we have shown, that a great number of Corcyrians were carried away prisoners into Peloponnesus, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the rest were sold for slaves; the reason of this conduct of the Corinthians was a design they had formed of engaging these Corcyrians to influence their countrymen to side with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderness imaginable, inflicting on them by degrees an hatred of democratic government,
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verment, and a desire of vesting the rule of their island in their own hands. When it was found that the Coralion prisoners had thoroughly imbibed these principles, they were told, that, on condition they would use their interest at home in favour of the allies and to the prejudice of Athens, they might obtain their freedom. The Coralions promised largely, returned home, and, which may seem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promised. From these endeavours sprang the sedition before-mentioned; at first such as were for an aristocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of such as inclined to a democratic government; they were affrighted by the Peloponnesians, but the Athenians sending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the assistance of the disaffected party, the Peloponnesians were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party, taking heart again in Coralions, avenged themselves for the injuries they had received from the now defiled faction; nor would they suffer any notions of religion to restrain their hands, but dragged away suppliants from the altars to execution, on the flouting maxim of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worst of all was, that this example once for, almost all the states in Greece felt in their turns the like commons, which were always insensible and blown up by agents from Sparta and Athens, the former pretending to fettle aristocracies every-where, and the latter exerting her utmost power to prevent their remaining any-where. In the midst of these momentous affairs, while they had to many important business on the carpet, the Athenians were engaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the rest. It happened thus; the inhabitants of Sicily were split into two factions, the one sided the Doric which had the state of Syracuse as its head, the other the Ionie which owned the Leonites for their chiefs; the latter, conceiving themselves too weak without foreign aid, applied themselves to Athens, and sent a citizen of theirs, one Corisias, and a great orator, to interest it; never was any minifter fuited better to his negotiation than this man to treat with the Athenians: he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and fo tickled the ears of the people by his fine speeches, that they ran head long into a war with which they had no business, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the Peloponnesians. Pericles had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war, he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they medled with nothing else, and that their succeeding therein would fix their empire over Greece, and secure Athens in as high a state as she could expect, or ought to desire. But the people giddy with success, and hoping at once to grasp the empire of Greece and the dominion of Sicily, resolved to affix the Leonites, and to that end dispatched a fleet under the command of Lachetes and Cleobrias; and, as if this new business had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly failed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havoc in the midst of all these great designs, cutting off this year four thousand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people, Diogenes says, ten thousand; he likewise acquaints us with what he supposes to have been the cause of this disturbance, he ascribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter and a very hot summer following thereupon, during which the Eithian gales or evening breezes were wanting. The Athenians, however, ascribed it to the pollution of the isle of Delos, by burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore caused to be removed, and sought to appease Apollo by various sacrifices; such were the events in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war.

At the opening of the next summer, the Peloponnesians, under the command of Aly the son of Archidamus king of Sparta, invaded Attica, or rather assembled in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes, which happened at this time throughout Greece, alarmed them so much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in Sicily with various success; Carcados, one of their generals, being slain, the folk command devolved upon Pachus, who discharged his trust with great reputation. At Athens the people ordered new ships to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among thele Demeillians gained great reputation, and made himself very agreeable to their allies. The Athenians, however, received some check from the Eolyans, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the Ambracians, and constrained them to conclude a peace

* Thucyd. lib. iii. Diog. Sicul. lib. xii.
with the Aetolians, the allies of Athens; Eurymenus and Sephecles, who commanded in Sicily, gained, as the winter drew on, some advantages over the Syracusans, and in this year it is remarked that mount Aetna made a greater eruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the sixth year. In the succeeding spring, Agis the son of Archidamus invaded Attica with a great army; the Athenians, however, fitted out a great fleet, sending forty ships to Sicily, and to their commanders gave instructions to keep a strict eye on Syracuse, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehensions lest their ships should make any attempt, or the Peloponnesians make a descent with their fleet of sixty galleys which was in their neighbourhood. Demosthenes was sent with another fleet to infest the coasts of Peloponnesus; he was one of the greatest generals of his time, of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet failed by Leontia, he took notice of the promontory of Pylus, which was united to the land by a narrow isthmus, having before it a barren island about two miles in circumference, in which, however, there was a very good safe port, all winds being kept off, either by the headland or by the isle; these advantages gave him to apprehend, that a garrison left here would give so much trouble to the Peloponnesians, that they would find it more advisable to protect their own country than to invade their neighbours. He proposed therefore to his colleagues, that they should immediately seize it, and fortify it with the utmost expedition; but they, desiring rather to fill up their intrigues than to do extraordinary service, for which perhaps they might not be thanked, refused to follow his advice, and inflected upon failing to Syracuse, according as the orders bore. A storm arising obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the island which Demosthenes revived his persuasions to seize and fortify so convenient a port, but in vain; his colleagues were all of another opinion, so that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the soldiers declared unanimously that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in six days finished a strong wall; and then the rest of the admirals failing to Syracuse, Demosthenes was left with five ships to guard his new-raised fortification. As soon as the news of this event was carried to the Peloponnesian army, it was immediately resolved to return back and besiege Pylus. When they arrived before the place, they took possession of the harbour, and caused a chosen body of Spartans to take possession at the same time of the island Sphacteria, and these precautions taken they attacked the Athenian restraints with great vigour; Demosthenes and his garrison made prolix and formidable, and a fleet of forty Athenian ships arriving in the nick of time, offered battle to the Peloponnesian fleet; but this being refused, because the Athenians were at presente on taking Pylus, the Athenians boldly failed into the harbour, broke and sunk most of the vessels therein, and took the rest, after which they besieged the Spartans in the isle, which threw the affairs of the Peloponnesians into the greatest disorder. The Lacedemonians sent for their magnifies into the camp, which was their custom in all great dangers, and they, perceiving that no safety could be wrought for the Spartans in Sphacteria, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the Athenian army, while a negotiation was carried on at Athens; the articles of this truce were, that the Peloponnesians should deliver up all their ships, on condition to have them punctually restored to them in case the treaty did not take effect; that neither the Athenians nor they should undertake any thing till this negotiation ended some way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the isle, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth; that the truce should end at the return of the embassadors, and that, if in the mean time it were broken in any of its articles, it should be held utterly void in all. The Lacedemonian embassadors spoke to the Athenians with great gravity and wilidom, they shewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their request; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the Spartans. You have now, said they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wilidom, or fortune, may be disputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occasion to make a just and honourable peace, you will shew, that your nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do not make peace, you will injure that reputation, and even these advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The Athenians in general

b Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.
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...eral were inclined to put an end to this troublesome war, but Cleon, one of their demagogues, a warm and obdurate man, so wrought upon them, that they inflicted on very unreasonable conditions, and treated the ambassadors in such a manner, that, finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The Peloponnesians then demanded their ships, but the Athenians, pretending that the truce had been infringed, refused to deliver them, and thereby kept the position of sixty good vessels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hostilities being recommenced on both sides, the Lacedaemonians attacked the Athenian retrenchments at Pylus, while the Athenians renewed their assaults on the Lacedaemonians at Sphacteria; the latter, though under all the discouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, inomuch, that the business went on very slowly, which gave the people of Athens much uneasiness. They began then to wish that they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at Cleon, who to excuse himself said, that it would be easy for the general of the forces they were now fending to attack the Spartans in the isle, and put an end to this dispute at once. Nicias, who had been appointed to this command, said immediately, that if Cleon believed he could do such great things, he would do well to go thither in person; the latter, conceiving this to mean only to try him, said, he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby Nicias caught him, and declared that he had relinquished his charge. Cleon thereupon said, modestly enough, that he was no general, but Nicias answered, he might then become one; and the people, pleased with this controversy, held the orator to his word; Cleon then advancing, said, I am so little afraid of the enemy, that I will defer but a very small body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with those at Pylus, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the Spartans you are in such pain about, or peril in the attempt; at which the people, little expecting such things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him, however, the troops he desired, and he set sail on this expedition, in which he conducted himself with great prudence and fortitude; for he first sent a herald to the enemies camp, signifying, that if the Lacedaemonians in the isle surrendered at discretion, a new negotiation might be commenced; but this demand, being looked upon as dishonourable to the Lacedaemonian state, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with Demosthenes made a descent upon the island, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valor, reduced the Spartans to the last extremity. Cleon perceiving it to be in their power to cut these brave men to pieces, restrained their Athenian, and sent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at discretion; whereupon the Lacedaemonian commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the Athenian generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the Peloponnesian camp, but that was refused; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships in order to be conveyed to Athens. They had fulfilled a siege of seventy-two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they lost one hundred and twenty-eight persons out of four hundred and twenty, so that two hundred and ninety-two yielded. Cleon, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully calmed the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the Peloponnesians should in the mean time invade Attica, in which case they resolved that they should be put to death. They sent a colony of Messenians, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the Spartans, to reproach Pylus, and their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the Lacedaemonians, that they quickly resolved to send embassadors afresh to Athens, in order if it was possible to put an end to the war. The people of Athens were too much exalted with their success, to treat the Lacedaemonians either with justice or candour, and the embassadors of that exiles nation, differing to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without doing anything. This summer the Athenians fought the Corinthians near the isthmus; they sent likewise a fleet to Sicily, which fleet had instructions to put in at Corcyra, and to affright the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the Lacedaemonians; this they effectually performed, for they gave the Corcyrians such affright, that the exiles fell into their power; they imprisoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death, with all the circumstances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent; when there were only fifty remaining.
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remaining, they besought the Athenians to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The Corcyrians, thereupon surrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing those unhappy men into despair, they strangled and otherwise destroyed themselves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miserable feudation, which for so many years rent this little island, and made the Corcyrians endure greater evils from themselves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The Athenians were this year successful in some other expeditions, which, to avoid proxility, we shall omit, and refer our readers to the account of them in Thucydides. In the winter, a Persian embassy whose name was Artabernes, being sent to Lacedemon, was intercepted in Thrace and brought prisoner to Athens. His letters and instructions were read, but when it was discovered, that they no way concerned the Athenians, he was dismissed, and other embassadors from Athens were sent with him to Ephesus, where, when they came, they were informed, that Artaxerxes the Persian monarch was dead, by which their commission being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year the Athenians apprehended, that the inhabitants of Chios had an intention to desert them, they therefore sent a fleet thither, with orders that they should demolish their new walls, a method they commonly practised on such occasions. These were the principal events of the seventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war there happened an eclipse of the sun, as Thucydides tells us, which was followed by an earthquake. The first matter of consequence the Athenians resolved on was, the taking of the isle of Cythera, seated on the coast of Laconia, which lay extremely convenient for them. Nicias was chosen to command this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of Pericles, had been eminent in the state, and enjoyed a great measure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary, for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, on his instructions, and timorous to the last degree of offending the people. Pericles, especially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he so much excelled all others in eloquence, that to speak and to persuade were the same things with him, and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he desired. Nicias was of another disposition, and therefore he fought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchase it, another way; he had an immense estate, and he laid out a great part of it in bellowing largefils, exhibiting plays, feasts, and whatever else might please the people, who likewise pitted the timidity of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propose to them. We have already mentioned his dispute with Cleon as to the building of Pylus; the same man was his constant opponent in every thing, which is the less wonderful, since it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and interests. Cleon was continually the author of warm and violent counsels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the Lacedemonians; whereas Nicias was gentle in his manners, advised moderate measures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other respects he was fearful, yet he never dissembled that he wished well to the Lacedemonians, that is, wished his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of the state and their own by obstinately continuing the war. The people, having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into Cythera, and furnished him with a strong fleet and a good army. Nicias executed his commission punctually and successfly, whereby he gained them a very commodious port, and brought the Lacedemonians very ill neighbours; afterwards the Athenians took Thyrea on the confines of Laconia, this place the Lacedemonians had given to the inhabitants of the isle of Aegina when they were expelled by the Athenians, these with the Cythereans were sent to Athens to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their state and nation, the latter they dispersed for the most part through the islands under their obedience, and on such as they left in their own country they imposed a very heavy tribute. In Sicily, one Hermocrates of Syracuse perilled all the inhabitants of that island to adjust the differences among themselves, whereby the Athenian generals were constrained to re-embark their forces and return home. There were three of them, Pythodorus, Sopicles, and Eurymis, they
they gave the people a distinct account of the reasons which induced them to quit the island, and inflicted particularly on this, that the Sicilians being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other measures; but the Athenians, who seldom considered any thing where success was wanting, banished two of their generals, and subjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of Megara, finding themselves exceedingly distressed from the continual incursions of the Athenians and the mischief done by their own exiles, began to have some thoughts of recalling those they had banished, of which when the Athenians had notice, they found means to engage the magistrates to afflict them in quelling the townsmen. Hipperocrates and Demeophon, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition, wherein the Megarians concerned exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the Athenians had taken possession of the town, if on a sudden some of the conspirators had not altered their minds and gone over to those who fought to defend it, whereupon the Athenians and their friends seized the long walls, and threw up a crescent wall against the city, bending all their force to make themselves masters of Nisaea, or the port, doubting not, that, if they had this, Megara would soon fall. The garison, having no magazines of provisions, were constrained to surrender at discretion, after which the Athenians invested the city and closely besieged it. Brodida the Lacedemonian came quickly from Corinth to relieve the Megarians, but the citizens being still divided in their opinions, some siding with the Athenians, some with the Lacedemonians, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time the Boeotians came with a considerable army and joined Brodidas, who thereupon engaged the Athenians; but it ended in a drawn battle; at last, however, the Lacedemonian party prevailing in Megara, those who sided with the Athenians were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was past, and not to attempt any thing which might disturb their country. But as soon as they were settled, they forgot their oath, and with it tendernefs for their country, caufed a hundred of those whom they most suspected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in consequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and poiffesed themselves of the supreme power. The exiles of Mitilene, some other Leotians, and a crew of mercenary troops, fired Rhegium in Achaia, and poiffesed themselves afterwards of Astadrus; that they might not incumber themselves with too many things, they sold the former city to its ancient inhabitants, and were quickly after dispoiffesed of the latter by the Athenian generals, Demodorus and Aristides; their colleague, whose name was Lamachus, failed to Heraclea in Pontus, where he pretended to levy tribute; but the Heracleans infifted, that, as they were subjects to the Persian king, the Athenians had no right to any subsidies from them. While these points were litigating, a land-flood drove most of the Athenian ships on shore, and broke them in pieces, so that Lamachus found himself unable to act either by land or sea. The Heracleans, instead of taking any advantage of this accident, affifted the Athenians to the utmost of their power, fo that with much ado Lamachus put his army into a condition to march through Phocis to Chalcedon. The Boeotians growing weary of that form of government, which since their league with the Lacedemonians had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the Athenians, and to invite them to affift in settling democracies throughout Boeotia; but this business was not very prosperous, for the Thebans and other Boeotians of their party drew together a great army under the command of Pantomedes. The Athenians were commanded by Demeophon and Hipperocrates; at Delium the armies met and a very bloody engagement ensued, wherein the Athenians were at last beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in Boeotia taken away, most of the Boeotians, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forfake their country and to take shelter in the Athenian territories. Theocidas the historian commanded at this time the Athenian forces on the coast of Macedonia, whither the Lacedemonians had sent Brodidas, one of their best generals with a considerable army. He, partly by force, partly by permutation, reduced Amphipolis and several other places; but Thucydides, by a quick march, saved Ione; and the Athenians, being extremely alarmed at the news of Brodidas's conquests, sent new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the Macedonian coast; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their
their interest in those parts, where the valour and conduct of the Lacedaemonian chief carried all before him. Those were the events of the eighth year of the war.

In the beginning of the spring the Spartans made new propositions of peace at Athens, supposing that the misfortunes, which their enemies had met with in Thrace and Macedonia, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much mistaken; for the Athenians, finding that fortune was no more constant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of Amphipolis, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to re-establish them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties should remain in quiet possession of what they held at present, that embassadors, heralds, and all other persons with public characters, should have free leave to enter any of the states in order to the negotiation of a general peace, that neither party should receive or protect defectors, that all controversies should be decided amicably, and not by force; proceedings at sea were likewise settled, and confederates on both sides were comprised in this truce. Immediately on the conclusion thereof, negotiations were set on foot for a general peace; but these were interrupted, and the Athenians thrown into new disorders by an accident in Thrace, where the city of Scione, and the city of Menda revolted to Brafas, who, knowing nothing of the truce, fought to draw over Potidea also; the Athenians pretended that Scione revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereof, affirming that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and Menda should be punished, which negotiations not having the power to effect, an army was sent out to reduce them; by this army Menda was recovered, but Scione made an obstinate resistance, whereupon the Athenians encompassed it with a wall and turned their siege into a blockade. The spring drawing on, the Lacedaemonian army, under the command of Brafas, made an attempt upon Potidea; but it was miscarried, and the Athenians began to recover some courage in this part of the world.

The truce expiring on the day of the Pythian games, Cleon perfused the Athenians to send a great army into Thrace under his own command; it consisted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, all Athenian citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty galleys. Cleon soon after his arrival took the city of Torone; but he miscarried in his attempt on Stagyra, which, however, did not discourage him from falling upon Galphus, a colony of the Thracians, which he took; after which he retired to Lampsacus, waiting there for succours. Brafas, who had an army much inferior to his, observing that Cleon was become careless, and that his troops did not observe discipline, attacked the Athenians by surprise, and routed them with very great slaughter; Cleon himself flying at last, but not far, a Lacedaemonian soldier overtook and killed him on the spot; Brafas was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the Athenians lost five hundred men, and the Lacedaemonians no more than seven. This decisive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the Athenians were greatly humbled by the loss of their army, and the Spartans little less concerned at the loss of their general; besides, the Athenians, in losing Cleon, lost the most popular speaker amongst them and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wise and prudent state-men amongst them thought fit to offer in their public assemblies. Amongst the Lacedaemonians there was likewise a considerable party, at the head of whom was Pliston of their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as Nicias and his party did at Athens. The proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, on the following conditions: That a restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides, excepting that Nisus should remain to the Athenians who had taken it from the Megarians, and that Platea should remain in the hands of the Thebans, because they absolutely would not give it up. The Boeotians, Corinthians, and Megarians, refused to be included in this peace, but the rest of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly sworn to at Athens in the archonship of Alceus ten years after the commencement of the war; and as Nicias of all the Athenians most vigorously promoted it, so from him it was called the Nicias peace.
The quiet of Greece was far from being restored on the cessation of the war, such of the states in Peloponnesus as were not satisfied with the terms of peace began to intrigue and negotiate amongst themselves, and to endeavour to fit on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the state of Argos. The pretence was, that the liberty of Greece was in danger from the alliance between Sparta and Athens, and as a proof of this they alleged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual consent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleasure. In the mean time the Spartans found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with Athens; for whereas it was stipulated, that all places taken should be restored, Amphipolis absolutely refused to return under the Athenian government, so that all the Lacedaemonians could do was to withdraw their garrison, and under the colour of this, the Athenians on their side refused to evacuate Pylos. The Lacedaemonians profiting earnestly to have this fortress put in their hands, or that at least the Helots and Meffennians might be removed from thence, the Athenians were at last prevailed on to grant the latter, and to send those who were thus removed from Pylos to the island of Cephallenia. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all sides, the Lacedaemonians sought to induce the Bœotians to give up Panormus and the Athenian prisoners, in hopes thereby to recover Pylos; with much ado they brought the Bœotians into this, but not till they had thoroughly destroyed the fortifications of the city in question; after which it was delivered up. The Athenians on their side had done everything that could be expected from them, excepting only the surrender of Pylos, which they kept as a pledge for the Spartans complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of Panormus therefore gave them very great uneasiness, and induced them to apprehend the Lacedaemonians had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themselves to their old confederates at their expense. These diffections were heightened by the artifices of Alcibiades, who began now to stir Nicias, and who will make so considerable a figure in the subsequent part of this history, that there is a necessity of our informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the son of Clinias, the nephew of Pericles, and defended lineally from Ajax; in his person he was so beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comeliness; his fortune was large and beyond most of the nobility in Athens; as to his parts, Cornelius Nepos seems to have drawn his just character in saying, that in him had exerted her utmost force, since, whether he confederate his virtues or his vices, he was distinguished from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all these virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a loof to his passions, he was indolent, luxurious, dissipate, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophane arts. It was a great advantage to him, that Socrates had a great friendship for him, or, as the Greeks called it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners and brought him to the knowledge of many things, of which other wise he would have been ignorant, but also gave the Athenians hopes of him, and kept them from reveling those wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilst alad; by his father's side he was descended from the Alcmene, and his ancestors by the father's side had been always upon good terms with the Lacedaemonians. Clinias had indeed disclaimed his friendship with that people, but Alcibiades renewed his title to it, and affected to shew a mighty respect to Lacedaemonian strangers. But when he observed the embassadors of that state applied themselves wholly to Nicias and his dependents; he resented it so much, that he began instantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out, that the Lacedaemonians were not hearty in their last treaty, and that Nicias was more a friend to them than was consistent with his duty to his country. In proof of the first, he alleged, that the Spartans were then taking measures for humbling Argos and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down Athens. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldness Nicias had shewn when they would have sent him with a fleet to make a descent on Spataeria; the trade of all this was, that the people began to entertain a distrust both of their old general and of their new allies. Shortly after this came embassadors from Lacedaemon to court the Athenians, and to rectify their opinions as to the sincerity of that state; these embassadors at first applied themselves to
Nicistas, who introduced them to the senate, where they declared they were vested with full power to adjust all differences, and to add such new clauses to the treaty already subsisting as might give ample satisfaction to the Athenians. When they retired from thence, Alcibiades, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his house, where he expostulated with them on their attaching themselves to Nicistas, ascribed all their misfortunes to Nicistas, and, as a proof thereof, advised them to deny in the general assembly of the people that they were vested with full powers, under pretense that the acknowledging thereof would induce the Athenians to extort unreasonable compliance. When therefore the embassadors came into the forum, Alcibiades first stood up, and asked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they answered, No. Alcibiades turning to the people, said, You see, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to these Lacedemonians, who deny to you to say what they solemnly affirmed yesternight to the senate! The people upon this absolutely refused to hear the Lacedemonians speak. Alcibiades immediately afterwards recommended the cause of the Argives, Mantinians, and Eleans, who at that time sought the friendship of Athens; but before they could come to a conclusion, an earthquake happened, which of course dissolved the assembly. At the next meeting, Nicistas proposed, that he might be sent embassador to Sparta before any hard conditions were taken, which the assembly complied with; but when Nicistas came to Lacedemon, he found there a party as unreasonable as that which he had left at Athens; for they would not give him any credit of satisfaction with respect to his demands, and only swore anew to the old alliance, merely, that they might seem to do something for the sake of their old friend. Upon his return, the Athenians concluded a league with the Argives and the other states before-mentioned for a hundred years, which Alcibiades who promoted it looked upon as a matter-piece in politics, because thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a distance, in case the feud between Sparta and Athens were revived, a thing which was much easier foreseen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this Peloponnesian war (L).


(L.) We thought it necessary to insert here the league itself, as it stands in Thucydides, for many reasons; first, because it enlightens the history; secondly, for that it shews the policy of those times, and that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were not so perfect and explicit as ours; thirdly, that it might serve as an authority to demonstrate the truth and solidity of this history; thus it runs:

"The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantinians, and Eleans, for themselves and for the confederates commanded by every of them, have made an accord for a hundred years, without fraud or damage, by sea and land. It shall not be lawful for the Argives, nor Eleans, nor Mantinians, nor their confederates, to bear arms against the Athenians, or the confederates under the command of the Athenians or their confederates, by any fraud or machination whatsoever, and the Athenians, Argives, and Mantinians, have made league with each other for a hundred years on these terms. If any enemy shall invade the territory of the Athenians, then the Argives, Eleans, and Mantinians shall go unto Athens to assist them, according as the Athenians shall send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy, after he have spoiled the territory, shall be gone back, then their city shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, Eleans, Mantinians, and Athens, and war shall be made against it by all these cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of those cities to give over the war without the consent of all the rest. And if any enemy shall invade the territory either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Mantinians, then the Athenians shall come into Argos, Elis, and Mantiniae to assist them, in such sort as those cities shall send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy hath waited their territory, shall be gone back, then their city shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, and also to the Argives, Eleans, and Mantinians, and war shall be made against it by all these cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of them to give over the war against that city without the consent of all the rest. These shall be armed men suffered to pass through the dominions of either of themselves, and all the confederates under their several command, to make war in any place whatsoever, unless by the suffrage of all the cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantiniae, their paupage be allowed. To such as come to assist any of the other cities, that city which fendeth them shall give maintenance for thirty days after they shall arrive in the city that fend them, and the like at their going away. But if they will use the arms a longer time, then the city that fend them shall send them maintenance at the rate of three oboles of Argiva a day for a man-of-arm, and of a drachma of Argiva for a horseman. The city which fendeth for the aids shall have the leading and command of them; whilst the war is in their own territory: But if they shall good unto these cities to make a war in common, then all the cities shall equally participate of the command. The Athenians shall have unto their cities and for their confederates; and the Argives, Eleans, Mantinians, and the confederates of them, shall every one unto the articles both for themselves and for their confederates; that is, they shall lend unto them, city by city, and they shall be the greatest that by custom of the feudal cities is used, and with most perfect haste, &c.

beasts offered in sacrifice, and in these words:"

"I."

Tir. 
Chap. 18.

The History of the Athenians.

The next summer Alcibiades, at the head of a considerable army, passed over into the territory of Argos, and from thence to Patrae; he laboured at both places to persuade them to build walls to the sea, that so they might the more easily receive affiance from the Athenians. The Patraeans, thinking to shew their wisdom and foresight, expostulated with Alcibiades, telling him, that if they took his advice, the Athenians might in time swallow them up. I do not know, answered he, but they may, yet they must begin at the feet and eat you by degrees, whereas, if the Lacedaemonians are your enemies, they will begin at the head and devour you all at once. The Argives thought this year to have made themselves masters of Epidaurus, but were hindered by the Lacedaemonians putting a garrison into it of three hundred men, upon whom the Athenians brought back the Helots and Mylenians, and refitted them in Pylus; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that filled the Peloponnesian war, yet no action was undertaken therein.

The next summer the Spartans drew together a very great army, which, under the command of Ages, their king, entered the territory of Argos, where the confederate army lay; but, as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was suddenly clapped up by two of the Argive generals and the king of Lacedaemon, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill treated by their respective citizens. Some short time after, an Athenian army, consisting of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, arrived at Argos, whereupon the Argives renounced the truce with Lacedaemon and began the war again. The Athenian troops were commanded by Paches and Nicias, but Alcibiades was in it as a volunteer without command; he it was who persuaded the Argives to besiege Orchomenus, and soon after Megra; but the career of their victories was soon stopped, for Ages king of Sparta, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, and is very accurately described by Thucydides; in it the Argives and their confederates were at first victorious in one wing, but the Lacedaemonians, prevailing in the center and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the Argives, and defeated them all, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of which they erected a trophy. The Lacedaemonians, however, after this battle invaded Epidaurus, and threw up intrenchments around it; in the winter a strong party in Argos joining with the Lacedaemonians, that city broke off her league with Athens, and renewed it with Sparta for fifty years; in consequence of which the Argives abolished democracy, which hitherto had subsisted in their city, and to compensate their new allies, not only set up an arithocracy among themselves, but affidited the Lacedaemonians with a considerable body of troops, to force the Sicilians upon the same measure; thus ended the fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was now opened again with circumstances more dangerous than before.

In the very next summer, Argos changed her party again, for falling into an early dislike of arithocracy, which to those who were free before seemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the Lacedaemonians in their city, and upon such of their own


own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed some and banished others, they renounced their new-made league with Sparta, and renewed their old one with Athens. They likewise began to follow the advice which Alcibiades had given them, and with indestructible industry wrought on the long walls which were necessary to join their city with the sea. The Athenians, in the mean time, being convinced that Perdiccas king of Macedonia had betrayed them, and seen the chief occasion that their expeditions against the Boeotians and the city of Amphipolis had miscarried, renounced their league with him, and declared war against him. These were the events of the fifteenth year.

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ships into the territories of Argos, to aitift his friends and to put an end to the disputes which reigned in that city; in order thereto, he caused three hundred of the inhabitants, who were suspected of favouring the Laconians, to be seized and carried away; after which they failed to the island of Melos, which, though but small and of incon siderable force, had always acted with inflexible obstinacy against the Athenians; the general contended himself with besieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned his siege into a blockade, and, leaving a considerable body of forces in his rear here, returned to Athens. Plutarch speaks of this as the sitz of the general and his army, provoked by the obstinate defence of the inhabitants of Melos; Plutarch says, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of Sparta, which, if it was not proposed, was at least promoted, by Alcibiades; Dio, for Siculus relates this fact also, but generally, and without any circumstances at all. The Athenians from Pylos made various incursions into Laconia, which the Laconians did not refuse as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their subjects to make reprisals on the Athenians. As to affairs in Macedonia, they received no very material alteration, except that the Athenians made some incursions in the territories of Perdiccas; these were the events of the sixteenth year of the war.

The Athenians determined in the beginning of this year to send a fleet and an army into Sicily, the occasion this; the Egypines, conceiving themselves exceedingly ill treated by their countrymen, sent to desire aid from the Athenians; their embassadors arrived the year before, but as no resolution was taken, or at least put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole story at once. Alcibiades and his faction were of opinion, that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the Athenians ought readily to embrace an opportunity of conquering Sicily; for with them, to invade and to conquer were synonymous terms, that from hence they might pass over to Africa, and reduce Carthage and Libya under their dominion; after which they intended to conquer Italy. People of fierce faze saw the madness of their schemes, but durst not oppose them; Nicias alone, though he was held the most timorous man in Athens, had the courage to oppose both the nobility and the people, and to fet all things forth in their true light. He said, that Athens had already as much work upon her hands as she could do, that a breach with Sparta was inevitable, that the war must of consequence be carried on in all parts of Greece, and that fleets and armies sufficient for this purpose would try the utmost strength of Athens. That Sicily was not for only a conquest as many apprehended, since it was a very populous island, and its inhabitants remarkable both for prudence and valour. That the Carthaginians, who were by far more powerful than the Athenians, had in vain attempted to reduce this island, and that in case the Athenians could prevail, it would be found no easy task to preserve their conquest against the united power of the Sicilians and all their other enemies in Greece. His discourse, however, had no manner of weight, the Athenians, deluded by their own embassadors, who reported strange things of the wealth of the Egypines, decreed, that a fleet should be sent to their assistance with a land-army on board, naming Nicias for the general, and giving him Alcibiades and Lamachus for his collegues.
Nothing could give greater uneasiness to any man, than this nomination did to Nicias, he represented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that sort, by giving the generals absolute authority to do whatever seemed to them most proper for the service of the state. While these preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city in confusion; the Hermæ, i.e. the statues of Mercury, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be discovered, notwithstanding a Proclamation offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in consequence of a clause therein, inviting any person, of what condition soever, to discover former failings, some servants and slaves deplored, that a long time before, certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed some religious mysteries, and that Alcibiades was amongst them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a prosecution against him, to which Alcibiades readily offered to answer, ascertaining his innocence, and protesting against accusations brought in his absence; but his enemies, being determined to destroy him, procured others to move, that for the present he should have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial should be assigned him; to which proposition he very unwillingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped on this occasion consisted of a hundred galleys, but they were better provided than any of the Athenians had ever vent to sea before, and when joined by their allies at Corybna, made up a hundred and thirty-four galleys; of heavy-armed troops there were five thousand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were Athenian volunteers. This great fleet sailed some time at Corybna in order to send some light frigates to the coast of Sicily, and to take proper measures with their allies for the debarkment of the forces. At Corybna the generals differed, Nicias, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far less powerful than they had been represented, inclined to send only a squadron of sixty ships to their relief. Alcibiades alleged, that it would be highly dishonourable for the Athenians, after fitting out a fleet at such an immense expence, to content themselves with sending only a part of it to perform what the whole was designed for; Lamachus differed in opinion from them both, he said, that, their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to consider what could be done against their enemies; and as an army was always most terrible at first, before the minds of the folders were discouraged by hardships and fatigues, he gave his vote for sailing directly for Syracuse, landing their troops as near as it possible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at last, however, he came over to the opinion of Alcibiades, after which the fleet sailed for Sicily, where the army was landed, and with much ado took possession of Catana; from thence they made some excursions, but with little success. But long they had not been in this island before orders from Athens arrived, directing Alcibiades to return and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the Mercures. It was a flat-trick plaid off by the enemies of Alcibiades to ruin the mighty interest he had in Athens; to the same end they gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had purloined the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended, that the causing him to be arrested in sight of his army might produce great commotions therein, those who were sent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to discover by any means the severe resolution taken against him. They executed their commission very exactly, to that Alcibiades and those of his army, who were accuses also, had not any satisfaction; but in the course of their voyage, gathering from the fame somewhat of what was intended, and being informed, that a person on view of death had acknowledged himself guilty and impeached them, they were determined not to trust an enraged and superfluous multitude, but to provide for their own safety, by withdrawing as soon as they had an opportunity; which offering itself quickly after, they gave their convoy the slip, and retired to such parts of Greece as, out of hatred to the Athenians, were most like to give them shelter; as for Alcibiades, he afterwards went to Sparta, and was well received there. The army in Sicily took this proceeding very heavily, however, the command devolving on Nicias, he managed it the best he could, as well for the sake of his own honour, as from the apprehensions he was under of being accosted, in case any accident
accident happened; for, having a just idea of the temper of his countrymen, he dreaded above all things a prosecution before the people, who heard accusations willingly, and believed the most just defences but slowly. By a stratagem he and his colleague Lamachus brought their army near Syracuse, and afterwards engaged the inhabitants of that city to make a fall, wherein they suffered some loss, and grew in great fear of an enemy whom hitherto they had in a manner despised; the Athenians, however, retired, and took their winter-quarters at Catana. In the interim the Syracuseans, by the advice of Hermocrates, sent deputations to Sparta and Corinth to desire aid against the Athenians, while themselves wrought hard in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waste the country in the neighbourhood of the Athenian camp. The moderation of Nicias and the complacency of Lamachus, a well-disposed man and an excellent officer, but little esteemed by the Athenian people because he was poor, drew many of the cities of Sicily to side with them, so that at last the island was divided into two factions, the one friends, the other enemies, to the state of Athens; as for the Syracuseans, who were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the succours they had demanded from Greece; the Corinthians readily promised and sent them assistance, and also sent embassadors to Sparta to co-operate with those whom the Syracuseans had long thither; but the Spartans, not caring to offend the Athenians further, hesitated much at their propositions, till Alcibiades informed them of the Athenian designs; then they dispatched Gyllippus with a small body of troops to assist the Syracuseans, and at the same time determined to renew the war with Athens and to invade Attica itself; this was the first step to the ruin of Athens, for by the pernicious of the same period they determined to fortify Decelea a castle in Attica, which hindered the inhabitants of Athens from returning from their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their supplies from their silver mines at Laurium, and served as a receptacle for all the malcontents, and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is strange, that this was never thought of before, and that it should be resolved on now at the recommendation of Alcibiades, who in a short time had gained as great or greater credit at Sparta than he had ever at Athens. He procured this censure by addicting himself to their customs, by conforming to them in his dres and manner of living, and in short by throwing off everything which seemed to speak him an Athenian, and going more heartily than any of the Lacedemonians themselves did into such measure as had a direct tendency to their destruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in Sicily being more weakened, the generals sent to demand a supply of money and forcemen, which the Athenians readily decreed; this was the seventeenth year after the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Nicias, having received the succours he demanded, failed to Syracuse, where he had several encounters with the townsmen, but had the better of them in all; the Athenian fleet failing into the haven of Syracuse, a very brisk action happened, in which Lamachus was killed; after which Nicias, causing new works to be thrown up before the place, straightened the Syracuseans so much, that they thought of capitulating, but in the interim Gyllippus with his Spartan succours arrived. In Greece, the Athenians, in support of their allies the Argives, invaded the territory of Epidaurus, and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful manner, subsisted between them, and the Lacedemonians. Gyllippus, by dint of counsel, defeated the designs of Nicias against Syracuse, who notwithstanding began to form new projects, and to exert his utmost skill, though in a very bad state of health, for furthering the Athenian affairs in that island. New supplies were in the mean time decreed to him at Athens, Demosthenes and Euryechus being joined in commission with him, the latter failed in the midst of winter with ten galleys and a great sum of money into Sicily; Demosthenes remained behind, being employed in providing all things necessary for a great fleet, which was to be sent thither in the spring. A small one in the mean time, consisting of twenty galleys, was sent to cruise on the coast of Peloponnesus, and there were all the remarkable things which happened in the eighteenth year of the war. Early in the spring, Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedemonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, feigned and fortified Decelea.

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Declaring, which, twenty from Athens and the frontiers of Boeotia, in the mean time, the Athenians seemed less concerned for their own safety than for their conquests in Sicily; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ships to be equipped for guarding the coasts of Peloponnesus, at the same time that they sent Demosthenes with sixty of their own galleys and five belonging to the island of Chios to support Nicias, and to carry on effectually the war against the Syracusans, who about this time received a powerful succour from the Peloponnesians. When Demosthenes arrived, he found things in a very declining way, Nicias having sometime before sustained some losses at sea, whereewith himself and his army were much dispirited, though it had been occasioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little regard to the general's orders. Demosthenes, who commanded the supply, affected to centre Nicias's conduct, as if he had wanted activity, and was not at all desirous of carrying on the war; to shew therefore of how different a disposition himself was, he would cause Eppolus to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad success; for all speaking the same language, they were unable to distinguish foe from friend, so that a mighty slaughter happened, which exceedingly weakened the Athenian fleet. Demosthenes was then for falling away as fast as possible, conceiving that, since himself could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in Sicily; Nicias on the contrary inflicted positively on continuing the siege, Euryedon joined with Demosthenes, but Nicias could not be prevailed on to depart from his sentiment; which was, that the Athenians, having once far down before a town, ought not to rise without taking it. The true motive, however, to his obstinate behaviour was his old apprehensions of the people of Athens; he remembered how they banished two generals for coming from Sicily before, though they had all the reason in the world for what they did; he chose therefore to court fortune, sickness, and the enemy, rather than the people of Athens. Yet when they received certain intelligence, that Gyllippus, with a body of Spartans and other Peloponnesian troops, was arrived, Nicias agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were issued to the army; but just as they were ready to retire, an eclipse of the moon happened, which terrified Nicias, who was a very superstitious man, so much that he would needs keep the army there seven and twenty days longer. The Syracusans, as soon as they were informed of this, attacked the Athenian camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and sea. At last a naval engagement happened, in which Euryedon was slain; and though Gyllippus and his squadron were beaten, in consequence of which the Athenians erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worst of it, since the Syracusans and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to flout them up in the port. Nicias and Demosthenes, seeing the miserable condition in which they were, concluded at last to draw their forces into a smaller camp nearer their ships, that they might be at hand to affright each other, and when this was done, they resolved to venture another engagement at sea, in hopes of breaking through; but in case they were unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themselves to burn their vessels, and to march over land to Catana; according to this resolution they attacked the Syracusans in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and resolution, the land forces being spectators on both sides. This was the most bloody battle, and by far the most obstinate which the Athenians had ever fought; in it they sunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themselves so much weakened, that the generals resolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men absolutely refused to go on board, alleging, that it was impossible for them to undergo two services at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which if they had done, it was very probable they might have escaped; but being deceived by the industry of Hierocrates, they put it off till the third day after. Nicias with his troops led the van, Demosthenes brought up the rear, but the Syracusans pressed so hard upon them, that Demosthenes was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but, the Syracusans surrounding him, and many of his men beginning to desert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having concluded that none of his men should be put to death on any pretence whatsoever, he and his troops to the number of six thousand yielded up their arms and became prisoners. The next day the Syracusans overtook Nicias, who thereupon encamped to await resistance, and disfranchised all things for making the best defence he could; Gyllippus immediately sent to inform him that Demosthenes had surrendered, and advised him...
him to do the like, which he refused; but he offered to give hostages for the real payment of the expense of the war to the Scevocians, if they would suffer him and his army to retire; but this was refused him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river Abydus, where the followers, throwing themselves in without any order, miserably destroyed each other, and were at the same time killed without mercy by the enemy, so that they perished by hundreds, and the sorrow and the shame of the city, the Sicilians, the Lacedaemonians, and especially Gylippus, opposed as much as they were able, out of generocity with regard to the Athenians, who was the most bitter enemy of the Spartans, and who, as we have moshbenes, was the most bitter enemy of the Spartans, and who, as we have

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him to do the like, which he refused; but he offered to give hostages for the real payment of the expense of the war to the Scevocians, if they would suffer him and his army to retire; but this was refused him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river Abydus, where the followers, throwing themselves in without any order, miserably destroyed each other, and were at the same time killed without mercy by the enemy, so that they perished by hundreds, and the sorrow and the shame of the city, the Sicilians, the Lacedaemonians, and especially Gylippus, opposed as much as they were able, out of generocity with regard to the Athenians, who was the most bitter enemy of the Spartans, and who, as we have moshbenes, was the most bitter enemy of the Spartans, and who, as we have

(M) The character and services of Nicias are sufficiently settled in the text; here therefore we shall speak only of his misfortunes, which were derived from the fear of the people and his superstition; he carried with him into Sicily one Stilbides, a philosopher, who had been his friend from many of his follies, and had perhaps favored him at last, if he had lived; but happening to die some time before the last defeat, Nicias had no body about him who could account for an eclipse of the moon; for as to eclipses of the sun, Pericles had put their being common every day out of his head by an action mentioned in note K. In their last retreat, Nicias was the only of his misfortunes behaved with the greatest dignity and composure; after he was taken prisoner, perceiving that the Scevocians continued still to massacre his followers, though they were absolutely in their power; he threw himself at the feet of Gylippus, whom he addressed in these words: In the midst of victory, O Gylippus, spare yourself to be touched with pity, not of me, but of those unhappy Athenians. Consider, that fortune is never so changeable as to make even the best of men, without regard to honor, so that they might be the better of the Lacedaemonians, always used their xétes with moderation and generosity. The Lacedaemonians, moved at this, raised up Nicias, and gave orders that the slaughter should cease, but their orders were very indifferently obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterward. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy catastrophe of this great man. Plutarch says, that the Scevocians, against Gylippus’s will, put Nicias and Demosthenes to death, or, as the word literally signifies, cut their throats. Plutarch tells us, that one Timocrates wrote, that Hierocles sent the general word that the Scevocians would put them to death, and that therewith they flew themselves. Dioecritus Siculus

is full wider from Tucydides than any of the rest, for he makes Gylippus the author of their death, against the will of the wisest of the Scevocians, and has inferred an action of his to that purpose. Yet from Thucydides, it appears, that Demosthenes himself, but that Nicias submitted, and was made prisoner; undoubtedly Tucydides devotes more credit; with his account of the matter therefore we clothe this note: - Nicias and Demosthenes they killed against Gylippus’s will, though Gylippus thought the contrary would be very honorable, and by this their honor and above all his other forces, he could carry home both the generals of the enemy to Lacedaemon. And it fell out, that one of them, Demosthenes, was their greatest friend, who was done in the island; and at Athens and the other upon the same occasion their greatest friend. For Nicias had greatly labored to save those prisoners which were taken in the island, he set at liberty, by persuading the Athenians to peace: For which cause the Lacedaemonians were inclined to love him. And it was principally in confidence of that, that he rendered himself to Gylippus. But certain Tucydides, it is reported; some of them for fear because they were being tampering with him) left being put to the torture he might bring them into trouble, whereas they were now well enough and others (especially the Corinthians) might get away, by corruption of one or other (of inflated wealth) and work them some mischief; and thence the Scevocians, were listening to the peace, having perfused their confederates to the fame, killed him. For the, or for the Scevocians; unto thehe, was he put to death, being tortured, if that of all the Greeks of my time had not done what was deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery (93).
while the Lacedemonians were preparing by all means whatsoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The Athenians caused the promontory of Sunium to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vast quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. In the beginning of the next year, the Carians fought to revolt from Athens, and to put themselves under the protection of the Lacedemonians, with a view to which they sent privately embassadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promised to send such a fleet as might protect them; but this promise was earlier made than kept, and besides, the Athenians got notice of it in the mean-time, and sent a fleet to Cius. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that island with their perfidy, which they flilly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of Cius knew nothing of what had been transacted with the Lacedemonians. But the Athenian general, to put the business out of dispute, inflamed, that they should send their quota to join the fleet of Athens, whereupon they were constrained to fit out immediately seven galleys, and to send them as he directed. After this the Athenians had several small successes at sea, which not a little discouraged the Peloponnesians, who would shortly have lost all their resolution, if Alcibiades had not excited his eloquence to persuade them to carry on the war. He advised them to send him with a small fleet to Ionia, where he promised to engage the cities to revolt from the Athenians, and to negotiate a league between Sparta and the great king, from whence he assured them, that such advantages would be derived as must effectually sink their rival. The Lacedemonians coming at last into his measures, he passed over, and, as he had proposed, into Ionia, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promised, which struck the Athenians with such a panic, that they instantly ordered a thousand talents, which had hitherto been referred untouched, to be laid out in the service of the war, for which also they made other great preparations. As soon as they were able they sent several squadrons of ships to sea, with directions to reduce, first of all, such places as had revolted, and then to act generally against the Peloponnesians; most of these squadrons were successful, so that Lebos, Chios, and other places, which, upon the prospect of the downfall of Athens, had revolted from her, were confined to fall under her dominion again. Alcibiades in the mean-time acquired himself well to the Lacedemonians, by drawing Tissaphernes the king of Persia’s lieutenant into a league with them. The Spartans, however, were displeased with the terms thereof, and sought to have them altered, which gave the Persians much difficulty. The hatred which Agis had conceived against Alcibiades, for debarring his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he persuaded the Lacedemonians to send orders to their general in Ionia to put the Athenian to death, notwithstanding all the service he had done their state. Alcibiades, gaining some intelligence of this, retired to Tissaphernes, and laying aside the Lacedemonians, as he had formerly done the Athenians, he became now a perfect Persian; and, by the politeness of his address, gained so much to Tissaphernes, who was a professed enemy to the Greeks, that he filled his gardens with pleasure, after he had been at vatt expense in adorning them, Alcibiades, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the Athenian perceived, that Tissaphernes placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a just light into the affairs of Greece; he told him, it was not for the interest of the Persian king that Athens should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, that the and Sparta might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the Greeks might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his master; but if it should at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he advised him to trust Athens, because he would be content with the dominion of the sea; whereas the pride of the Spartans would always infligate them to new conquests, and especially excite a desire of letting all the Greek cities at liberty. For the present he put them upon obtaining a part of the pay which had been promised to the Peloponnesian fleet, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as also to countermand the order given to the Phocian fleet to join that of Peloponnesus. When Tissaphernes had given into their hands, Alcibiades privately wrote to some of the officers of the Athenian army which lay at Samos, intimating, that he was now treating with the Persians on their behalf, adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was abolished. The reason offered by him to engage the Athenians to this proceeding, was, that the Persian king liked not a democracy, but would immediately trust and affliet Athens, if the government was put into the hands of a

Chap. 18. 

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few. Phrynicus the Athenian general, having a great antipathy to Alcibiades, and dreading his return, resolved to let nothing slip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion against the proposition which Alcibiades had made, but also discovered it to Abyconus who commanded the Lacedaemonian troops; this man, being brought over to the interest of Tissaphernes, revealed Phrynicus's treachery; Alcibiades upon this wrote again to his correspondents at Samos, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. Phrynicus, when he had information of this, wrote a second time to Abyconus, reproaching him with betraying him and discovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithstanding to betray the army he commanded at Samos, which lay in an open town, to the Lacedaemonians; which piece of intelligence Abyconus, infantly revealed to Alcibiades. Phrynicus being aware of this, told his fieldmarshals, that the Lacedaemonians were about to attack them by land and sea, and that therefore they should throw up with all diligence a strong intrenchment round the town to defend themselves, which immediately they did, so that, when Alcibiades wrote again concerning Phrynicus's second treachery, his letters were disbelieved, because the general had taken such care for their safety. Such were the chieftains of Greece in these times, how unlike those who broke the power of Persia, and abandoned their country rather than live in it in a state of dependence? the Athenians, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of Pisander and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propositions of Alcibiades, disdained the democracy, in defence of which they had so often and bravely fought, or rather resolved to disbelieve it, for it stood yet a small time. The illure of their present debates was, that Pisander with ten deputies should return and treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, that it might be known on what terms the king of Persia's friendship might be depended on; and in the case they were reasonable to declare, that the Athenians would vext the sovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival Alcibiades discovered that Tissaphernes did not incline to help the Athenians at present on any terms, because they had been lately unsuccessful, and Alcibiades, himself had taught him to help always the weaker party; when Alcibiades perceived this, he set up such high demands in the name of the Persian, that the Athenians themselves broke off the treaty, whereby he preferred both his friendship and that of Tissaphernes. When Pisander and his colleagues came to the army at Samos, they engaged them to favour the scheme for the alteration of government, and procured a commission to themselves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of Athens. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almost done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms affaitinating, such as were stanch friends to the people. It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when Pisander and his associates found the strength of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time Oropus, a strong city on the borders of Bœotia, revolted from the Athenians, whereby all Euboea was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being deficient in revolts, and the disturbances at Athens giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the Peloponnesian war.

When Pisander and his associates first came from the army, they accused Phrynicus to the Athenians, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of consummate parts and prudence, and, according to Thucydides, as honest as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in setting up an oligarchy, Alcibiades would be afraid to trust it; there was likewise at Athens one Antiophon, a man of such mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to such a degree, that he was constrained to avoid speaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man devised a new frame of government, and having communicated it to Pisander, they contrived together a method whereby to establish it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, proposed, that ten men should be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, these ten appointed an assembly of the people at Colonus, a place without...
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without the city. When they came together there, instead of proposing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, That every Athenian might speak his mind freely, i.e. without danger from any of the laws; which being attested to, Pheidon produced his scheme, which was, that the old form of government should be disfranchised, and that five Prvtyans might be elected; that these five should chuse a hundred; that each of the hundred should chuse three; that the four hundred thus elected should become a Senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only, when and on such matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of Athens, which was grown into unlike with the people, who were notwithstanding not over-fond of the new; but those who were for it, being such as were men of great parts, found means to establish it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his vest, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered suddenly into the senate-house, disfranchised the old Senate, paid them their salary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were constrained to submit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new Senate chose Prytanes, or presidents, out of their own body, and began to establish themselves after the mode of most new governments, by blood, bonds, and banishment; yet these severities, though they were illegal, were not excessive, and, as soon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They sent embassadors to Agis, who lay with the Lacedemonian army at Decelia, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the Spartans might better rely on them than on the democracy; but Agis was of another opinion, he could not imagine, that the Athenians, who had flickled so much for democracy, would submit patiently to an oligarchy, established rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no answer to the embassadors sent by the four hundred, but having signified his thoughts of the matter to the Lacedemonians, procured a great recruit to be sent him into Attica. On the arrival of these succours, he marched boldly to Athens, not at all questioning, but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raise a sedition on his approach, and either subvert the government, or so weaken and distress the city, that the Lacedemonians might easily take it; but he was quickly convinced of his mistake, for the people of Athens, when he approached their walls, and sent some advance-parties to skirmish with them, attacked and routed those parties, and appeared afterwards before the city with such order and intrepidity, that Agis, after receiving some loss, was constrained to retire again to his old post, from whence he sent back the vast forces he received to Lacedemon. After this the four hundred sent embassadors to him again, concerning whose negotiations we can say nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the army at Samos were generally inclined to democracy, sent ten deputies thither to appal them, by persuading them, that the government, now subsisting at Athens, was only the best sort of democracy, the derrier resort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thousand, a larger number than had ever assembled while the power was in the people; but these deputies were hastily gone from Athens before deputies of the army arrived there, signifying, that they had restored the democracy at Samos, and that they were resolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred sent force of these deputies to prison; but one Caris who came from the army made his escape and got thither again, making a frightful report of the state of things at Athens; upon which a sedition ensued, that might have been very fatal to the state; but moderate men interposing, the generals Tironius and Thrasylus contented themselves with taking an oath of all the folkiers to do their utmost to restore the power to the people, to fight against the Peloponnesians and other enemies of Athens, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correspondence with, the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be firm in the measures they had taken, by representing to them, that they had not deserted their city, but their city them; that their strength was superior to any that could be sent against them by the four hundred, and that questionless on the public laws Attica would come to them, and procure them aid from Tyfaphernes and the king. These discourses had their effect, the folkiers came unanimously into all that was required of them, chose new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the Peloponnesians. At the request of
of Thrasybulus they recalled Alcibiades, who, on his arrival, made a most eloquent speech to the army, shewing them the true source of his misfortunes, the injustice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the state. Above all things he magnified the power and good will of Tissaphernes, though he knew he had little authority for it; yet he could not be laid to deceive his countrymen, because by this very method he compelled Tissaphernes to become their friend, infilling such a spirit of jealousy into the Peloponnesians, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility. The soldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but failing directly to Athens, and restoring the ancient form of government there. Alcibiades opposed this extravagant measure, he told the soldiers, that, since they had chosen him their general, he must return to Tissaphernes in order to dispose things for the making a speedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he desired of them, and he departed accordingly; when he came to Tissaphernes, he gave him to understand, that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the Athenians to be either great friends, or very troublesome enemies, to the subjects of the king, and that, whether they should be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himself formidable to the Persians by boasting of the Athenian power, and necessary to the Athenians by the display of his interest with the Persians. As to the Peloponnesians, their affairs went wrong everywhere, and all through the procurement of Alcibiades; their army mutinied and forced their general to fly to a sanctuary; Tissaphernes with-held their pay and deluded them with promises of a fleet; they on the other hand distressed Tissaphernes, and neither knew what measures to take, nor whom to trust. When Alcibiades came back to the Athenian army, he disposed them to hear reason, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from Athens had stayed all this while at Delos, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the soldiers having passed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of Alcibiades, however, they were allowed to come and deliver their message; but no sooner had they done this, than the army cried out vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourse with the tyrants, but fall to Athens and restore the government; but Alcibiades still interposed, he shewed, if such a course was taken, all Ionia and the Hellespont would be immediately lost, so that if they pretended to be true patriots, they must remain where they were and defend the dominions of the state. To the deputies he gave this answer, that they should immediately return to Athens, and acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to reign their power and to restore the senate they had ejected; that as to the five thousand, they might retain their authority, provided they used it with moderation, and that they should remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, since, if they betrayed Attica, or the army defected Athens, a reconciliation would not restore the michiefs; such wrong steps might create. On the return of these deputies to Athens, all things were in confusion, few regarding the public, almost all anxious for their particular interest. Phrynichus, knowing upon what terms he stood with Alcibiades, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the strongest party, and that they might make a proper use of their strength, they dispatched away embassadors to Sparta, desiring peace upon any terms; they likewise ordered the Pyræum to be fortified towards the sea, upon which Theronanes, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty Peloponnesian ships upon the coast; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hundred fought first to maintain themselves in the sovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preserve at least the city under their dominion; and in case that likewise failed, to make a composition for themselves by giving it up to the Peloponnesians; for at all events they were resolved to prevent a popular government from being restored, not doubting, that, if once that was done, they should fall victims. Phrynichus, who was sent at the head of the embassage to Sparta, being able to affect nothing, returned, and on his return was flabbed in the forum; after which Theronanes and his party, growing bolder, licenced the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult ensued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not Thucydides the Pharidian interposed, and engaged the people to be quiet.
quiet. The soldiers, however, insisted on demolishing the new works in the port, which for the sake of safety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, tho' in great fear, assembled in the senate-house, and sent some of the members to appease the people, promising to let all things right and to make every thing easy; in order to which, they proposed that they should be allowed to chase five thousand men, who should elect four hundred by turns to govern the state, beheading their country-men not to destroy themselves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that, at a day certain, a general assembly should be convoked for settling the state; but when that day came and the assembly was convened, news was brought, that the Lacedaemonian fleet steered directly for Salamis, which put all things in confusion again; for instead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crowds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for Euboea, whither immediately a fleet from Athens was sent under the command of Thucydides; but this fleet had little success, for being attacked by the Peloponnesians without, and betrayed by the Eretrians on shore, they were miserably defeated, twenty-two ships out of thirty-five being taken, most of the others destroyed and all Euboea, except Orcus, revolted. When this news came to Athens, the wife and the unwife gave up all things for lost, the defeat at Salamis seeming a small thing to this, because they had now neither fleet nor army, and had lost Euboea, from whence the city received greater supplies than from Attica itself; certain it is, that if the Spartans had known their own strength, they would have failed directly to Athens and put an end to the war; but being always slow, and especially so in naval affairs, they gave the Athenians time, which of all things they wanted most; when they had gained this, they wrought so hard at their galleys, that in a short space they equipped a fleet of twenty sail; the power of the four hundred they abolished by law, conferred the sovereignty on the five thousand, and acted in all other respects, especially in recalling Alcibiades, with such prudence, moderation, and firmness, that Thucydides thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed to happy a temperature as at this time. Pheidon and the rest of the vehement sticklers for oligarchy withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at Samos, and to the view of those things which were performed in Ionia. Villaglyphnes going to Assenius, where the Ptolemaic fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promises he had made to the Peloponnesians. Alcibiades, however, persuaded the Athenians that he meant nothing less, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to pass, failed with thirteen galleys to Assenius, where he held frequent conferences with the Persian Lieutenant, embroiling him thereby so effectually with the Peloponnesians, and they with him, that he destroyed all their affairs. In his absence an engagement happened between the Peloponnesian fleet under the command of Mindarus, which consisted of seventy-three, and that of Athens under the command of Thrasybulus, confining only of fifty-five; at first the Peloponnesians had the advantage, sinking some of the Athenian ships, and running others on shore; but pursuing the advantage too eagerly and breaking their line, the Athenians supplied their great skill in maritime affairs their defect in force, and entirely defeated the Peloponnesians, taking twenty-one of their ships; it is true, they lost fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, tho' dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raised the hopes of the Athenians, gave new life to their affairs, and saved all Ionia and the Hellespont: A few days afterwards the Athenians took eight galleys coming from Byzantium which had revolted, presently after they reduced that city, and grievously fined its inhabitants for their disobedience. Alcibiades, returning with his thirteen galleys, took nine more from the fleet, with which squadron he constrained the Halicarnassians to pay a large sum of money, and fortified Cor. The news of these advantages coming to Athens mightily enlivened the people, and inspired them with hopes of recovering Euboea and putting an honourable end to the war. These events fell out in the summer of the twenty-first year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and sure guide Thucydides, who concludes his history at this point of time. The history of the Peloponnesian war was continued by Theopompus and Xenophon, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next seventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty-eight. Theopompus's writings are swallowed by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preserved by Diochorus Siculus. The Grecian
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Book I.

history of Xenophon remains still in our hands; from these materials therefore, with the assistance of Plutarch's writings, we shall continue our memoirs of the Athenian affairs.

After the flood
2588.
Before Christ,
411.

Doricles, admiral of the Italian galleys, passing to the assistance of the Lacedaemonians in the Hellespont, found the Athenians in his way at Scyros, whereupon he fled to Dardanum, and landing his men endeavoured from the shore to defend his ships, which he caused to be hail'd on the beach. The Athenian fleet, however, attack'd him, and were upon the very point of making themselves masters of all his galleys, when Mindarus the Peloponnesean admiral came to his assistance with a navy of eighty-four sail. The Athenians therewith relinquished their first enterprise, and prepared for a general engagement, Thraesium commanding the right wing, and b Thraesium the left. Mindarus with his Lacedaemonian galleys had the right in the Peloponnesean fleet, and Donatus with the Syracusan galleys were in the left, Pharnabazus with a Persian army lay hard-by on the shore, on whose assistance the Peloponneseans knew they might depend. The Athenians, notwithstanding these disadvantages, fought with great resolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty sail appeared in view, neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's gally hoisted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to Alcibiades. The Peloponnesean fleet immediately broke and fled, the Athenians took ten ships, and, if a mighty tempest not arisen, would have taken many more. Mindarus was constrained to run his ships into any port, and marched with his men to join Pharnabazus, who effectually protected them from the Athenians. The Euboeans having almost generally deserted the Athenians, the Boeotians proposed to them the joining of their country by an artificial isthmus to the continent, to which they assented, and herein they succeeded in spite of the opposition given them by the Athenians, and the rapidity of the Ecritus, i.e. the arm of the sea they were to fill up. Theramenes the Athenian admiral, finding it impossible to hinder this design from taking effect, sailed away to other places, particularly to Paros, reduced them again under the Athenian government, and levied exorbitant fines upon such as, he conceived, had willingly deserted him; after which he joined the grand fleet under the command of Thraesium. Some short time after this conjunction, advice came, that Mindarus by the assistance of Pharnabazus had taken Cyzicus by storm, upon which it was resolved to fail directly thither and fight them. When therefore the Athenian fleet had coalesced to Certeoneus, and were arrived at Preconnesias, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of Cares, directed him to march thither to Cyzicus; as to the fleet they divided it into three squadrons, the first led by Alcibiades, the second by Theramenes, and the third by Thraesium; Alcibiades with his squadron failed in fight of the Peloponnesean fleet, upon which Mindarus, having with him eighty sail, put to sea to give him battle. Alcibiades, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the Peloponneseans pursued him with great joy, when on a sudden Alcibiades made a signal for a new line. The Peloponneseans, looking about them, saw the squadrons of Theramenes and Thraesium, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the floath; upon this, altering their course, they endeavoured to get into Cloes, a port near Pharnabazus's camp; Alcibiades purloined them thither, finking and taking their ships all way; when they came to the floath, however, Pharnabazus sent them such aid, that the Athenians suffered in their turns. Thraesium then landed his men to their assistance, giving Theramenes orders to land also to join Cares, and to come with all speed to their aid. Alcibiades dealt with Mindarus and his Lacedaemonians, Thraesium fought bravely against the rest of the Peloponneseans and their Persian succours, notwithstanding they were much out-numbered and were at first surrounded. In that instant Theramenes and Cares came in with their foot; the battle was long and obstinately fought, till Mindarus being killed, the Perips, Peloponneseans, and Lacedaemonians all fled; and thus to his immortal glory Alcibiades gained a victory at sea and another at land on the same day; and took the enemy's whole fleet, and more spoil than his and the remains of it could carry away. When the news of this success reached Athens, the people were ready to run distracted; they

they immediately leived an army of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, and sent thirty galleys to join Alcibiades, from whom, as he was now master of the sea, they expected all things. The Lacedemonians conceiving rightfully of this war, that it would end in the destruction either of the one state or other, sent Eudius their embassador to Athens to propose a peace. This minister delivered himself to the assembly of the people, after the Laconic manner, in a short, plain, and excellent speech, wherein he shewed, that Athens had suffered, and was like to suffer, more than Sparta from this war, but inasmuch as the evils occasioned by war were hateful to all good men, he said the Spartans desired to free both themselves and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account only they had sent him to treat of peace. The people at first were inclined to relish what he said, but one Cleophon, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a slave, but who had surreptitiously got his name inserted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to send back Eudius without an answer. This was the last step they had to take for perfecting their ruin; for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuse peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that Alcibiades would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had hitherto been so unsteady, fix herself now to their side.

In the beginning of the next year, Thraexus, having repulsed Agis king of Sparta who led an army to the gates of Athens, failed, with a great fleet, and a strong body of land forces on board, to Ephesus, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to Lesbos and other places, where he had better successes. The Spartans, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from Greece, attacked Pylos by sea and land, whereupon the Athenians sent a squadron under the command of Amyntas, but he finding the wind directly against him, after he had been some days at sea, returned directly to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die, which sentence, however, he committed by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who revered a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the garrison of Pylos, after having made an obstinate defence, rendered upon terms; and thus the Lacedemonians pulled this thorn out of their side, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the Megareans surprized Nijas, which fo enraged the Athenians, that they immediately sent an army into that country, though it could be of no use; the Megareans, by the assistance of the Lacedemonians and some troops from Sicily, ventured a battle, wherein they were most shamefully beaten, the Athenians killing great numbers of them and committing horrid devastations in their country. In the mean time Alcibiades, Thrasylus, and Themistocles, did great things in the Hellespont and Troad; at last they besieged Byzantium, then well fortified, and having in it a Lacedemonian garrison under the command of Clearthus; some of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and let in Alcibiades and his army; the garrison, however, and fuch of the Byzantines as adhered to them, made so gallant a refilience, that the Athenians were on the point of being driven out; which when Alcibiades saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the Byzantines should be safe in their persons and effects, whereupon they turned out the garrison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred who were sent prisoners to Athens. This done, Alcibiades received Byzantium into favour.

In the beginning of the next year, Alcibiades and Themistocles returned in triumph to Athens, they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ships, and such a load of spoils as had never been seen in Athens since the Persian war. The people left their city destitute, that they might crowd to the port to behold Alcibiades as he landed; old and young blessed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the Eumolpides to abolve him from the curfes he lay under, created him general with absolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The sweetness of his temper, his complacency towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought to the discharge of taxes, made the best of

of the Athenians ready to own that he deferred the honours that were paid to him; nor did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed when Agis king of Sparta made a bold attempt upon Athens; he came with an army of twenty-eight thousand men in the night to the very walls, slew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The Athenians, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning sent out a body of horse, equal to the cavalry of the Peloponnesian army; they fought under the walls and in the fight both of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians; at last the Athenians prevailed, and drove the Peloponnesian cavalry back on their foot, whereupon Agis retired, finding it impossible to prevail against the city. Alcibiades in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of Antiochus his pilot, with strict orders to do nothing till his return, failed into the Hellepont, to affright some of the cities which yet stood firm to the Athenians. When he was gone, Antiochus, little regarding his orders, went and provoked Lysander the Lacedaemonian admiral to fight, which he, finding Alcibiades was absent, very readily did. In this engagement the Athenians were beat, losing fifteen ships with Antiochus their commander. On the news of this defeat Alcibiades returned, and would have provoked Lysander to a second battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the Athenians, being persuaded that this disgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of Alcibiades, and lusting also to certain stories they were told, that he corresponded with Pharnabazus and the Lacedaemonians, instantly stripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were Conon, Thrasybulus, and Pericles, the son of the famous Pericles. Conon having demanded the fleet from Alcibiades, he readily yielded up his command, but refused to return to Athens. He then with his own ship passed over into Thrace, built a cella for his own security, and erected a little principality in the fight of his many and potent enemies.

The next year Conon the Athenian general engaged Callacratidas the successor of Lysander in a sea-fight, wherein he is said to have fought greater conduct, than any admiral before him had done, in the disposition of his fleet; however, he was worsted, lost thirty of his ships, and was closely besieged in Mitylene. News of this coming to Athens, the people were in great confusion; they admitted all sorts of perfons to the freedom of their city, who would affright them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ships, which were sent away to Sestos, where their fleet rendezvoused, with strict orders to relieve Conon at any rate. In obedience to these commands, the whole fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, bore away from Sestos: Callacratidas, receiving advice thereof and leaving a force sufficient to block up the city, sailed with a hundred and fifty ships to Madea, a promontory of Lesbos. The same night that he arrived there, the Athenian fleet came to Againis, a place over against Lesbos. In the morning a general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy, till at last, the Lacedaemonian admiral being funk, the Athenians gained a great victory, with the loss, however, of nineteen of their own ships with most of the men in them; but the Peloponnesians lost seventy-nine. It might have been expected, that the people of Athens would have been extremely grateful to those generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for Thranemus having accused his colleagues of having taken no care to save the dying, or to pay the lads rite to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them, not caring to trust the people, fled, but six of them returned home and raised their trial, alleging, that they were hindered by a tempest from doing what they were now accused of neglecting; but Thranemus making a most laboured and pathetic oration against them, in which he now and then flapped, that the cries of those who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have escaped in a meal-tub, and who deposed that the people when drowning defied, that the Athenians would revenge them on their generals, the people against law and reason condemned them all to death. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. Demecle, one of those who were condemned, rising up, desired to be heard, whereupon silence being made, he spoke thus, We all of us wish, ye men of

of Athens, and wish it from our hearts, that the sentence pronounced against us, may
sink in the prosperity and happiness of this city; but since we are prevented from paying
our vows for the victory, it is but just and fit that you return thanks to providence for
it. They were then all haled to execution, and suffered like brave men, with great
resolution, calmness, and fortitude; their names are, Diemelion, Thebyllus, Collidas,
Lyssus, Aristocrates, and Pericles, the only son of the famous Pericles. A little while
after, the madmen of the people turned the other way, Cleophon the demagogue, who
had been very busy in this matter, was killed in a sedition, upon which the rest who
had thrived in that affair fled; but Calectus, who pronounced the sentence, returned af-

The next year, the Athenian fleet assembled at Samos under the command of
Conon, while Lysander took the command of what fleet the Peleponnesians had left;
he being unable to fight with so small a force, and having too great a one to lye
idle, sailed first to Tauris which he took, afterwards he sailed to the coast of
Attica, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old
station, and some time afterwards besieged and took Lampitac. The Athe-
nian hearing of this, sailed under the command of Conon and Philoctetes, with a fleet
of a hundred and eighty ships; first to Selinus, and then to the river Aegus where
Lysander lay, daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in strength, refused.
While they remained here, the Athenians grew idle and careless, and having a
camp, there spent their time in revelling and drunkeness. Alcibiades, residing in
this nightoursod, could not remain an unconcerned spectator; he came therefore
to the officers, and earnestly besought them to be more vigilant. He told them,
that Lysander was both a wife and a fortunate general, and that it became them
to take care of him. They anwersed, that they wondered at his affurance,
who was an exile and vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening, if he
came any more, to seize him and send him to Athens; they afterwards concluded
among themselves what they should do with the Peleponnesians, when they were
then take prisoners, and resolved, at the motion of Philoctetes their general, to cut off
their right hands, or, as Plutarch says, their right thumbs, that they might never
be able to hold a spear, but tug at an oar. Adamanthus, one of their officers,
could not help saying, that such idle discourses was unworthy of Athenians; for
which they hated him. Some days after, Lysander, taking his opportunity, fell
upon them, while they lay in disorder, both by sea and land, and gained one of
the most compleat victories recorded in history; Conon with eight gallies only
eclaping to Cyprus. Afterwards returning to Lampitac, Lysander put Philoctetes and
three thousand captives, with all their officers except Adamanthus, to death, by
the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced
all the cities which had been under the Athenian power, disaffixing all their gar-
isons with great civility, that going home to Athens, the city might be full of
people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to besiege it, which soon after he
took by Sea; while Agis king of Sparta came with a great land-army before it. For
a long time the Athenians defended themselves, without so much as demanding
peace. At last, being fore pressed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with Agis,
but he referred them to Sparta; thither then they sent deputies, who offered to give
up all things but their city and port. The Lacedemonians, however, would listen
to nothing, unless their walls were demolished. On the return of the Ambassadors,
Archilochus proposed complying with those terms to the assembly, for which he
was imprisioned, many preferring death to slavery: at length Theramenes undertook
to treat with Lysander, who after a long attendance referred him to Sparta, wher-
ther with some other deputies he was presently sent. On their arrival they found
the council of the confederates assembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter
destruction of Athens, excepting only the Spartans, who declared, they would not
content to the ruin of that city, which had so well deserved of Greece. On the
return of Theramenes peace was concluded upon these terms, that the long walls
and the fortifications of the port should be demolished. That they should deliver up
all their ships except twelve, receive all they had bannished, and follow the fortune
of the Lacedemonians. Lysander caused the walls to be pulled down, all the music
in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the Per-
The History of the Athenians. Book I.

fians at Salamis. He likewise established an oligarchy, expressly against the will of
the people; and thus the ruin of Athens ended in the twenty-seventh year of the Peloponnesian war.

As soon as Lyssander had demolished the long walls and the fortifications of
the Piraeus, he constituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to
make laws, but in truth to subjugate the state. These are the perfunctory famous in
history under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of Lyssander,
mere instruments of power, who, as they derived their title from conquest and the
law of the fives, exercised their offices in a suitable manner; that is with the highest
testimonies of pride, insolence, and cruelty. Instead of making laws, they governed
without them, and appointed a senate and magistrates at their will, and, that they might do all things without danger of control, they sent for a garrison from
Lacedaemon, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of Callidius,
upon their promise to pay the soldiers regularly. One of the first steps they took
was to punish all informers, who by false accusations had taken off honest men
and disturbed the state; this, though severe, was popular, but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over Callidius to their party, they suffered bad
men to live in quiet, and turned their rage against the good. Critias and Theramenes
were at the head of the thirty, men of the greatest power and abilities in
Athens; the former was ambitious and cruel without measure, the latter retained
some bowels for his country; the former pushed on all the bloody schemes framed
by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always
opposed them, at first with moderation, at last with vehemence. He said, that
power was given them to rule, and not to spoil, the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like shepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to be
ware of rendering themselves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to
dominate over all, being such a handful of men as they were. The rest, differing
much the former part of his discourse, caught hold of the latter, and immediately chose out three thousand whom they made the Representatives of the people,
and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them should be put to death, but by judgment of the senate, thereby openly affirming a power of
putting any other Athenian citizen to death by their own authority. A glorious
use they made of this new-awarded privilege, for as many as they conjectured
be not to be friends to the government in general, or to any of themselves in partic-
ular, they put to death, without cause, and without mercy. Theramenes openly
opposing this, and absolutely refusing to concur in such measures, Critias accused
him to the senate, as a man of unsteady principles, sometimes for the people,
sometimes against them, always for new things and state revolutions. Theramenes
owned, that he had sometimes changed his measures, but alleged, that he had al-
dways done it to serve the people; he said, that it was folly with this view that he
made the peace with Sparta and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he
had never opposed their measures while they cut off the wicked, but when they
began to destroy Men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with
them, which he conceived to be no crime against the state. While Theramenes
was speaking, Critias withdrew, perceiving that the senate were thoroughly convinced of
the truth of what Theramenes had said; but he quickly returned with a guard,
crying out that he had struck Theramenes's name out of the list of the three thou-
sand, that the senate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cause, which the
thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. Theramenes, perceiving
that they intended to seize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midst of the senate-
house, and laying his hands thereon said; I do not seek refuge here, because I expect
to escape death, or define it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors
of my murder may interfere the gods in bringing them to speedy judgment, and thereby re-
store freedom to my country: the guards then hailed him from the altar, and carried
him to the place of execution, where he drank the poison with undaunted courage,
putting the people in mind with his last breath, that as they struck his name out of the
three thousand they might strike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, so that in a short time sixty of the wealthy and most eminent citi-
zens of Athens fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongst these the most pitied was
Nicocrates,

Ejuid. Justin. lib. xv.
Niceratus the son of Nicias, a man universally beloved for his goodness, and universally admired for his virtues. As for the Spartans, they, losing their former generosity, were extremely pleased with these things, and by a public decree commanded, that such as fled from the thirty tyrants should be carried back bound to Athens; which extraordinary proceeding frightened all Greece; but the Argives and Thebans only had the courage to oppose it; the former received the Athenian exiles with humanity and kindness, the latter punished with a multitudes of their citizens as did not refuse and rescue the Athenian prisoners, who, in pursuance of the Laconian decrees, were carried out of their territories.

Tebrybulus and such as with him had taken shelter in the Theban territory resolved to hazard something, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet considering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cause of his country, he made an irruption into Attica, where he seized Phyle, a castle at a very small distance from Athens, where in a very short space his forces were augmented to seven hundred men; and though the tyrants made use of the Spartan garison, in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet Tebybulus prevailed in various skirmishes, and at last constrained them to break up the blockade of Phyle, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to the possession of Eleusina, marched thither, and having persuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city that they might number them, took this opportunity most inhumanly to murder them. The forces of Tebybulus encroaching daily, he at length put himself of the Pireum, which he fortified in the best manner he could, but the tyrants, being determined to drive him from thence, came down against him with the utmost force they could raise. Tebybulus defended himself with great obstinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having lost before the place not only a great number of their men, but Critias the president of the thirty, another of the same body, and one who had been captain of the Pireum; when they came to demand the dead from Tebybulus in order for their interment, he caused a cryer he had with him to make a short speech in a very loud voice to the people, intreating them to consider, that as they were citizens of Athens without, so those against whom they fought, and who sought to preserve themselves within, the fort, were Athenian citizens also, wherefore, instead of thinking how to ruin and destroy their brethren, they ought rather to consult how all differences ought to be composed, and especially ought to rid themselves of those bloody tyrants, who, in the short time they had had the administration in their hands, had destroyed more than had fallen in the Peloponnesian war. The people, tho' moved by these discourses, differed among themselves, the consequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and chose ten men out of each tribe to govern in their stead, whereupon the tyrants retired to Eleusina. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with those in the Pireum, but sent away deputies to Sparta, as did also the tyrants from Eleusina, complaining, that the Athenians had revolted, and deifying their afflurance to reduce them. The Spartans sent thereupon a large sum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed Lygander commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, resolosing to lend sea and land-forces to reduce Athens, a second time, intending, as most of the Greek states suspected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable, that this design of theirs would have taken effect, if Paionias king of Sparta, envying Lygander, had not resolved to obstruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raised against the Athenians, of which himself had the command, and with which he marched immediately to besiege the Pireum. While he lay before the place and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correspondence with Tebybulus, informing him what propositions he should make in order to force the Laconian, who were suspected by all their allies, to grant them peace.

The intrigues of Paionias had all the success he could wish; the Ephors, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his measure, so that in a short space a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of Athens should be restored to their houses and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had succeeded

succeeded them, and who had acted no less tyrannically than they, and the eleven, who during the time of the oligarchy had been constituted governors or keepers of the Piraea, that all should remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to trust to this agreement, they should have free leave to retire to Eleusina. Panostia then marched away with the Spartan army, and Thrasylalus at the head of his forces marched into Athens, where, having laid down their arms, of foreigners, by whose aid they might recover the authority they had lost; but first depending on their friends in the city, they sent some of the principal persons among them, as deputies to treat with the citizens, but strictly instructed them to low jealousies and excite discord among them. Which the latter quickly to perform, put these perfunctory to death, and then remonstrating to those at Eleusina, perceiving, put these perfunctory to death, and then remonstrating to those at Eleusina, that these contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the destruction of their country, they offered immediately to pass an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, those who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjusted, and both parties most religiously observed the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly re-established the state. In this whole transaction, the virtue of Thrasylalus deserves chiefly to be admired. When he first seized the cattle of Pryt, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number instead of Tiberianus, and to pardon at his request any twelve persons he should name; but he generously answered that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be purchased on such terms, and, by persevering in his design, he accomplished, as we have seen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, since, four years after, when Persia informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, put forty thousand more into banishment, procuring also the death of Alcibiades, as many think, though at a great distance from them (N). Much about

(N) We are here to speak of the misfortunes of Alcibiades, a man who deserved much of his country, and would have deserved more, if his impartiality had not prevented his services, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of serving her. Plutarch tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not because he had done any fault, but because he had not performed all which the Athenians expected from him; his enemies in his first expedition had so calumniated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of achieving any thing, which he declared to achieve, tho' his ships were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his soldiers; when therefore he was sent to Chios and Lesbos, they concluded the first news they heard would be, that he had reduced both; being disappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and perceiving him a new one for not doing what in the nature of things it was not possible he should have done. With the public madness of the people confired the private envy of the chief men amongst them. Thrasylalus began to dislike him, and most of the ten commanders, who afterwards perished in an enterprising rage, now buffeted themselves in turning it on him, of which when Alcibiades had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was foolish to make a defence against an accusation when it was possible to fly from it. In his expedition into Thessaly he made use of such as offered their service, and he did it with honourable intent; first, to settle a secure retreat for himself, and, secondly, to preserve the Greek cities in his neighbourhood from the insults of the Thracians, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, so they consulted nothing but their own interest, preying, as occasion served, on any who were least able to resist. After the entire destruction of the Athenian fleet, and the flight of Cos to Cyprus, Alcibiades thought himself no longer safe in his camp; for the Lacedaemonians, his invertebrate enemies, being now everywhere powerful, he was afraid they should take this opportunity of avenging the many defendants they had received from him; he therefore retired first into Byzantium, but finding himself not safe there, he went to Phurnacia, who received him, but he would make some effort to relieve him. The tyrants themselves expected the same thing, and especially Critias their chief, who had been his most intimate friend, and at whose motion the decree had been made for recalling Alcibiades from banishment; but the loss of power destroys all ties, whether of blood or affection. He, who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and fending to Lysander sufficed him. The Athenians would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, till Alcibiades was destroyed. The Lacedaemonians generally, seeing the danger of his life, offered him the terms he had so often wished for; but Critias, applying to the magnanimous spirit of Sparta procured an order to be sent from them to Lysander, which he durst not disobey. Upon receipt of this order, Lysander sent away a messenger to Phurnacia, deferring him to put it in execution. Phurnacia consented that Meger the brother and to his uncle Scamander Alcibiades should be treated at that time in a mild manner, and invited them to enjoy the freedom of the city in Phocis together with Timocles a mild-tempered of his. As he slept he had this dream: he thought himself assembled in his private chamber, and told that the holding him in her arms, laid her head on his, and pointed his face at him as if he had been a woman. Others say, that he dreamed, that Meger cut off his head.
Chap. 18. The History of the Athenians.

about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was settled again in
Athens, Socrates was condemned and put to death. He was not only a philoso-
pher, or one who in words professed the love of wisdom, but one who in deeds, as
well as by his excellent sayings, demonstrated that he was truly wise. As a soldier,
he had been present in several engagements; in one he preferred the life of
Alcibiades, in another he carried off a friend of his who was wounded, upon his back, in a
third flayed as much courage and conduct as the most experienced generals. In
all the campaigns wherein he served, he distinguished himself by enduring hardships
with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying
readily with any thing that was desired of him; for tho' he was exceedingly temper-
ate and strictly sober, yet if his company was desired he refused not to go to enter-
tainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refused to meddle at all with
matters of state, till he grew far in years, and was then elected into the senate by his
tribe. He opposed, as we have already related, the judgment given against the
generals for not burying the dead, though Iberamenes his friend had promoted it; and
when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office re-
quired, he said he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at last absolutely
refused it. Afterwards he sought to refute Iberamenes, when he was accused by his
collagues; after his death, he continued to speak his mind freely, which gave some
ubrage to the thirty, who notwithstanding suffered him to live, because Critias
was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from disclosing
his mind to his associates, particularly he said one day to Antiphon on account of
the eminent men who were daily taken up: "Doth it require thee, that we have
done nothing memorable, or at all comparable to what Menomarchs have per-
formed, who are celebrated in tragedies, such as Aitrus, Ilyaeus, Agamemnon,
and Egisto? They are in these plays beheaded, seated with their children
blest, and some way or other destroyed at last; but no poet had ever the hard
ness to introduce the death of a hog upon the stage." One of his friends complaining,
that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no pull or office, Socrates
demanded tardily, Are you sorry for it? At another time he delivered himself in a
publick conversation thus: "A herdman would be very dishonorable, who, in
cafe the cattle grew wore and the herd thiner by his management, would not
confess himself an ill herdman; but the governor of a city would be yet more dif-
ferent, if, seeing his citizens grew worse and thiner, he should not own him-
self an ill governor." Which being reported to the tyrants, Critias and Charicles
sent for him, and forbid him to converse with any man under thirty, on pain of
having his head placed somewhere else than upon his shoulders; but not being yet sat-
fisht of his fidelity to their government, they summoned him to the female-hostle,
and ordered him to go with some other persons, whom they named, to seize one
Lecen, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way,
that they might enjoy his estate; this commissiion Socrates flatly refused, and, not
satisfied therewith, added also his reason for such refusal. I will never willingly,
fail
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BOOK I.  

said he, offet an unjust ait. Charicles replied sharply, des thou think, Socrates, to 
atalk always in this high style, and not to suffer? Far from it, added he, I expect to 
suffer a thousand ills, but none so great as to do unjustly. Upon which he went direct-
ly home, where he would not have been long safe, if the tyrants had not shortly after 
been obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving of means for their own safety, 
rather than to project how to injure and destroy others. The cause of this great 
man's death was the pique one Anytus had taken against him, who drew in Melitus, 
a bold young man, and Aristophanes the comic poet. The laft of these broke the ice 
first, brought Socrates upon the stage in a comedy of his called the clouds, wherein 
he represents him as a man given to a subtle fallacious manner of arguing, whereby 
he could make a bad cause seem good, an introducer of new gods, whilst himself 
worshipped none, and a petulant raider at those things which others held sacred. 
Socrates himself went to the Theatres, where he sat in the most conspicuous place; 
and when one of his friends asked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he 
answered, Not at all; I fancy I am at a feast where every one enjoys me. A long 
time after this Anytus, conceiving the feaon now proper for the execution of that 
vengeance which he had for long meditated, engaged Melitus to prefer a complaint 
against him to the senate, which he did in these words: Melitus son of Melitus, a Pythag-
orean, accuseth Socrates son of Sophronicus, an Athenian. Socrates violates the law, not 
believing the deities whom this city believes, but introducing other new gods. He 
violates the law likewise in corrupting youth, the punishment death. When the day 
of trial came on, Melitus opened the prosecution with a very poor harangue, in which 
he was often prompted, and had much ado to get through it. The crimes he there-
in alluded were, that Socrates persuaded his scholars to contravene the laws of the 
republic; that he was the intimate friend of Critias and Alcibiades, that he taught 
young people to be disrespectful to their parents, by telling them, that he would 
make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like 
nature. When he had done, Anytus began a long and malicious harangue, wherein 
he was favourably heard; and after him Lyco in a fet retorical speech supported 
the accusation. When there had done speaking, Socrates went up into the orators 
deck, and from thence spoke after this manner to the people; "I am surprised, 
O Athenians! how Melitus came by this extraordinary piece of knowledge, that 
I do not worship the gods the city worships. Others have seen me, and to mingle 
Melitus, if he had pleased, sacrifice at common festivals on the public altar; 
how do I introduce new deities, when I profess in all my actions to be directed 
by the voice of God? they who observe the notes of birds or the answers 
of men are guided by the voice. None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from 
the supreme power and is oracular. That the precepts on the Apollo convers 
to us by her voice what the receives from the god, who doubts? and that he 
foreknows future events, and communicates them to whom he pleases, all men 
believe and confess as well as I. Many call such as foretell future things, sooth-
swayers and diviners. I abuse these things to the demon, and, I conceive, 
speak more religiously therein, than they who fancy I know not what divine power 
in birds; that I am no impostor herein, many can attest, who have asked my 
advice, and never found it fail; let such as are incredulous hear this also to con-
firm their opinions; as to my being favourved of the gods, when Chryseis, in 
the presence of many witnesses, inquired of the oracle at Delphi concerning me, 
Apollo answered, that no man was more free, more just, more wise, yet the 
fame god said more of Lycurgus the Lacreniennian law-giver, that he knew not 
whether to call him a god or a man. Me he compared not with the gods, 
though he gave me the priority amongst other men, but trirst not the gods 
herein, confider me exactly yourselves, whom have you left a slave to fatal 
pleasures? Whom more free? I accept neither stipends nor gifts. Whom more 
just than him who conforms himself to the present time, as that he stands not 
in need of the defence of any other? who will say that he defers not the title 
of wife, who, since he was able, never lost any opportunity of learning, by inquiry, 
all the good possibl? And that I took not the pains in vain, is evident 
from hence, that citizens and strangers, studious of virtue, have preferred my 
conversation to that of other men. Why do you think fo many desire to 
oblige me by gifts, whom they know to have no capacity of requiring them? 
"
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Chap. 18.

or how can you account for my engaging so many, without requiring any return from them? that when the city was besieged, and every one lamented the wretchedness of his condition, I showed no alteration of temper, but remained the same as before; that while others lay out their money on exterior things to please themselves, I furnish myself from within, with such things as please me better. If none can controvert what I say, how comes it to pass, that I deserve not commendation both of gods and men, instead of being charged, as I am now by you, Melitus, that with these instructions I corrupt youth? Every one knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one whom I of religious have made impious, whom from a modest deportment I have rendered impudent, of a frugal disposition prodigal, of a sober habit debauched, of a hardy way of life effeminate? know ye any of these? "I know those, answered Melitus, whom you have persuaded to be more obedient to you than to their own parents."

With respect to instruction, I confess I have, answered Socrates, for that was my sphere, not theirs. In regard to their health, men consult physicians before their parents; in law suits they apply to council, not to cousins; and in war you inquire as to your general's skill in arms, not who are his allies." "With good reason, cried Melitus, and fit we should." "Is it so, said Socrates: If others are preferred for such things as they excel in, and with reason too, can you think it fit, because in the opinion of some I have an advantage beyond others in the educating of youth. which is a matter of the greatest consequence to society, that therefore I ought to suffer death? Anytus and Melitus, O my judges, may procure that judgment, but hurt me they cannot: to fear death is to learn wise and not to be so, for it is to pretend to understand what we really understand not, no man knows what death is, or whether it be not the greatest happiness which can arrive to us, yet all fear and flin it, as if they were sure it would be the greatest misfortune." Plato would also have spoke in his defence, and going up into the dock, opened his speech thus: Though I, Athenians, am the youngest of those that come up into this place. The people immediately cried out, of those which go down, which they constrained him to do without speaking another word; then proceeding to vote, it was carried against Socrates by two hundred eighty-one voices. He might, however, have escaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contended himself with saying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a prosecution against him deserved rather the highest rewards, and a maintenance out of the publick stock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were so much incensed, that they judged him to a capital punishment by a majority of eighty. He might easily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed upon him to have made his escape; but he refused, drank the poison in their presence, praying to God to make his passage from this life happy, and shewed the same calmness and resolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

(O) Socrates happened to be condemned the very day after the facerd ship set sail for Delos. The reader may observe, that this ship went annually in celebration of the mighty deliverance of Theseus in Crete, and in consequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ship from the port of Athens to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death; this sometimes, by means of contrary winds, occasioned the intervention of a considerable space, as happened in the case of Socrates, who was in prison thirty days before his death; and since he was visited by his friends, some of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed. Why, said he, do you know any place out of Attica where death never comes? Plato hath wrote a long discourse concerning the manner of his death; we will from hence transcribe only so much as relates immediately thereunto, although indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. It was now sun-set, for he had lived long, when the officer entered, and after a little pause, said,

"I have not, Socrates, observed that carriage in you which I have found in others; but as I thought you the most generous, the mildest, and best of all men, that ever came into this place, so I now fee you hate me not, for that whereof others are the cause: you know the message I bring, farewell! bear what you cannot remedy. With that he departed weeping; and fare thee well, said Socrates, I am well; how wise is this man? I found him fame the same all the time of my imprisonment, he would often visit and discourse with me, used me always courteously, and now fee me how kindly he weeps for me; but come, Crito, let us do as he bids us, if the poison be not yet brought. The sun is yet apace set, answered Crito, others take it late after a plentiful supper and full cups; make not so much haste, there is time enough. He replied, they who do not think they gain time, but what shall I gain by drinking it late, only deceive myself, as covetous of life, and sparing of that which is no longer mine? Pray let it be as I say; then Crito lent one of the attendants, who immediately returned,
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Book I.

It is easy to judge, from the usage they gave the worthless men amongst them, that the Athenians left deferred to meet with their patriots; yet so it was, that notwithstanding her ill usage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. Conon, who, after the misfortune which befell him at the battle of the Hellespont, which was followed by the Defruction of Athens, had kept himself close in Cyprus and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring of the Athenian affairs to their ancient state, and beftowing once more upon that city the empire of the sea; with this view he caused a project to be transmitted to the Persian king, wherein he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the pride of the Lacedemonians would be extremely detrimental to his affairs, that, their dominion once thoroughly settled in Greece, they would preterume to give laws to Asia also, especially with respect to the Greek cities therein, and that therefore it would be expedient for the Persians to confer some means for putting it once more in the power of Athens to check the influence of that aspiring state, and thereby preserve the great king’s dominions in peace and safety. Conon’s memorial was quickly supported by facts; two Lacedemonian armies, within the compass of a few years, palled over into Asia, the last under Lycurgus and Agesilaus, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the Persian king had not, by lending some of his agents with certain sums of money into Greece, raised so many and so powerful enemies against Sparta, that she was constrained to recall Agesilaus to her allegiance. The expediency of Conon’s advice being fully made known, he, as a man perfectly well skilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admir of the Persian fleet; the Athenians in the mean time had the courage to join with the Argives and other states in a war against the Lacedemonians, which they pursued with variety of fortune. Conon attacked the Lacedemonian fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the Persians, which consisted of ninety sail, and after an obstinate engagement, wherein the Spartan admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking thirty ships and five hundred prisoners. Afterwards he and Pharnabazus obliged most of the states, dependent on Lacedemon, to change sides, particularly those of Cos, Nisyros, Teos, and Chios; Miletus, Ephesus, Lysistrata, and other places followed their example, and thus the Lacedemonians at once lost the empire of the sea. Conon determined after this unexpected success to return to Athens, and in his way...

"and with him the man that was to administer the poison, bringing a cup in his hand. To whom Sec. ans; Pithiebess honest friend, for thou art well versed in these business, what must I do? no thing. Laid he, but as soon as you have drank, walk till you find your legs begin to fail, then lie down and in invoking you gave him the cup. Sec. ers saw it cheerfully, not charging either countenance or colour; and, looking pleasantly upon him, demanded, whether he might spill any of it on a libation, who answered, he had made no more than would serve. Yet said Secers, I may pray to God, and will, that my puissance hence may be happy, which between him to grant, and in that time instant drink it off eaily, without any disturbance. Many of us, who till now had refrained from tears, when we saw him put the cup to his mouth and drink off the poison, were not able to contain any longer; which Sec. eres observing, Friends, said he, what mean i. for this reason I will see the women, let them befriends;: because so we should die with gravitation and applause, be quiet then and take it patiently. These words made us with shame suppress our tears: when he had walked a while, perceiving his legs to fail, he lay down on him back as the executioner directed him; who looking on his feet, pinched them hard, asking him if he felt it; he answered no; he did the like to his legs; and, thinning every part succedingly grow cold and still, told us when that chillness came to his heart, he would die; not long after he spake these his last words, O"
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and expected no harm, they suddenly entered his camp, where they committed great slaughter, and in the beginning thereof flew him, which so terrified his soldiers, that making what haste they could to their ships, they withdrew without attempting to prosecute further the expedition on which their general had been sent. This end had Thrasylus, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune superior to most, and in the glory of freeing his country from servitude, without any view to his own interest, farseen equalled by any. The Athenians to supply their place were constrained to send Iphicrates, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their infelicity and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguished all their great men. Iphicrates had only with him eight gallies and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of Thrasylus's fleet, hitherto commanded by one Argus; he having intelligence, that Anaxibius, the Lacedaemonian admiral, proud of some small successes he had obtained, lay very carelessly at Abydos, immediately falled thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and slew them, after which Iphicrates failed to Cogimestius. Shortly after this Eginus, at the motion of Eteocles revolted, whereupon the Athenians sent one of their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the island, as soon as the Athenian fleet was withdrawn, began to feed the coast of Attica, which vexed the Athenians exceedingly; and constrained them to keep a squadron continually at sea, to protect as well the villages on the shore, as their ships employed in trade, an evil they had not experienced since the clofe of the Peloponnesian war. The affairs of the Lacedaemonians obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of Eginus, the Athenians sent Eumenes with a strong squadron to keep in Gorgipas, who was left to command there. Gorgipas, finding his much outnumbered by the Athenian galleys, retired into port and landed his troops, which when the Athenian admiral perceived, he put to sea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the rest of his ships might hear after him. Gorgipas instantly reimbarked his men, and stood away after the Athenian fleet, keeping aloof till Eumenes, entering a port of Attica, began to land his men, which when he had half finished, Gorgipas fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obstinate fight carried off four gallies to Eginus; this loss was a little after repaired by Chabrias the Athenian general, for he falling to Cyprus, with a fleet which had a body of land-forces on board, landed in Eginus in the night-time, and having posted the major part of his troops in a valley near the temple of Herculæus, ordered the rest to advance towards a place called the Three Turrets at break of day; Gorgipas, as soon as he had intelligence of the Athenian landing in the island, marched with what forces he could to oppose them, and sent orders to all who were on board the fleet to hasten to him with the utmost speed; which accordingly they did; and their rushing all by the ambuscade where Chabrias lay, he suddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other Athenians fell upon them in front; Gorgipas with eight Spartans being quickly slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, of whom Chabrias cut off nor four hundred men, which, with the want of the subsidies they expected from Sparta, to broke the spirits of the inhabitants of Eginus, that they undertook nothing for a considerable time after. At length Eteocles being left from Sparta to command the galleys in that isle, he so wrought upon the people by his fair speeches, that they went on board the ships, and offered to follow him where he pleased. He, having sacrificed and taken a day's provision on board, put out to sea, and having in the night rode very near the port of Athens, as soon as it was day, he failed first into the Piræus, where he took several galleys and a great number of prisoners. These he sent presently away to Eginus, and afterwards carrying along the coast, carried off several trading vessels and an immense booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he raubed their ships, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardour he fell upon an Athenian squadron of eight galleys and took them; after which drawing together a fleet of eighty sail with twenty galleys of Syracusæ, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the Lacedaemonians.

The Spartans, willing to secure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered Antisthenes their admiral to settle with the ministers of the king of Perseus the terms of...
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A general peace in Greece; for, on account of the Corinthian war and the vast expense of keeping so many fleets at sea, Sparta was grown weary of fighting, though she had the better of her rival. The Athenians on the other hand, wearied out with continual misfortunes, were far from being averse to the putting an end to the war; for which the rest of the cities of Greece were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their interests; they therefore sent all of them agents to Tiribazus to know what term the king his master would propose. The Persians having first shewn them the great king’s seal, opened his dispatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it just the cities in Asia should belong to him and remain under his jurisdiction, and that all the rest, little and great, should remain free; of the islands, however, he claimed Ciliciae and Cyprus; Lemnos, Imbros, and Sciron, he left to the Athenians, because they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the Greek states rejected these terms, he and the rest of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by sea and land. The Lacedaemonians and Athenians accepted them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was filled the peace of Antalkidas, which in the main was very scandalous to Sparta, who, after so long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the Greek cities in Asia, now delivered them up to the king.

The design of this peace was evidently the raising Sparta to an uncontrollable dominion over the Grecian states, which the king began to execute immediately after it took effect, falling first on the Mestianians, and afterwards on other little states, at last on Thebes itself, where, without the least provocation, the Lacedaemonians seized the citadel, and enabled the Thebans of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to Athens, which city was far from making the same figure now as formerly; the Grecians remembering with aversion her cruelty when in power, and fearing with disdain her insolence under the affinities of Sparta. The Thebans, however, found here not only a place of refuge, but all the kindness and affability they could reasonably except from the principal men of Athens, who laboured hard to persuade the people, that it was both safe and honourable for them to succour their unhappy men. The exiles, unsatisfied with being safe abroad, longed to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to let on foot a conspiracy in Thebes, and by the private affinities of the Athenians brought matters so to bear, that they got possession of the city, but fearing lest the Lacedaemonians should send mighty succours to their garrison in the citadel, they sent deputies to Athens, beseeching the people to call to mind with what kindness they had received the Athenians, who were banished by the thirty tyrants, and how far it was owing to their aid that the Athenians recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to desert them now, when the Thebans were ready to fight against Sparta for the liberty of their country, but to afford them such succours as might enable them to fight with hope.

The people, having heard the Theban deputies, came presently to a resolution of sending away such a body of auxiliaries, as might at once demonstrate their gratitude to the Thebans and their care of the liberty of Greece; with this view they sent Draco at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, who marched with prodigious diligence to Thebes, where they enabled those of their party to take the citadel, which they afflicted before the Lacedaemonians could relieve it; after which the Athenians returned home. From this time forward they fought by all means to raise a party against the Spartans, by putting themselves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their ancient lustre. The forces, however, of the Lacedaemonians, being as yet much greater than their own, made them sometimes obliged to dissemble their hatred to that state, and also to discomfit their orators who were notoriously enemies to Sparta. An accident happened at last which entirely changed the face of things, and constrained the Athenians to declare openly against Lacedaemon. One Sophocles a Spartan, who commanded at Thebes, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had succeeded, his countrymen must have been absolute masters of Greece; for he marched suddenly with a great body of troops towards Athens, and hoped to seize the fort of Pyrea in the night; but when he had marched as far as Eleusis, the sun began to appear, upon which his soldiers refused to march any further. That he miffed his blow was far from being the worst consequence of his failure; the Athenians were too much alarmed, that they seized certain Spartan emissaries

baffaders who were in their city, and made them prifoners, conceiving, that they were privy to this attempt; but they, afferting their innocence, affur'd the people of Athens, that Sphodrias should be call'd to a fevere account, and pay with his life for this infernous attempt, whereupon they were releas'd; but Sphodrias being brough't to a trial and acquitt'd, the Athenians instantly declar'd war, accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their houfes by fuch sudden expeditions. They nam'd on this occafion three generalls, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Callistratus, directing them to levy an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred hore; they likewise order'd a fleet to be fitted out of two hundred sail. To fhow that they did not intend to fight for themselves only, but that they would do juftly by all their confederates, they restor'd all the lands, which had been divid'd among their citizens, out of Attica to their ancient proprietors, and offer'd fuch reafonable terms to all their allies, particularly the fixing a fenate, which was to confift of one deputy from each city of Athens, that they prefently drew over a great number to their fide, and exceedingly alarmed the Lacedaemonians. The fame alfo of the Athenian generalls was of no small fervice to their country, for Timotheus was exceedingly efteem'd on account of his father Conon's merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; Chabrias was reput't one of the firft generalls of his age, and Callistratus was a man of great worth and high accom- plifhments, as for Ibicrates, the king of Perfia had begg'd him of the Athenians, and they held the friendship of that prince, in confideration of the great fervices he receiv'd from that experienced general. In the mean time the Lacedaemonians invad'd Boeotia under the command of their chief Agisius, who with a mighty army brav'd the Thebans and their allies in the neigbourhood of their own city. Chabrias, who command'd them, took poft along the defcent of a hill; and when Agisius led the Spartan army in battalia towards them, Chabrias order'd his fquadrons to lean one knee on the ground, to let their fIELDS hang careftly on their arms, but to keep their spears extended as if they intend'd to continue in their pofts, and to expect the Spartans without putting themselves into any hurry. Agisius having weigh'd within himfelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retir'd without attempting to force them. After- wards the Athenians obtain'd fome advantages, and in confederacy of them oblig'd Cleomelos king of Sparta to retir'e without entering Boeotia. Chabrias in the interim was recalled to take upon him the command of the Athenian fleet which was to go against Naxus; he befieg'd the capital of that ifland, but in vain, Pallas the Lacedaemonian coming with a great fleet to its relief. Chabrias, defirous to regain the honour of his country, remarch'd his forces, and offer'd the Lacedaemonians battle; the en- gagement was long and obstinate, at laft, however, he gain'd an absolute victory, though with the los's of eighteen galleys, the Lacedaemonians losing twenty-four, befides eight that were taken with all their men. But Chabrias did not pursu'e this victory as he might have done, being deter'red by the fate of the fix generalls, who had suffer'd for not fuccouring the wounded and burying the dead; as it was, he recover'd the Athenian reputation at sea, for this was the firft naval victory, which, with their own proper forces, the Athenians had acquire'd since the Peloponnesian war. Afterwards he feld againft the Thyraucians, and deliver'd the Abderites whom they had treat'd with great cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city and provifions against the return of the barbarians, he was, as some fay, affaffin'd, none knew by whom, or for what reafon. The Athenians lent Timotheus to supply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the Lacedaemonians in his fingle perfon, than all their enemies befide; for by his eloquence, affability, and jufices, he drew many of their allies to forfack them, and by his great skill in maritime affairs he vanquish'd them in a fea fight at Leucades, fo that all things went prosperously for the Athenians on this fide. Attaxerxes king of Perfia endeavour'd all this time to recon- cile the Grecians among themfelves, becaufe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in a war he intend'd againft Egypt. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians themfelves were weary of war, and therefore fuffer'd themselves to be the more easilily intruded upon; besides, they were both apprehensive, that the Thebans would at length run away with that authority for which they had fo long contended; they therefore clapp'd up a fudden peace, which was ill kept, upon these terms, that all cities fhould be free to which the Thebans would by no means yield, for they would never confent, that all the little cities of Boeotia fhould be freed from their dominion. Ibicrates, much abo-
this time quitted the Perian service, where he had been entrusted with the command of twenty thousand Greeks, escaping with a single ship to Athens. The reason of this was, that Pharnabazus and he had differed, whereupon the Athenians, fearing that this Perian general would serve him as he had Conon, that is, to imprison and put it out of his power to defend himself, chose rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner before-mentioned; he was quickly followed to Athens by Perian embassadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earnestly desired that he should be punished; to which the Athenians answered, that they would punish him when he was proved guilty; but in the mean time, having occasion for his service, they made him admiral of their fleet. The late peace having given the Grecian cities a just title to freedom, disputes arose in many of them, whether aristocracy or democracy should prevail, and these disputes not being accommodated by words, sedition and civil war ensued in several places, especially in Zacynthus and Corcyra; the Lacedaemonians, notwithstanding the peace, assisted to the utmost of their power such as were for oligarchy, and the Athenians, according to their old practice, befriended everywhere where the democratic government. Mnesippus the Lacedaemonian general blocked up Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; Timotheus, who had been sent to their assistance, having found it necessary to fail to Tarentum, preferring the service of his own country to the necessities of its allies, for which the Athenians rewarded him and Ipsicrates after the old manner, that is to say they condemned them both; but when the former brought along with him many embassadors, who desired to renew the ancient leagues between their constituents and Athens, and also proved that he had encreased the fleet with thirty galleys and brought mighty sums into the public treasury; the Athenians, in regard to his own and his father’s merit, who by rebuilding their walls had made Athens once more a city, refounded their former decree, and restored Timotheus to his command. In the mean time Cipides was sent with five hundred men to Corcyra, where he was so fortunate as to kill the Lacedaemonian general, and to leave very little to be done by Timotheus and Ipsicrates, who came at length with the fleet. Aristocrates still labouring to reconcile the Grecian states, and the Athenians having conceived a violent antipathy against the Thebans for destroying Platea and Thebes, sent deputies to Sparta with Callistratus at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities should be set at liberty, to which, as before, the Thebans refused to consent; this happened at the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, Alcibiades being archon at Athens.

The Athenians, now perceiving that they were become very inconsiderable, endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by proposing an oath to the cities of Greece, that they would observe the truce established by the king, and in case any injury was offered to one city, that she should be afflicted by all; this was readily yielded to by all, except the Eleusinians and Thebans; between the latter and the Spartans a new war broke out, in which the latter was so dexterous, that they demand aid of the Athenians, who thereupon sent Ipsicrates, who in this expedition lost some part of his reputation. Some Negotiations for a general peace being set at-foot at the court of the Perian king, the Athenians amongst the rest sent deputies, and amongst them Timagoras; the Thebans, who now aimed at the dominion of Greece, sent Pelopidas, a man of superior abilities, who drew to himself the confidence of the Perian king, and having found a way to bring over Timagoras to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was agreed, that Melfene should be exempted from the Lacedaemonian government; that the Athenians should no more pretend to the sovereignty of the sea; that the cities should be governed by their own laws, and the Thebans be esteemed the king’s chief friends and allies. Timagoras on his return was accused to the Athenians of having betrayed his trust, upon which he was condemned and put to death. The Argives falling upon the Phocians on account of their remarkable fidelity to the Lacedaemonians and bringing them to great frights, the latter defined all the Athenians, who thereupon sent Charon to their assistance, who behaved himself with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories against the Argives. After this the Athenians entered into a strict league with the Arcadians, so that they were now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities, as the times offered for maintaining themselves in any shew of power. Timotheus their last great com-

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commander gave, however, some degree of credit to their arms, by reducing Te-
ron and Potidaea in Macedonia under their obedience, and raising the siege of
Cyzicus. The war still continuing between the Thebans and Macedonians, Ep-
omniodidas, desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at Man-
tinae, against the Macedonians, Arcadians Acheans, Lacedaemonians, and Aten-
ians; of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing
where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the Thebans; however, they
rallied again and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over,
wherein, indeed, the Thebans had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for
they lost here Epomniodidas their glorious general, who first inspired them with the
thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of Greece both by land and sea. Some of
flights in Arcadia engaged the Athenians to send thither a great army under the
command of Pammenes, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home
with honour. Alexander, prince or tyrant of Pherae, having undertaken an expedi-
tion against the Cyclades, met with some opposition therein from Leotippos the
Athenian, whereupon he attacked some galleys belonging to that state and took
them; upon which the Athenians being angry with Leotippos’s bad success, con-
demned him, and sent Chares with a fleet into those parts, who was so far from
repairing the diffares which had already fallen out, that by his ill management
he greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the Athenians, delaying
any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions where-ever he came, and seem-
ing to have nothing else in view but to enrich himself. We are now come to those times in
which the Athenians came to contend with Philip of Macedon, unluckily for them, when all
their great captains were exhausted, and when this prince appeared with a genius superior to all
the politicians and chieftains of his time. The Athenians were very early apprehensive of his abilities, and therefore
they espoused the cause of Argus his competitor, to whose alliance they sent Mamias,
at the head of three thousand men, with a great fleet. This Mamias put things
into a good posture at his first arrival for besides the Macedonians, who adhered to
Argus, the Peonnians and the Thracians were of his party. King Philip advanced,
however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an affrighted party, rather than to a
doubtful engagement. First, he took off the Peonnians and Thracians, by giving
them a prodigious sum of money, and as soon as they were retired, he fell upon
Argus and Mamias, who still lay with their army at Methone, and thoroughly
 routed them. The Macedonians of Argus’s party he purfued, but suffered the Athe-
nians to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the spirits of that
people, and readily disposed of them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly
fought to make themselves masters of Amphipolis, to which Philip quitted his claim,
the situation of his affairs requiring it, and in consequence thereof a peace was con-
ccluded; however, he took it shortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled
fuch of its citizens as had given him offence; the Athenians not being able to relieve
it, on account of the many troublesome affairs in which they were now engaged,
and of which we are next to give an account.*

command of Timotheus and Iphicrates, making them all equal in commission. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred galleys, and with it infested Inbros and Lefos, taking all ships that fell into their hands, and raiding contributions where-ever they landed their troops, so that by these methods they acquired mighty sums of money, where-with they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards besieged Samos both by land and sea. The Athenian generals, to constrain them to abandon this design, went and besieged Byzantium, which had the effect they proposed, for immediately the confederates raised the siege of Samos, and with their utmost force bore away for Byzantium. When they came before the port, they offered the Athenians battle; but a great storm arising, Timotheus and Iphicrates thought it improper to fight, though Chares vehemently pressed it; and because he could not carry his point, he sent home to Athens and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulet, did not return to Athens and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulet, did not return to Athens and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulet, did not return to Athens and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulet, did not return to Athens and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; 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temple of Delphi, it was considered as a sacrilege to receive any part of this theft, especially for defending the robbers. But indeed the Athenians were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to these theft of proceedings may pass for a manifest proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wise and free people to run, as the Athenians had formerly done, into gross and cruel superfluities, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain sign of corruption and degeneracy, when people lose all sense of religion, and openly affront those powers they pretend to worship. It is true, the Athenians pretended to colour the affluence afforded by them to the Phocians, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raise up their power to balance that of the king of Macedon; but even at this distance of time we may conclude, that these were merely pretences, since it is certain, that when Iphicrates intercepted some statues of gold and ivory, sent by Dionysius the Sicilian, they sent him orders to sell them publicly, notwithstanding they were dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter and to the Delphian Apollo. But it must be owned, that not Athens only, but all Greece, was at this time governed by money, the Persian king, who had always made use of gold to preserve himself from the unwelcome visits of the Greeks, and to purchase their affluence when he found it necessary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater sums in Greece than any of his predecessors, because bribery, like other vices, rises higher by degrees; and when men have been accustomcd to take money, they require larger wages than those which contented them at first. Philip of Macedon, having found a way to render the gold mines in Thrace infinitely more beneficial to him, than they had been to the Athenians, openly practised the same art, maintaining pensioners in all the states of Greece, and in Athens among the rest. The Phocians chiefs had nothing else to support their cause but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may guess from what Diodorus and Plutarch tell us; that in a few years they squandered ten thousand talents, which falls little short of two millions of our money. The orators, or, as the Athenians called them, the Demagogues, that is, such as led the people by their speeches, were most of them retained by some or other of these parties. Demosthenes himself, who was by far the most worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of accepting Persian gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our custom of giving the characters of Athenian flatteners, it is necessary, that we should here draw his, since he was the Pericles of his time, and in right of his eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow-citizens. He was the son of an eminent Athenian, who had raised a great fortune from the manufacture of sword-blades, but was far from being a blacksmith, as Juvencal would have us believe. Demosthenes himself seemed leaf of all defiled by nature for an orator, his person was far from being handsome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his gesture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young and his own constitution being weak, his mother indulged him to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender years, imposed on him to the prejudice of his fortune; these unforeseen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was seventeen years old in several law-suits, he pleaded his own cause, which no law forbade, and having from thence attained an ability of speaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he succeeded so ill, that it had like to have discouraged him from speaking more; but his passion for becoming an orator enabled him to get the better of nature and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accustomcd himself to speak with stones in his mouth; to raise his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the sea shore; to repref a habit he had got of thrugging his shoulders, he hung a sword drawn in his chamber, at such a height, that when he practised his orations it pricked his shoulders whenever he pulled them up; long practice supplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to truft but to his merit, he by study and patience acquired a manly solid eloquence, not only superior to that of his contemporaries, but also excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonstrate beyond a question. He declared himself, in loud terms, against the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their tickleness, faithfulness, and want of due regard for the public interest. He exclaimed against their vanity, in attributing to themselves the merit of
ancestors, and fancying that the reputation of the ancient Athenians would support the vices of their posterity. He expatiated on the necessity of pursuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he advised them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occasions to afflict them, whereby they might keep war at a distance, enure their subjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the Athenian name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the Persians, because it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but, on the contrary, it was his interest to preserve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preserve the independence of all the states of Greece. Above all, he cautioned them against the growing power of the Macedonians, observing that the dominion of republics seldom lasted long, whereas monarchies lasted the longer for being powerful; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear Philip more than the Tebans, and not suffer themselves to be amuced, either by his specious pretences of loving peace, or of his affliction to the Athenian state; but in their discourses, as he flewed himself a true patriot, so there wanted not many pretended ones, who strenuously pleaded the cause of Philip. But the Macedonians in the mean-time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchased by his money, but endeavoured by force to establish himself in that absolute power over Greece which he affected. He made use of the war then raging between the Peloponnesians and the Boeotians to march into Greece, and though he had all success in two engagements, yet he overcame at Leuctra, and, partly by force, partly by fraud, gained possession of the strongholds of Thermopylae; then it was that Demosthenes endeavoured to reduce the Athenians to a proper sense of their danger, and to this end composed the first of those orations which bear the title of Philippic, and which to this day are held imitable in their kind; he flewed the Athenians, with great pertinacity and candor, that it was to no purpose to make use of palliatives in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that any remedy could to this evil and that would preserve them from ruin. He proved to them, that Philip's plain and legitimate design was to advance himself to the sovereignty of Greece, in consequence of which they must become his subjects, that he might perhaps call them his allies. He therefore advised them to think of forming a pliable as broad as the fore, and, instead of opposing Philip here and there, in finding succours as they had two or three times already done to places taken before they could arrive, to begin a war in earnest, to excite all their confederates to rise in arms, and concur with them in destroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor suffer other people to enjoy their possessions in quiet. He concluded with affurting them, if they trusted any longer to expediencies they would be ruined, because Philip would every day grow stronger, and they weaker; whereas, by following vigorous and uniform counsels, they might possibly retrieve all things, and reduce Philip and his Macedonians to their primitive obscurity. The Athenians listened, as they were wont to do, attentively to his discourse, and came to some resolutions which were suitable thereto; but contented themselves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To say the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was Clenius, a man of great vices and small abilities; it is true, Pausan was then in their service, but they employed him in a trifling war in Cyprus, where it was not in his power to do them much good; besides, he was so modest that he never sought command, nor emboldened wars that he might raise his authority by them, though, taken as a soldier and an orator, as a statesman and a general, he was by far the greatest Athenian of his time. As he was a most disliked person, he could have no great affection for Philip, but, as he perfectly well knew the disposition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to support long such measures as were necessary to pull down the Macedonian power, he did not express himself vehemently, but chose rather to cultivate the esteem which on all occasions Philip flewed for the State of Athens as a means of preferring her, when things should be in that state which he conceived they wanted votes to prevent. From this character the reader will easily discern, that Demosthenes and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his designs vast and surprizing; Pausan on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himself in very few words, and proposed things at once fit and easy to be done; yet he seldom or never concurred with the people, but spoke as poignantly against their vices as Demosthenes.
The History of the Athenians.

Book I.

magnifies himself; infomuch, that this orator once told him, The Athenians, Phocion, in some of their mad fits will murder thee. The same, answered he, may fall to thee, Demosthenes, if ever they come to be faver. At this feaçon such of the Athenians as had a competent share of eloquence and knowledge in state affairs, applied themselves to the management of the assemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; such again, as had spent their time in the army, addicted themselves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain such commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meekled little with the civil polity, seldom appearing to the supreme magistracy, but confining themselves wholly to what they conceived their sphere. Phocion was too wise not to discern how dangerous such a conduct must in the end prove to the state; he saw, that their speakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become folders of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himself therefore aike to both, he spoke frequently in the assemblies, but in few, plain, and significant words; he refused no commands that were affixed him, never canvassed for any, and lived and died poor. The Chalkidian cities fell most of them into the hands of Philip in the last year of the hundred and seventh olympiad, and the year following he made war on the Olynthians, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an omer-match for his predecessors. When the news of this expedition was spread through Greece, Demosthenes exerted his utmost eloquence to engage the Athenians to aid the people of Olynthus to the utmost of their power, and there are still remaining three excellent orations on this subject. The realons offered by him appeared so clear, and the necessity of fending auxcours to Olynthus was made so evident, that rebel was decreed. The supplies sent were small, but they came so opportunely, that the Olynthians received vast advantages from them, which being reported at Athens, the people became inoffent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the Athenians had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the side they favoured; but Demosthenes shewed them the vanity of those light conceits in his third oration on the Olynthus war, wherein he told them, that there was indeed some merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of losing even this, if they did not proceed with the same spirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulse the invasion of Philip, but also to invade him in their turn, and to carry that terror into Macedon, which of late years Philip had struck through all his neighbours. But the Athenians were not able to reliih such high-feated dis- coursites, they were content to fend a squadron now and then to the coasts of Thrace with a small body of land-troops on board; but to think seriously of a war like this, which their fore-fathers had sustained against the Peloponnensians, and for it to forgo all their public diversion, and relinquish all the donatives which they at present received from the revenue of the state, was what the Athenians of those times could not be brought to endure; what therefore Demosthenes had predicted came exactly to pass, Olynthus could not long reiit the power of Philip's armies and his bribes; on the contrary, two of its citizens betrayed the place into his hands, where having exercised all that his cruelty and his avance could dictate, he marched away, big with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire and ruining his neighbours.

The Phocian, or, as the friends of Philip affected to call it, the sacred war, was open yet, and the Boeotians and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, entrenched the king of Macedon to come down into the heart of Greece and put an end thereto. But Philip, being at that time intent on his conquests in Thrace, did not listen toREADY to this proposal as it was expected; the true reason was, that he grew apprehensive of the Athenians, and was in some doubt, whether, considering their great interest in Thrace, they might not be able to stir up much mischief in his absence. He therefore proposed to make peace with them, and, his party in Athens having been drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their repulse, Aeschines with some other deputies were sent to treat with him. He made these embassadors wait his leisure, until he had finished his affairs in Thrace; then he came suddenly down into Thessaly, proposing to pass immediately into Phocis, which grievously alarmed the Athenians, notwithstanding their ministers had concluded a peace for seven years. Demosthenes advised them to find and demand a ratification of the treaty before he passed the Pyle, as also in pertinent.

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a persuaded him not to undertake a war against the Phocians. On the other hand, the Bœotians sent to intreat him to continue his march and come speedily to their affiance. Philip heard all the embassadors, and though their demands were diametrically opposite, he promised them all to do as they desired, and thereby kept them in a state of dependence, till he seized the post of Thermopylae; then coming down with a mighty army into Locris in the third year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad, he put an end to the sacred war by his presence only, for the Phocians, finding themselves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave to march away with such as would follow him; the rest were left to the mercy of Philip, who referred them to the Amphiétyons, which great council, in return for this eminent service, took from the Phocians their double voice, and gave it to Philip and his subjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he sent his arms first against the Illyrians, and soon after, when he conceived the Athenians had no longer need of his help, he attempted to bring the Persians under his dominion. Perythus was feated on the shore of Preponitis, and, as it always favoured the Athenians, had incurred the Macedonian's high displeasure. The inhabitants, however, were not easy subdued, they had learned from the Athenians to set a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themselves valiantly; and, it is said, that Philip was marching against them. The Persian king having begun to doubt the designs of the Macedonian, whose ancestors had been his tributaries, gave instructions to his lieutenants, who were near Perythus, to favour the inhabitants as much as possible; the Byzantines also, doubting much the intentions of Philip, sent Perythus a very great supply, inasmuch, that they did not a little weaken their own forces, of which Philip having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up Perythus, and marched at the head of the rest to surprise or besiege Byzantium; at the news of this the Athenians were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed, that succours should be immediately sent, and with more ordinary care put it in the power of Chares, who was elected general, to fail with agood fleet and a numerous army to the affiance of the Byzantines. Yet this affected nothing; for when the fleet appeared off of Byzantium, the inhabitants of that city refused to let it enter their port, having before experienced the worth of the Athenian admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pyrate with a commission. Chares, having drest this refusall in the worst colours possible, dispatched advice of it home, where it put the Athenians into a mighty chafe, and caused many of them to fly in the assembly, that it was a pity they had affliicted the Byzantines at all; upon which Phocion rising up addressed them in the following conciliating terms: My masters, you ought not so much to blame the jealousy of your allies, as the base behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you afflicted even to those who are unable to support themselves without your assistance. Upon this the people, with their usual inscrutability dropped their former opinion, and unanimously chose Phocion general, who, immediately going to the Hellespont, received the Command of the fleet from Chares, and again appeared before Byzantium, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the Byzantines would by no means permit it, setting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the Athenians when they had Phocion for their general, who quickly obliged Philip to return to his own dominions, took many of his ships, recovered several places into which he had put garrisons, and exceedingly harassed the frontiers of his kingdom, so that it appeared, that the Macedonian was not invincible when opposed by a man of probity as well as of abilities.

b Sometime after this the Megarian privately fought the friendship of the Athenians. Phocion, being apprehensive that the Bœotians would exert themselves to prevent this union, cautioned an assembly to be called very early in the morning; where having presented the petition from Megara and backed it with warm truth, the Athenians came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all such as would go on this expedition should immediately assemble in arms, and a great number presenting themselves very readily, he without more ado put himself at their head, and marched directly away to Megara, where he was very joyfully received. He re-adjudged the long walls, joining that city to its port Nisea, and thereby effectually secured it to the Athenians; after this he was sent again among the islands to regulate all things for the interest of his country. Philip in the mean time neglected nothing.

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which might either tend to the raising of his own power, or depreciating that of the Greek states; but, above all desiring to humble the Athenians, he came suddenly down to Phoeis, and having feigned Eteocles, he there assembled a mighty army with a resolution to invade Attica, for which purpose there was an absolute necessity of passing through Boeotia; the Athenians upon this were in the utmost confusion, so that Demosthenes had need of all his eloquence to keep up their spirits; at last, however, he prevailed upon them to declare war against Philip, and to send to the Boeotians to intrust them to hand fast for the liberty of Greece; he also engaged them to raise a very considerable army in an infant, and to chuse Chares and Lyceles generals, who without more ado marched into Boeotia, where they were kindly received and promised all things. Philip, however, resolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, sent Python into Boeotia to persuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the Athenians opposed Demosthenes, whose eloquence prevailing, the Boeotians joined their utmost force with the Athenians, and resolved to hazard all in a general engagement. Demosthenes magnified this at Athens as a mighty stroke of policy, because he put the war at a distance from Attica, to which Phocion thereby replied; Let us not be so careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a distance; whereas, if we are overcome, the worst of calamities will be seen at our doors. Phocion had the resolution also to express, at the same time a dislike of the war and a doubtfulness of its event, many events to propose an accommodation and the renewing of the peace with Philip, when an Athenian of very bad character cried out, Don't then, Phocion, think of dividing the Athenians from the war, now the sword is drawn? Yes, I dare, returned he, though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy Master, whereas in peace than perhaps may be mine. The event shewed how just a notion Phocion had of things, for Philip coming down at last with an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, the Athenians and Boeotians met him at Crenesus. In this battle, which began at the rising of the sun, Alexander commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it confided, the Athenians having the right, and the Boeotians the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon Stratocles an Athenian commander cried out, Come, and brother soldiers, let us drive them back to Macedon; which king Philip hearing, bid very coolly to one of his officers, These Athenians do not know how to conquer. Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be lightened, and drawing his men up very close, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the Athenians were eager in their pursuit, he came down like thunder, broke, and routed them with prodigious slaughter. Demosthenes acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled. Philip did not prefer that wittiom after his victory which he had thrown in the fight; for he danced about like one intoxicated with joy, and coming up to the band of Athenian prisoners, treated them with scoffs and ill language; upon which Demades, who was one of them could not help reproving him: Since fortune, O Philip, said he, seems to have afforded thee the part of Agamemnon, why wilt thou then play Thetis? At which Philip blushing ordered him to be immediately released, and discharged likewise the rest of the Athenian captives, who, finding afterwards to demand their baggage, Philip told I believe these people don't think we beat them in earnest. He ordered them, however, to be given them; he likewise sent embassadors to Athens to renew the peace, which was done. After this Philip convoked a general assembly of the Greeks, into which Demades persuaded the Athenians to inflict on being received. Phocion opposed it, alluding, that they ought first to be informed what Philip would demand in that assembly; however, it was carried against him; but when it afterwards appeared, that the Athenians were by this rash step obliged to furnish the king with a body of horse and a squadron of ships, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the assembly Demades and the other orators, who were so forward in the business, expressing at the same time a doubt, whether they ought to comply with articles to unworthy of the Athenian state. Phocion upon this stood up again, I forewarn you, said he, what would happen, and therefore I was against this step taken it was first proposed; but since it is once taken, I am for it, and advise you to hear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your ancestors, who fitted their behaviour to their fortune; sometimes giving laws, sometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preserved their own city, but also all Greece. The kindred expostulated.
express'd by the king towards the Athenians was not over sincere, since he doubted so far of them, as to require, on the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, that a deputy should be sent from them with a gold crown, as from the rest of the cities, which was accordingly done, and presented to him in the midst of the marriage solemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conspirator against Philip fled to Athens he should be delivered up. At this marriage, however, Philip was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at Athens; Demosthenes and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which Phocion reprehended, bidding them remember, that the army, which had beat them at Cheronea, was lifted but by one. This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put Lycurgus their general to death, merely because he was so unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed Demosthenes to exalt the memory of those who fell therein in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to these misfortunes had just now flattered the king by sending him a crown of gold, ran again into the same extravagancies, and heard with pleasure all the harth things the orators could say of the young Alexander, whom they represented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing; but he soon gave them occasion to understand, that they were mightily mistaken by his quick dissolution of that confederacy which they formed, not only for depriving him of the command of Greece, but even of his hereditary dominions; for Demosthenes took pains to inspire all the states with high notions of liberty, the Athenians first of all made a decree to recall the exiles whom Philip had driven out of their country. The Suburans drove out the Macedonian garion, the Thebans cast out that which had been established in the citadel, the Arcadians, as they had refused to give their votes for Philip's becoming general of Greece, so they now rejected Alexander; the Argives, Eleans, Laconians, and others in Peloponnesus, all spoke the same language, and all determined to throw off that yoke which the Macedonians had imposed; they likewise treated with Attalus, Alexander's uncle, who aspired to the kingdom, to favour his pretensions; so that if the son of Philip had really been as weak as the Athenians orators would have represented him, he must have been crushed by such a load of opposition; but he, far from being dismayed, came first into the council of the Amphictyons, where he procured himself to be recognized general of Greece. He then marched immediately towards Thebes with a numerous army, sacked, and plundered it, and thereby struck such a terror into the rest of the confederates, that no-body durst oppose him. As to the Athenians, he refused to admit them into his favour, unless they delivered up to him Demosthenes, and, as some say, nine more of their orators; other historians say, but seven. This struck the assemblies with the utmost terror, none knowing what to say, or what to propose; at last they called upon Phocion and defir'd his opinion, upon which, arising up and pointing to his friend Niccolas: These persons, said he, whom Alexander demands of you, are they who have brought you into these miserable circumstances; circumstances so miserable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I should desire you to deliver him innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchase your safety, I would resign it cheerfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that those who have fled for succour from the desolation of Thebes, should have so little hopes of safety here; surely it would be more for our interest to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle; Demosthenes contented himself with saying, that once on a time the wolves offered to make peace with the sheep; but first, said he, they would have them give up their dogs. The stream, however, was too strong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way. The first decree which the Athenians passed for making peace and which they sent to Alexander, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the embassadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when Phocion presented the second decree, he received him very graciously, and not only granted him his requests, but listened to his advice, nay he had the complaisance to tell him at parting; Your Athenians ought to have their eyes about them, for, if I should mistake, they only are worthy to command. The friendship, which Alexander con'veted with this general, was not broke off or interrupted by his expedition into Asia; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty presents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was still a greater mark of his regard, when
when he no longer used in his letters the praise of Alexander wishes health, he preferred it to him and Antipater, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occasion for galleys to complete his fleet, he sent to demand those which had been promised him by the Athenians; the orators, as they were wont, opposed this as derogatory to their freedom; at last Phocion being required to speak, delivered his sentiments freely, which were, that the galleys should be immediately sent; For, said he, till you can put yourselves at the head of Greece, I would have you the friends of those who are at the head of it. Harpalus, one of Alexander's commanders, having in several respects failed in his duty, and dreading the resentment of his prince, fled with an immense quantity of treasure, which he had amassed together out of the spoils of Aiga. Athens was the city of Greece he thought the most proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he came and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that since he came laden with wealth, he should meet with friends enough to be purchased. Accordingly most of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be serviceable, and upon what terms; as for Demosthenes, his good sense engaged him to make a warmoration against receiving a person who was little better than a thief, and whereby involving the commonwealth in a war, at once dangerous and unjust; but a few days after, when the treasurers was publicly brought before and laid up, Demosthenes being present took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon Harpalus defied him to poise it in his hand, and consider its weight; which he did, and then asked the price of it; To you, Sir (said Harpalus) it shall come with twenty talents; at night accordingly it was sent, and Demosthenes, when he was called upon the next day in the assembly to deliver his opinion, showed his neck, which was swathed round with several rollers, and made signs, that he was unable to speak, upon which some of the wisest said, The orator bad got a fever quinsy. As for Phocion, Harpalus knew well that he was of another disposition, and therefore he sent him no less than seven hundred talents, and offered to commit himself and all his affairs to his disposal; but Phocion treated those who came to him very roughly, and threatened not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the last time in the assembly, those who had received his money nailed most at Harpalus to conceal their own guilt, whereas Phocion expressed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in such gentle terms, that Harpalus again offered him money; but he was inpregnable, and in the end the Athenians expelled the Macedonian the city; but he ordered the court of Areopagus to take cognizance of such as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very severely with them, and particularly fined Demosthenes fifty talents, and ordered him to be imprisoned till it was paid, but he shortly after made his escape from thence and fled to Aegina, where he remained till after the death of Alexander, which was no very long time.

This great event altered all the affairs of Greece; the Athenians had been much disenchanted with him, for designing to take from them Samos, in order to restore it to its ancient inhabitants; and therefore, when Aеспides, the son of Hipparchus, brought the first news of it to Athens, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what Aespides had related was true. Phocion, fearing they would do some mad act on other, cried out, Well, suppose it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow, ay, and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate calmly. The orators unanimously concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all Greece was in commotion, so that at length it was carried by a great majority, that the Athenians should take upon them the defence of the common liberty, should free all the cities from their garrisons, should fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, and that all men under forty years old should take up arms. Leogoras was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched against the Macedonians. Antipater, as soon as he had intelligence of this, sent to Crete in Citias to come to his assistance, but in the interim he marched into Thessaly himself, with 12000 foot, and 600 horse. The Thessalians joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when Leogoras approached, it appeared, that the Athenians and their confederates were far more numerous, the Thessalians defected.

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...to them; yet Antipater had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himself constrained to fly; but he shewed himself a great general in his flight, for arriving with some foot at Lamia a city in Thessaly, he causeth the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops as fast as they came up, so that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obstinate refitance. Leophenes, coming up with the confederate army, invested and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by storm, he was constrained to make a regular siege: Antipater watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by fresh troops, made a sally upon the workmen, and put them in great disorder. Leophenes, coming to encourage them, was unfortunately killed with a stone, which greatly dispirited the Greeks; however, they chose Antiphilos their general and continued the war, notwithstanding Antipater had escaped out of Lamia; not long after they routed the Macedonians, under the command of Leosthenes, which victory was their ruin; for fighting the Macedonians, many returned home to their respective cities. Antipater having joined the remains of Leosthenes’s army, and being joined afterwards by Craterus, who yielded him the command, he soon after fought and routed the Greeks under the command of Antiphilos and Menon: though there were but five hundred men slain in this battle, yet the confederates were so dispirited that they sent to Antipater to treat of peace; but Antipater refused to treat at all of a general peace, professing at the same time, that he was willing to hear and receive embassadors from each of these cities, and to consider their respective demands. At first the Grecians rejected this with scorn, but when several of the Thessalian cities were taken by storm, they were glad to treat upon the terms prescribed, upon which Antipater received the embassadors very kindly, and granted almost every thing they desired; thus the Athenians were deprived of all their confederates, and in a short time reduced to the utmost extremity. In this distress Phocion with some of the orators were deputed to go to Cadmea, where Antipater was encamped, to procure from him, if possible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, Phocion intreated that the terms might be adjured there, whereas Craterus was for marching into Attica, and treating with the Athenians, as it were at their own doors; saying it was unreasonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. Antipater replied, that what he said was just; but yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to Phocion. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather Antipater imposed upon the Athenians these conditions; that Demophilus and Hyperides should be delivered up, that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be reformed, that they should receive a garrison into Munychia, defray the charges of the war, and submit to some other taxes. Phocion was very desirous that the spires of the garrison might be spared the garison; but Antipater answered, I will deny thee, Phocion, nothing, but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own. In consequence of this treaty, Menyllus, a man of great sweetness of temper and one of Phocion’s friends, was sent to command the garrison, which entered Munychia, Demophilus in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to Antipater; and being purged by some perions in that nobleman’s service, positioned himself (P). The Macedonian garrison being settled in Athens, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchised and sent into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them ever, crying out, Alas, how shall I support my self under so heavy an Affliction, since I am forced to leave a city, where one’s very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elsewhere? To say the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greatest part of which he spent either in Asia or Thrace, from whence he could see the coast of Attica, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes: he had a just sense, however, of the danger, to which wise men are exposed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; O Godless, Minerva, whence comes it, that thou delight’st in such fierce and unrelatable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people. When Leophenes led the Greeks against Antipater, and endeavoured to prevent bravery from being induced
them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political
affairs were managed by men of the better fort, and especially by Phocion, who
was in very high credit with Antipater and the Macedonians. He was for pro-
ceeding still on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no
attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the Athenians,
if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually aspiring at
the lot of that power, which they knew not how to manage, abhorred the light
of the Macedonian garison, which they knew not how to remove, and could
not be longed for an alteration of circumstances, though there was no reason to hope that
such an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually prating Pho-
cion to apply to Antipater for removing the garison, and at last finding all their
follicitations in vain, they turned their eyes
in the Macedonian interest, and had been
at the same time to make a display of
his interest, readily undertook the proposed
embassy. This Athenian was a man
of parts and eloquence, but probably and disinterestedness were not among
the number of his good qualities, as we may guess from this saying of Antipater's, That
he had two friends at Athens. Phocion and Demades, the former a man who could
receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be
satisfied how much so ever he received. Whether Antipater had lately left off his
liberal way towards this orator, or whether Demades had reason to hope greater
appointments from Perdiccas, who was Antipater's mortal enemy, is a point we
cannot determine; but so it was, that Demades had entered into a correspondence
with Perdiccas, and had put him upon invading Macedonia and Greece, and affum-
ing the government of them himself, making use in one of his letters of this expres-
sion, That at present they leaned on an old rotten staff, meaning Antipater. It fell
out, that all these transactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out,
while Demades and his son Demias were soliciting the recall of the garison; upon
which Antipater ordered the son to be put to death, not only in the presence of
the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this Demades
induced by all the commanders of Alexander the great, Demosthenes exerted his eloquence again, and was
indefatigable in fitting up all the little states to
remain firm in their confederation for supporting the
Grecian liberty. Amongst the rest, he travelled to the
Arcadian, among whom one Pythion an agent of the
Macedonians was very busy; this man, seeing the
Athenians embassied, and Demosthenes with them at a public assembly, could not help crying out,
That as it is a certain sign there is some difference in
the family where ass's milk is brought, so the coming of the Athenian embassy was an ever-failing
indication, that the city to which they came was in
distress. Demosthenes immediately retorted this
comparison. As ass's milk, said he, is never carried
into a house, but with an intent to reprove the health
of those who dwell therein; so the Athenians never
send their embassadors to any city, but with a view
to cure it of those distempers with which it is affil-
tecl. On the report of this the Athenians instantly
recalled him, found a means to satisfy his fine, and
paid him the highest honours they could invent,
but his prosperity was of a very short continuance; for
in September the Greeks lost the battle of Cannas,
in October the Macedonian garison entered Athens,
in November Demosthenes fled to avoid death, which
followed and overtook him the same month; for
one Archias a player to having undertaken, Antipa-
ter to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he
had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune in the
little island of Calauria, he puffed over that with a
small detachment of Thessian guards. When he
found Demosthenes, he would fain have perusa-
ded him to go with him to Antipater, affixing him,
that he would receive no harsh treatment, which
was very improbable because, most of his friends
were already murdered. To these the specious
reason therefore the orator answered, O Archias, I
had never much pleased with you as a player, and
am as little moved by you as a Negotiator. Thebes
beginning at this to grow angry and to threaten that
Now, said Demosthenes, this specious like the case
of Macedon; because thou didst at one time send
me to forbidden any, a little, while I could,
 ever come to my family. Having thus spoken he
awoke himself farther into the temple, and took
some paper as if he meant to write, or perhaps
quill into his mouth, and bidding it a farewell went
to do when he was thinking or writing, he held
it there for some time. Then he bowed down his
head and covered it. The soldiers who stood the
doors, supposing all this to proceed from
Demosthenes, in derision called him assassin and
heat-dowered coward. And Archias drawing near defied
him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things
he had said before, he once more promised to
make his peace with Antipater, but
Demosthenes, perceiving, that now the poison had pierced and
seized his vitals, uncovered his head; and facing his eyes
upon Archias, Now, said he, as soon as you
may all the part of Creaon in the traged, and
cut out this body of mine unbowed but, con-
tinuing turning towards the altar, O greatest
Neptune, I, for my own part, while I am yet able,
arrive and depart out of this sacred place, without
profaning it; but Antipater and the Macedonians have
not left so much as thy temple unpolluted, but have
difficulty by my death. After he had thus spoken,
he defied to be held up, because already he began
to tremble and stagger; as he was going forward
and falling by the altar, he fell down, and with
a groan gave up the ghost (s).
The History of the Athenians.

On the death of Antipater two factions sprung up in Macedonia, the one headed by Polyperchon, who had the custody of the perils of the kings and the other by Cossander, the son of Antipater; the latter sent Nicander to command the garrison in Athens, a man of great art and a good soldier; with him Phocion often conversed, laboured all he could to persuade him to use the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the same condition in which he found it; Polyperchon, on the other hand, desiring to recover the Greek cities from his rival Cossander, published a decree in the king’s name, restoring them all to freedom, particularly Athens, directing the garrison immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be restored; this had its effect, for it put the Athenians all into confusion; Nicander refused to obey the decree, and because Phocion corresponded with him afterwards, the people acquitted him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he desired nothing more than to see their liberty restored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unsupported by arms, Nicander paying no respect to Polyperchon’s orders. Not long after Polyperchon came with the kings and a great army into Attica, or at least to the borders of Attica, whither Phocion was sent, and depurled from the Athenians to accuse him; Polyperchon, willing to keep up in the terms of that decree which he had published, sent back Phocion and his friends chained in carts, with this message, That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians as free people. As soon as there was intelligence made that he could be heard, Phocion demanded, whether they intended to proceed against them by form of law; and some crying out that they would, Phocion demanded, how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no such thing was to be expected, he cried out, As for myself, I confess the crime objected to me, and submit myself to the judgment of the laws; but consider, O ye Athenians, what have these poor innocent men done, that they should be involved in the same calamity with me? The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, viz. Phocion, Nicander, Theophrastus, Agathon, and Phileocles; there were present, Demetrius Phalereus, Callimachus, Choricles, and others, were condemned in their absence; some moved, that Phocion might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the assembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimously; some putting on garlands of flowers when they gave their votes; as he was going to die, a person who was his intimate friend asked him, if he had any message for his son, Yes, replied Phocion, tell him, it is my last command, that he forget how ill the Athenians treated his father. The spleen of his enemies was not extinguished with his death, they passed a decree, whereby his corps was banished the Athenian territories, they likewise forbade any Athenian to furnish fire for the funeral pile. One Ceopson an undertaker took up the corps and carried it beyond Eleusina, where he borrowed some fire of a Megarian woman and burned it. A Megarian matron, who attended with her maids, raised on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the same time thus to the Pietates. To you, O ye gods, guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion; protect them, I beseech you, from all injuries, and deliver them one day to be reposed in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser. It was not long before this came to pass, when the Athenians began to cool a little, and remember the many kindnesses they had received from Phocion; they decreed him a statue of brass, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expense, and decreed that his executors should be put to death; Aganides, who was principally concerned, suffered; but Epicerus and Demophilus, who were also concerned in it, fled; however, Phocion’s son met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almost the only good action he ever did, he having a very small share of his father’s abilities, and none at all of his virtues. It was not long, however, before Cossander came with a great fleet into the port of Athens, and by the help of Nicander, who commanded in the fort of Munichia.
Munichia, reduced this city into such frights, that the Athenians were content to
submit to him upon these terms: that he should leave a garrison in the fort, and
appoint some Athenian to preside over the city. He accordingly placed Demetrius
Polioretes in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being descended from
Cleon, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his vir-
tue. He had studied under the philosopher Theophrastus, and from him learned
how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philosopher; he treated the
Athenians with the utmost kindness, and made use of that power, which he might
easily have improved into a tyranny, to do those things for them which their fac-
ions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themselves. He encroached their
public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent structures, restored such as
were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other respect
gave such signal testimonies of his tender affection for them, that the Athenians felt
up no less than three hundred statues to his honour, most of them equinarian; but
because he derived his power from Cossander, and they were not able to depose him
at their pleasure, they secretly hated him, of which we shall see many instances here-
after.

Antigonus, the most magnanimous of Alexander's captains, and his son Demetrius
Polioretes, i.e. the city-taker, having resolved to free Greece from the yoke of Cof-
sander, determined to begin with Athens. The young prince Demetrius, who was
the handomest, and at the fame time one of the bravest, men of his time, took
upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility;
for hoisting false colours he failed, without the least opposition, into the port of
Athena, where a multitude of people were assembled on the shore, who, when they
discovered their mistake, armed themselves in haste; but Demetrius quickly disarmed
them, not by force, but by fair words; for he caused a cryer to make proclamation,
that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other design than
to deliver them from the oppression of Cossander, to expel the garrisons which he had
placed in the fort, and to restore to them their ancient laws and government. The peo-
ple immediately welcomed him with loud shouts, bestowing on him the title of de-
server and benefactor. As for Demetrius Polioretes, he was in a moment dethroned,
and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of suffering death.
He thereupon sent one Ariadudemus to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, to interc a
guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to Thebes: Demetrius
received this messenger very respectfully, said he came not to injure persons of
worth, and granted Demetrius both his requests; after this he blocked up the
fortress of Munichia, and then departed to Megara, where Cossander had also a
garrison; having set this place at liberty, he returned to Athens, and attacked
Munichia so bravely, that he took it by assault; after which at the earnest inter-
tery of the Athenians he entered the city in great pomp, and having summoned an as-
sembly, he therein publicly declared, that he did not only freely restore them to
their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to bellow
on them fifteen thousand measures of wheat, and such a quantity of timbers would
enable them to build a hundred galleys for the defence of their city. These mighty
favours the Athenians repaid with most unmanly flattery, for they believed in
Antigonus and Demetrius not only the title of kings, which hitherto they had not
taken, but also flied them titular duties and deliverers; and appointed a priest to
them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the
first archon, they decreed, that for the future it should be designated by the
name of this priest. They cau ed the portraits of Antigonus and Demetrius to be
placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar where Demetrius
first alighted from his chariot, and filled it the author of the defeat of Demetrius;
they added two new tribes to the ten which already existed, and called them An-
tigoniades and Demetriades. To sum up all, Stratocles propos ed and it decreed,
that, as often as they sent embassadors to Antigonus and Demetrius, they should be
fitted embassadors of the gods; they changed the name of the month Munichia
into Demetrian. It would be tedious to dwell on the rest of the follies of this de-
generate people, who, at the same time that they paid all this court to Antigonus
and his son, puffed a decree, whereby they adjudged Demetrius Polioretes to death.

ordered all his statues to be thrown down, and even sent persons to execute, as far as they lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give those whom they now flattered to understand, that they would be sure to defer them, when they were defeated by fortune. The democratical government was no sooner restored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accusations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of Sosibius the people decreed, that no philosophers should teach unless licensed by the senate and people, which occasioned Theophrastus the successor of Aristeas to break up his school. It is likely, that they were displeased with this great man, because he was much in favour with Cassander king of Macedon, and because their late governor Demetrius Phalereus had been his scholar; however, their resentment did not last long, for they afterwards rescinded this decree, and recalled the philosophers; but their protector Demetrius being engaged with his force in the siege of Rhodes, Cassander took this opportunity of vindicating his title to Greece, and coming with a powerful army to support it, many of the cities revolted to him, so that in a short space he penetrated as far as Attica, and laid siege to Athens. The Athenians, thus disheartened, sent for aid to Demetrius, who came speedily to their relief, and after obliging Cassander to raise the siege, siphoned him in a very short time of all his conquests. After this success he put various cities under the power of the Athenians, and multiplied his good turns, as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The Athenians in return racked their wits to devise new compliments and acts of flattery, still superior to those which they performed before. They assigned Demetrius lodgings behind the temple of Minerva, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her service; this was a scandalous insult on religion, because Demetrius was remarkably intemperate with respect to women. But the Athenians were so corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural lusts, which afforded an instance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to latest times. There lived now in Athens a young gentleman so remarkably handsome, that he was fied the beautiful Damocles; him Demetrius purified wherever he appeared, so that the poor young man was constrained to avoid the public bathing-places and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither Demetrius came, and surprized him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never enough to be commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it was stifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on such particulars as these in any other period of the Athenian history, but the Athenians having now forgot to act, we are constrained to entertain the reader with what they said, and having no more victories to speak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, Demetrius had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the priests of Ceris, and admitted to all the mysteries. Now the constant practice in this case was, that he who was defied such admission was introduced as a novice in the lesser mysteries in the month of November, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of August following: but when Demetrius dignified his desire it was the month of March. Stratoles furnished them with an invention which fet all things to rights, and which ought everlastingly to be remembered to the disfavour of this servile flattering people. He proposed a decree and procured it to be passed, that the month of March should become November; in consequence of which, Demetrius was admitted to the lesser mysteries: when this was over, Stratoles had it decreed, that the month before called November should now be called August; and by virtue of this decree, Demetrius affixed at the greater mysteries, Philippides the comedian could not help figursizing these mean compliances in the following ditty:

What miracles by flattery wrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year!
The pride with which the Athenians inspired Demetrius and his father, drew upon them the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the rest of the successors of Alexander against them; this obliged Demetrius to quit Greece and to go into Asia, where in one battle his father Antigonus lost his empire and his life, and Demetrius was constrained to fall with a small squadron of ships from Epheus towards Athens, where he had left his queen Deidamia and great part of his navy; but in the illands called Cyclades he met with embassadors from that city, who informed him, that the Athenians had made a decree, that no crowned head should enter their city; a most grateful
grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for
their favour and their god! Demetrius did not, however, refile this usage with that
warmth which might have been expected; he only defied, that his ships and his
queen might be delivered to him, which was done; however, the Athenians were
shortly after severely punished, for their seditions among themselves encouraged the
Lacaris to feize the sovereignty, and to reduce the people to submit to him, who
was but an obscure person, rather than live under the protection of so great princes;
but when the affairs of Demetrius were a little restored, he began to think of humbling
this insolent and incontinent people, who, to their ingratitude and contempt,
paffed a decree in full assembly, whereby they made it death for any person to propose
a treaty or intercourse with Demetrius on any pretence whatsoever. This enraged iri-
tated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aside his first design. He therefore
first began to interrupt the trade of Athens, and to ruin its territories, at last he
closely besieged the city; Lacaris in the mean time applied to Ptolemy, berefting
some relief, for the Athenians were almost starved, Demetrius punishing capriciously
such as attempted to bring them provisions; by degrees their distress grew to great,
that a bushel of salt was sold for forty drachmas, and a bushel of wheat for three
hundred. At last a hundred and fifty ships laden with corn came from Egypt, and
anchored at Argina in sight of Athens; but Demetrius being at the same time reinforced
with three hundred sail from Cyprus and other places, the Egyptians cut their cables
in the night and steer'd away, Lacaris, as soon as he was acquainted with this
misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the Athenians, who had no choice but
starving or yielding, surrendered at discretion to Demetrius, who immediately
entered the place with all his forces. He first of all commanded, that the Athe-
nians should all instantly assemble in the public theatre, which when they had
done, he surrounded it with his guards, and so brought in a body of armed
men, who were poilted round the stage. The people, trembling with fear, expected
every moment when the signal should be given for putting them to the sword, when
through the door made for the actors, Demetrius came upon the stage, where in
a short oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the
same time, that he would receive them again into his wond'rous grace and favour, and
in an instance of which he presented them with an hundred thousand bushels of wheat,
and named such magistrates as were agreeable to the people. The Athenians imme-
diately relapsed into their old strain of flattering, their orators were all at work in
contriving fine speeches to celebrate the generosity, and extoll the clemency,
of this great prince, whose valor had acquired, whose abilities deterred, and
whole generosities adorned the diadem he wore. Dionysides, one of the speakers
on this occasion, did him a much more acceptable service than the rest; for he
besides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of Pyrene and the
castle of Munichia were given to the king, who was far from thinking so accepta-
able a present: he knew too well the tickle of that people to trust them again,
without taking some security for their behaviour; in Pyrene and Munichia therefore
he placed garrisons by virtue of the decree, and in the Megaraum, because it was con-
venient and fit for his purpose; thenceforward the Athenians were exceedingly faith-
ful, especially when Demetrius had professed himself of the kingdom of Macedon;
but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into such circumstances that
he did not presume to wear the habit of a king, the Athenians exerted their old
ingratitude, degraded the prie of the two deities, and put all things into their
old form. Sometime after their old matter getting together an army, came and be-
niegled them, and reduced them to great frights; they had then recourse to Cre-
tons the philosopher, who went out to Demetrius, interceded with him, and so fully
persuaded him, that it would be more for his interest to pass over into Asia, that he
left them in that liberty to which Olymphonidas had restored them.

While Lyphiacus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Sabellus held by turns the Macedonian
kingdom, the Athenians remained free indeed, but without making any great figure;
when the Gauls under the command of Brutus threatened the destruction of the
Greeks in general, the Athenians for a time exerted somewhat of their ancient mag-
nanimity, and under their general Calippus did great things; for then the common
danger uniting all the Greeks, and even the king of Macedon himself, they had

nothing to fear but the common enemy; but these dangers over, and the affairs of
Antigonus Gonatus the son of Demetrius once in a prosperous way; the Athenians felt
the weight of his power; for he remembering how they had dealt with his father,
resolved to punish them for their former behaviour; and to make sure of them for the
future, he first waited their territories, and afterwards closely besieged Abens; at
last unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the best treaty with him
they could, and in conformance thereof admitted a garrison, whereby, though they
flattered themselves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his subjects,
and after his death were left as such to his son Demetrius. About this time a spirit
of liberty revived in Greece, and the Achaens, who were far from being a considerable
people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their business to free
others, in which they were exceedingly assisted by the mighty genius of Aratus the
Sicyonian, one of the ablest, and in all respects one of the honestest, men, that Greece
or any other country produced; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the
vast riches which the fame of his virtue procured him, in doing good to others, with-
out having a view to any other reward than the satisfaction of doing good; this dis-
position of his, co-operating with the inclination of the Achaens, put him on two or
three sudden expeditions in order to surprize Abens, not with any intent to seize
and keep, but to let the people free; which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it
so happened, that in the midst of them, his forces being dispersed, he wandered about in
the night, and with much ado got back to Corinbas, while a report prevailed he was
dead, upon which the Athenians in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became
citizens to rejoice for the death of their best friends; sometime after, when Aratus was
sick in his bed, the Athenians suddenly resolved they would be free, and, as if the greatest
men, and even nature herself, must submit to their desires, sent for Aratus to come to
their affianctae; he thinking only of the merit of such an action, and forgetting their
former ingratitude, caused himself to be carried thither in a litter; and having pre-
vailed on Diogenes the Macedonian governor to give up the three fortesles, Pyreum,
Munichis, and Mauraum, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them
out of his own pocket, and then left the Athenians absolutely free, having also the
protection of the Achaens to guard their freedom. This happened in the begin-
ing of the hundred and thirty-second olympiad, two thousand seven hundred and
forty-seven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty-two years before Christ.
Thus we have traced the history of the Athenians in a continued series from their
becoming a free people to their junction with the Achaens, which hitherto hath not
been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other.

Plut. in vit. Arat. Athen. in Deipnosoph. Justin. lib. xxi. c. 4.

CHAP. XIX.

The History of Sparta from Lycurgus, to its being
joined by Philopomen to the Achaens.

We are in this chapter to give the history of the Lacedaemonians, from the time The seat of
of Lycurgus till they ceased to be an independent state; that is, for a long
series of years, while they were the most considerable people in Greece, not from extent
term of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their
situation, or in short from any other accidental or external cause, but from their
wildness and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their strict regard to honour,
their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various disguises. The
flattery, as well as glory, of the Lacedaemonian government was derived from the wise
institutions of Lycurgus, the celebrated law-giver of Sparta, with whose administra-
tion we are to begin this chapter; but, previous there to, it will be necessary to con-

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time the list of the kings of Sparta begun in our former section relating to the Lacedaemonian affairs, that we may preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A Table of the Lacedaemonian Kings.

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Lycurgus at first held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his in-law the relief of Polydotes was with child; Lycurgus then declared, that he added only as his guardian or protector who should be born of the queen (in case she should be delivered of a son), which was a thing already common among the Spartans. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to Lycurgus, that she would make use of means to make herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. Lycurgus returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her proposal, but intimated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any such violent method, affuring her, that for her sake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himself. The queen, amused by his fair speeches, reckoned her project a already accomplished when the fell in labour, of which the immediately gave notice to Lycurgus, who sent some of his emissaries to be present with instructions, if it was a son, to bring it to him, where-ever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at table with some of the principal persons of the city. Lycurgus, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, My Lords of Sparta, said he, here is a king born with us; then laying the child down on the chair of flate, when he observed that all who were present were extremely overjoyed at the sight of so worthy and disinterested an action; he called the young prince Charilus, i.e. the joy of the people. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exercised for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, so it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; inomuch, that they immediately began to calumniate Lycurgus, and to allege, that notwithstanding all this fair show, he intended nothing less than to resign the crown to his nephew, nay, Leonidas, the brother of the queen, had the assurance to tell him in a dispute which happened between them, that he was confident it would not be long before he should see him king. The queen likewise pretended much concern on the same account, and
bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. Lycurgus, greatly alarmed at these practices, and desiring to avoid not only evil, but the very suspicion of evil, resolved to flee the voice of malice itself by going into a voluntary exile, which resolution he carried into execution soon afterwards, notwithstanding all the importunities of the people.

The injuries which he had received, and the base constructions which had been put on his best actions, did not hinder Lycurgus from applying himself, with the same diligence abroad, to the study of that science which might render him useful to his country, that he was wont to practice while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot was careful, that neither time nor place should alter his attachment to his fellow citizens. Full of these noble conceptions he first visited Crete, an island famous in the most ancient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful policy which had been established there in the most early ages. As far as can be gathered from Plutarch, it was at this time governed by several princes, or was at least cantonet into various independent states, through all which Lycurgus travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge of their laws; some of which he greatly approved, others he slighted. Amongst all the friendships which he contracted in Crete, that which fixed him in most stead was his intimacy with Thales the Lyric poet, whom he persuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to Sparta; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken songs, but one who made use of the sweetness of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modesty, obedience, and civil harmony, and whose songs paved the way to the admission of Lycurgus’s laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous disposition to which the Lacedaemonians had till then been addicted. From Crete Lycurgus paffed over to the continent of Asia, that he might philosophize on the Ionian mode of life, which differed greatly from the Cretan. Here, as Plutarch conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of Homer, which he eagerly transcribed and brought over with him into Greece, whereas yet they had only scattered episodes of that famous author’s poems, which were, however, highly esteemed.

From Ionia Lycurgus went into Egypt, a place never forgot by such as went in quest of wisdom, and there he met with that method of distilling the military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at Sparta. As to his voyages to Spain, Africa, and the Indies, Plutarch says, the credit of them rests solely upon one author; at this distance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Instead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will pass to the affairs of Sparta during his absence.

The inhabitants of Lacedaemon, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongst themselves, or trespassing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, sometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practised a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to support a legal authority; these confusions were greater or less, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwise. At this same time neither of the kings had any shining genius, Aristocles had the most wit, but Charilaus was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people, however, regarded neither of them so much as they did Lycurgus; wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in short the whole frame of the government was out of order since this great man’s departure, they sent embassadors to solicit him to return, which embassadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, shewed to be such, yet as to royal qualities, and that disposition of the mind which devolves to rule, they had observed nothing among them since his departure of that kind. We use the words of Plutarch, who observes farther, though this language seemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averse to his return, hoping, that his presence would serve as a bulwark to fence them from the growing insolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, Lycurgus shaped his course homewards, in order to put in practice that wisdom, which with so much industry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at Sparta he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the king timorous, and no middle rank of people who durst interfere between them.

* Plut. in vit. Lycurg.
He acted in this case like a great physician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he resolved to alter the whole political constitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties and no less dangers! To undermine them, and to avoid those, he endeavoured first to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of Sparta, by communicating to them his scheme, and shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded; and secondly, he sought to secure the obedience of those pretending to the function of divinity, and ascribing all he did to the counsels of Delphian Apollo. Having made a journey to Delphi, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which filled him, Beloved of God, and rather God than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promised to make the commonwealth, wherein they were observed, the most famous in the world. This divine manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publish their laws, that which he might perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day armed in the market place; but of these twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of these preparations, Charitius, who though honest was very timid, fled to the temple of Minerva the protectress, fearing that it was some conspiracy against his person; but when Lycurgus sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was the establishing a senate consisting of twenty-eight persons, or of thirty including the two kings; this alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of the government, which had hitherto fluctuated between tyranny and democracy; the senate poising the authority both of the kings and of the people, siding with the former, if the latter were felicitious, and with the latter, if the former were enterprising. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, Lycurgus allowed them to meet in a general assembly, which was to be held sub die, and wherein they were not allowed to deliberate, but had barely a power of asentting or dissenting to or from what the kings and senate proposed.

When Lycurgus by constituting a senate had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded entirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all things to the scheme he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their former state and condition; a mighty project, which if we consider, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the Spartan government, and of the means whereby a code, which was not confederable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of Greece. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a distinct detail of the laws of Lycurgus, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the Spartan republic have been inferred in our histories of Greece, and even in books relating more strictly to politics; whereas we shall make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution are by no means sufficient to give us a just idea of its force and effects. The laws of Lycurgus may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of Lycurgus’s scheme, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough understanding of the Lacedaemonian history.

In the first table we shall comprehend such of the Spartan laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesse worshipped by this people were represented armed, even to Venus herself; the reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices, they consisted of things of very small value; for which Lycurgus himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the custom of most of the Greek nations; nay, they buried close by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing as it was generally esteemed elsewhere; on the same account the touching of dead bodies, or afflicting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was also rendered

...dered simple and unexpensive by law, there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body, magnificent sepulchres were forbidden, neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Tears, sighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, because they were thought dishonourable in Spartans, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were stinted to fourteen days, on the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to Ceres, and threw aside his or her weeds. In favour of such as were slain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themselves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules beforementioned, for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs. When a number of Spartans fell in battle at a distance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own state, then their bodies were carefully carried back to Sparta, and interred in their family sepulchres.

Under the second table let us place the statutes relating to the lands and to the city; Lycurgus divided all the country of Laconia into thirty thousand equal shares; the city of Sparta he divided into nine thousand, as some say, into six thousand, as say others; and, as a third party will have it, into four thousand five hundred. The intent of the legislator was, that property should be equally divided amongst his citizens, so that none might be powerful enough to oppress his fellows, or any be in such necessity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption; with the same view he forbade the buying or selling of these possessions; if a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of Sparta was unwalled, Lycurgus trusting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of masons. As to the houses, they were very plain, for their cisterns could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the saw, and their utensils were to be of a like stamp, that luxury might have no intrumments amongst them.

As to the third table, it shall consist of the laws regarding children. In the first place they were to be neither more nor less than the number of city-boys; and if at any time there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies: as to children, their laws were equally harsh and unreasonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born son to a certain place, where the gravest men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs strait and thought it had a wholesome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwise it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. This law seems to have had one very good effect, viz. making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess; it made them also excellent nurses, for which they were in mighty request throughout Greece. Strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, that they might not corrupt the Spartans by teaching them new-fangled customs. Citizens were also forbid to travel for the same reason, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, because they held it unreasonable, that one who had not submitted to the laws in his youth should receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any stranger to a public office, but if at any time they had occasion for a person not born a Spartan, they first made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

Their laws relating to marriage shall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a most extraordinary manner; for, in the first place, the old bachelor was constrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place. Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to sing a song in disparagement of himself; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwise belonged to old age, it being held unreasonable, that the youth should venerate him, who was resolved to leave none of his progeny behind him to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was also fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were such also as married above or below themselves; such as had three children had great immunities; such as had four were free from all taxes whatsoever. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the husband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy chil-

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dren. Husbands went for a long time secretly, and by stealth, to the beds of their wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings, however, were forbidden to take this liberty; some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on, because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends for which Lycurgus designed them, since, though the men of Sparta were generally remarkable for their virtue, the Spartan women were as generally decried for their boldness and contempt of decency.

Under the fifth table shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of Lycurgus, that from their very roguery and infancy the Lacedaemonians should be enraged to conquer their appetites; for this reason he directed, that nurseries should accustom their children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting, that they should carry them when twelve or thirteen years old to those who should examine their education, and who should carefully observe, whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way, and that none should be more favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the fame portions were allotted, and who through the course of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh, older men eat their black broth and pulse, the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner somewhat resembling that still in use in Turkey for the Janissaries; their beds in the summer were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the Eurotas; in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy or &c., to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat altogether in public, and in case any abstained from coming to the tables they were fined. Xenophon seems to have penetration farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do; for, whereas the rest say, that this was only intended to reprove luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation thencefrom to perform great things also. It was also strictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done there with gravity and decency; the black broth was the great rarity of the Spartans, which was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, &c. so that in our times it would be esteemed a very unappreciable loof. If they were modest in their eating, they were so also in their drinking; thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any Lacedaemonian thought of drinking for pleasure, as for drunkenness it was both infamous and severely punished; and that young men might perceive with how great reason, slaves were compelled to drink to excess, that the bashfulness of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because it was expected, that men, who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the dark; and besides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing wonderfully useful to them in time of war.

The laws relating to their habit fall under the sixth table. As the poor eat as well as the rich, the rich could wear nothing better than the poor; they neither changed their fashion, nor the materials, of their garments; they were made for warmth and strength, not for gallantry and show, and to this custom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented that their virtue should distinguish them rather than robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a chiton given them, which was to serve them a year; and their clothing was in general so thin, that a Lacedaemonian youth became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes, but when they grew up they were indulged to them, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as also to climb up and flip down steep places with bare feet, nay the very shoe they used was of a particular form, plain and strong, and from the place of its invention Icuctes. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. Bathing and anointing were not much in use among the Lacedaemonians; the river Eurotas supplied the former, and exercised the latter. In the field, however, their
their sumptuary laws did not take place so strictly as in the city; for when they went
war they were purple habits; they put on crowns when they were about to engage
the enemy: they had also rings, but they were of iron, which metal was most
elected by this nation. Young women wore their veils or jerkins only to their
knees, or, as some think, not quite so low, which beyond question was indecent,
and as such it is confuted both by Greek and Roman authors. Gold, precious stones,
and other costly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which per-
mission was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be
thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without veils, with which married women,
on the contrary, were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked
on, but not the other; in certain exercises and games both the young women and men
were naked, a thing for which Plutarch endeavours to apologize, as if there could be
no nakedness where the mind was in the habit of virtue; this is evidently playing
with words, for without question there never was a more immoral impudent practice
than this: the truth is, Lycurgus had nothing in view but the rendering the common-
wealth of Sparta powerful and lasting; and that he might do this, he sought by all
means to eradicate the seeds of civil dissensions; hence the equal division of estates;
and hence the banishment of wealth; and hence the accustoming men to bear with the
wantonness of women; that birth, riches, jealousy, which, in other countries and in
other states, produced such flirs and tumults, might be able to effect little or no-
thing in Lacedaemon.

Discipline and manners, that is the rules regarding these, shall fall under the
seventh table. Though the Spartans were always free, yet it was with this restric-
tion, that they were subordinated to their own laws, which bound them as strictly in
the city, as folders in other states were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the
first place, strict obedience to their superiors was the great thing required in Sparta;
this they looked upon as the very basis of government, without which neither laws nor
magistrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in Sparta; to
the old men the youth rose up whenever they came into any public place; they gave
way to them when they met them in the streets, and were silent whenever their elders
spoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the state, so all the old
men had the authority of parents, they reprehended whatever they saw amiss, not
only in their own, but in other people's children, and by this method Lycurgus provid-
ded, that as youth are everywhere apt to offend, so they might be no-where without
a monitor. The laws went still further; if an old man was present where a young one
committed a fault and did not reprove him, he was punished equally with the delin-
quent. Amongst the youths there was one of their own body, or at most two years
older than the rest, who was called Iren; he had authority to question all their actions,
to look strictly to their behaviour, and to punish them if they did amiss; neither were
their punishments light, but on the contrary very severe, whereby the boys were
made hard, and accustomed to bear stripes and hard usage. Silence was a thing
highly commended and greatly valued at Sparta, where modesty was held to be a
most becoming virtue in young people; nor was it repressed only to their words and
actions, but to their very looks and gestures. Lycurgus having particularly directed
that they should look forward, or on the ground, and that they should always keep
their hands within their robes. A stupid inconsiderate person, one who would not
listen to instruction, but was careless of whatever the world might say of him, the
Lacedaemonians treated as a scandal to human nature; with such an one they would not
converse, but threw him off as a rotten branch and worthless member of society.

The studies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table.

The planners of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made
the Lacedaemonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks; they mea-
ured the worth of all things by their usefulness, and therefore, if they were to be read,
and spoke to be understood, it was all they fought. For this the Athenians, who were
effectively vain of their learning, mightily condemned them, infamously, that Thucy-
dides himself, in drawing the character of Brasidas, says, he spoke well enough for a
Lacedaemonian. These, on the other hand, valued themselves no less on their rough-
ness and their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors, as, amongst other
influences, appears from this answer of a Spartan to one of the learned Athenians,
who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: All you say may be true, and yet it
amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from
you.
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The arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences, a soldier was the only reputable profession in Sparta, a mechanic or a husbandman was thought a low fellow; the reason of this was, that they imagined professions which required much labour, some constant posture, being continually in the house, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and deprest the mind; whereas a man freed from these incumbrances was at liberty to attend the service of the republic in time of peace; and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such professions as were necessary the Helots exercised, but for curious arts, and such as served only to luxury, they would not so much as suffer them to be practised in their city, in consequence of which rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were shut out; neither tragedy nor comedy could obtrude itself on the Spartans, they would not bear the representation of evil even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magistrates had the perusal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children from their very infancy never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary, whence a concise and sententious oratory is to this day titled Lacoic. In writing they used the same method, as we may see of Archidamus to the Eleans, when he understood that they had some thoughts of afflicting the Arcadians; it ran thus: Archidamus to the Eleans. It is good to be quiet. And therefore Eponondas had reason to glory in having forced the Spartans to abandon their monosyllables and to lengthen their discourses. We need not wonder, that people, so much removed from their neighbours in their customs and manners, should not be devious of having the customs and laws of strangers published or discoursed of in their city; this therefore was a law given by Lycurgus, and strictly adhered to; but some, who have inferred from thence, that the Lacedemonians were equally cautious to prevent strangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and customs, are somewhat mistaken; for in this point they were not so strict. The greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things; the Iren or matter propounded questions, and either commended the answers that were made him, or reproved such as answered childishly; these questions did not relate either to trivial or to abstruse matters, but to points of the highest importance in civil life; such as, Who was the best man in the city, wherein lay the merit of such an action, and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmless raillyery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their stout manner of speaking, rendered Lacoic replies universally admired. Music was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their ancestors; nay, they were so strict therein, that they would not permit their slaves to learn either the use or the words of the music of their most admired ode, or which is all one, they would not permit them to sing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at Sparta; but it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that frivolity which was so scandalous at Athens; female friendships were no less frequent, and no less warm; it is likely, that Lycurgus introduced these things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we consider, that neither in one case, nor in the other, rivals were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other; but on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the perfon beloved. There is but one thing more, in respect to their education, which deserves mention, and it is this: That theft, if it was handiomedly concealed, was not held scandalous amongst them; a most absurd institution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to Lycurgus. When theft was discovered, however, it was severely punished, and what between this practice and the former the Spartan youth were so hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than suffer it to be known. It would be easy to allude instances, but to what end? to prove, that in defence of vice men will dare to suffer pain? We see it every day, and therefore they are needless; it was an error in the Lacedemonian policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuse.

The exercises instituted by law fall under the ninth table; in these all the Greeks were extremely careful, but the Lacedemonians in a degree beyond the rest; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for these exercises, he fell into public contempt at least, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion.
of their children, nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to strengthen the limbs, and to render those who practised it supple and fleet; they likewise bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men; indeed in all their sports girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths, inasmuch, that at darting, throwing the discus, pitching the bar, and such-like robust diversions, the women were as dextrous as the men; for the manifest oddity of this proceeding Lycaryus affixed no other reason, than that he fought to render women as well as men strong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be too; violent exercises and a laborious kind of life were only injoined to the youth; for when they were grown up to men etate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themselves wholly either in affairs of state or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of Diana, and about her altar, which, however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was esteemed a great honour for lads to sustain those flagellations without weeping, groaning, or showing any sense of pain; and the shrill of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of Lycaryus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give any account of them at all.

The tenth table shall comprehend their laws respecting contracts and money-

Gold and silver were by the constitutions of Lycaryus made of no value in Sparta; he was so well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal; but as there was no living without some sort of money, that is, some common measure or standard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the Spartans were supplied with the useful money, and had at the same time no temptation to covetousness afforded them; for a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses, and a great one must have been kept in a barn or warehouse; the coming in of all foreign money was also prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The most ancient method of dealing, viz. by barter or exchange of one commodity for another, was preferred by law in Sparta long after it had been out of date everywhere else. Interest was a thing forbid in the Spartan commonwealth, where they had also a law against the alienation of lands, accepting presents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well aim to exclude them; thus by all possible methods Lycaryus thought to shut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently, without admitting amongst them those leeds of luxury and dissipation, which he saw had produced such fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

Such of the laws of Sparta as related to courts of justice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years must have palled over the head of him who had a right to concern himself in judicial proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be busying himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by these rules Lycaryus thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity of suits which is always scandalous in a state. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, so they were likewise forbidden to ask any questions about, or to endeavour to discover the rea-

The military laws of Sparta shall compose the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of serving in the army, as the best authors agree, tho' some think, that the military age is not so well ascertained by ancient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reason of which
law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not a
rather founded in some superstitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjunction
than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy,
which was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of Lycurgus; and we shall
see, that Agesilus, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and
lost her that authority which for many ages she maintained over the rest of Greece;
for by continually warring against the Thebans, to whom he had an inveterate hatred,
he at last beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under
the command of Epaminondas to maintain for a time the principality of Greece. Mi-
ritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the necessity of things com-
pelled them in process of time to transgress this institution, and by degrees they trans-
ferred to themselves as well the dominion at sea as land, as the reader has already
seen in the Athenian history; but after the Peleponnesian war they again neglected naval
affairs, from a persuasion that sailors and strangers corrupted those with whom they
conversed. As they never fortified Sparta, so they were not ready to undertake
scaes; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could over-
come their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at
home. In time of war they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living, in
which they were singular; the true reason for this was, in all probability, that war
might be least burdensome to them; for, as we have more than once observed,
a strong desire to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of their
legislators. For they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place,
as well to hinder their being surprized, as that they might be more troublesome to their
enemies, by waiting every corner of their country. They sleep all night in their
armour, but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that being unprovided
of defence they might not dare to sleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful
in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the
soldiers sung together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the
king sacrificed to the mules, that by their assistance they might be enabled to per-
dure deeds worthy of being recorded to latest times; then the army advanced in
order to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of Calder; the king himself
sang the pream, which was the signal to charge; this was done with all the decorum
imaginable, and the soldiers were sure either to die or conquer; indeed they had
nothing else to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being slain,
even by their own mothers, for disgracing their families. History informs us, that
a Spartan lady, on the news of her son's having fled from a battle, wrote him this
short letter, which speaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more. In this confirmed all
the excellency of the Spartan women, who, if it were possible, excelled in bravery
their men, never lamenting over husbands or sons, if they died honourably in the field,
but deploring the flame brought on their house, if either the one or the other escaped
by flight. The throwing away of a shield also induced infamy, and with respect to
this, mothers, when they embraced their departing sons, were wont to caution them,
that they should either return armed as they were, or be brought back so, that is,
when they were dead; for, as we have before observed, such as were slain in battle
were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies
fly, they pursued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, because they would
seem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their en-
emies to death. According to their ancient rules of war, they were bound not to
spoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in process of time this, and indeed many
other of their most excellent regulations, fell into disuse. He who overcame, by
stronger offered up an ox to Mars, whereas he who overcame by force offered up
only a cock, the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty
years service a man was discharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law
to go into the field, and consequently, that if the military age was thirty, the Sparta-
s were not held invaders, till they were seventy. Thus we have comprised the most
considerable of the Spartan laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted,
because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere.  
Lycurgus did not put any of his laws into writing, because he would have them
written in the hearts of the people, and to impress them the more strongly there, he

a PLUT. in vit. Lycur. & in Infir. Lecon. ARIST. Politi. PLAT. de Legib. & de Repub. XENOPH.
Init. LAC. AELIAN. var. Hist. HERAC. Pont. in Fragm.

a took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by Apollo, whereof he filfed them ἴπτερα, i.e. διαίτης ἱπτεραν. It is not clear, whether or not Lycurgus was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed amongst his countrymen, for lessening the number of their slaves whenever they grew dangerous to the state, and which was filled Cryptoe, i.e. ἰπτεραν. Such as had the care of educating the Spartan youth picked out the stoutest of them, and, having armed them with daggers, sent them out to destroy their unhappy slaves, which they did, either by surprizing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended against them, and for no other reason than that the state might be safe from their attempts by this reduction of their number. Plato greatly condemns this law, for which reason Plutarch denies that it was made by Lycurgus; but when, or however, it was made, it was indubitably against natural equity, or, to speak with greater propriety, against humanity; a cruel and unecessary expidient, and unworthy of a virtuous people (A).

b It is not to be conceived, that such mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any opposition, neither indeed were they; for when he proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, wherein at last the people proceeded to blows, and Lycurgus found himself obliged to quit the assembly in order to fly to a sanctuary; some of them, however, closely pursued him, and amongst the rest one Aleander, a young nobleman of a generous, but too hasty, disposition, who, on Lycurgus's looking back, struck him on the eye, and, as some say, beat it out; the legislator then flopped, and showing his face all covered with blood, the people were to be deluded by Lycurgus [(A)]. Plutarch, according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus, and alleges, that it was introduced on account of the Helots joining with the Messenians after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of Lacedaemon was overthrown (B); but Ελευθέρος tells us expressly, that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating the Helots with such inhumanity (C). Thucydides gives a glaring instance of the jealously of the Lacedaemonians on account of these poor men; he says, that about two thousand of them, being unmansuited by law for their great service in the Peloponnesian war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with feasts; after which all they disappeared on a sudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (D).

(A) The cruelty of the Lacedaemonians towards their slaves, or ἴπτερα, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though Lucretius, who was a great admirer of the city in Lacedaemon, endeavours every where to palliate it as much as he may. To give the reader a distinct account of this matter, we must first acquaint him with the ἴπτερα; that is, a certain city in Lacedaemon, against which on some pretence or other the Lacedaemonians made war, and having subdued it, they made all the inhabitants therof, and of the adjacent district, slaves (E). And in pursuance of time, when they had enlarged the number of persons in this unhappy condition; by subjugating other places, they still kept up the old name, and called them all ἴπτερα, which, seeming then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this state of servitude. As to the terms of it, they were these: First, their lords could not set them free; and secondly, they had no power to sell them, so that they might be transferred out of the Lacedaemonian dominions (E). Hence it came to pass, that they were prolixiously numerous, which sometimes alarmed the Spartans, and made them devise the law above recited to keep them under. Aristophanes expressly affirms, it was devised by Lycurgus [(A)]. Plutarch would gladly have this disbelieved, merely because he thinks its injustice to that legislator; for he offers no other reason for it whatsoever, and at the same time observes, that Plate himself had been disembled with Lycurgus in the same crime, and injustice of this law [(A)]. Plutarch elsewhere informs us, that the ἴπτερα were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a small settled rent, while the lords could not take without increasing public expense (E). This is Plutarch's account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that the ἴπτερα were a kind of ἴπτερα, προκειμένη, or bury sort of farmers. But certain facts speak a different language; they tell us, that liberty and slavery were in their extremes at Sparta, that none were so perfectly free as the citizens of Lacedaemon, nor so truly dispensable slaves as these ἴπτερα; they were distinguished, that is, marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and in short in every thing; they wore dog-fkin bonnets, sheep-skin velts; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters; when their lords were so dispelled, those poor men were obliged to drink themselves drunk, that the free-born Spartans might see the baseness of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of halips, for fear they should forget they were slaves; and to crown all, they were liable to this Cryptoe, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like free men (E). To take off somewhat from the horror and scandal of such a practice, the ephors, after they were instituted, at their coming into office declared war against them (E); against whom? why against poor noted slaves, who filled their hands, drooled their food, and did all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for themselves. Plutarch, according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus, and alleges, that it was introduced on account of the Helots joining with the Messenians after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of Lacedaemon was overthrown (B); but Ελευθέρος tells us expressly, that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating the Helots with such inhumanity (C). Thucydides gives a glaring instance of the jealousy of the Lacedaemonians on account of these poor men; he says, that about two thousand of them, being unmansuited by law for their great service in the Peloponnesian war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with feasts; after which all they disappeared on a sudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (D).

The History of the Lacedaemonians.

Book I.

...to struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up Alexander into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. Lycurgus accepted the proposal, and carried Alexander home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reprimanding him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his person; this mildness was of great service to them both, for Alexander perceiving that Lycurgus was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a harsh and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and amiable temper, he became from his first enemy to his greatest admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the instructions of Lycurgus. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, nor bow so much as a staff, was brought into their assemblies or public councils.

When Lycurgus had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the consideration of the nature of men and of the different effects of various governments upon them, he thought most eligible; his next care was to render this fixed and stable, and to prevent his countrymen from over-turning that structure which he had raised, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After some time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: He called a general assembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be settled, which was indeed of the highest importance, and which he could not acquaint them with, till he had consulted the oracle at Delphi; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themselves to observe his advice inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily assented, and to bind their affairs, Lycurgus took an oath upon the spot from the two kings, the senate, and the commons, after which he departed, as he had proposed, and went to Delphi. There he proposed this question to the oracle: Shall the laws established in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy? The response was, The laws given to Sparta are excellent; and the city shall continue in the highest renown, while it observes the policy of Lycurgus. This he took in writing and sent to Sparta, after which he facilitated a speedy time to Apelles, and having solemnly taken leave of his friends and of his son, he determined with himself to put an end to his life by fasting, that the Lacedaemonians might never have it in their power to free themselves from the rank which he had taken from them. Plutarch expresses himself in very high terms in respect to the death of Lycurgus, he commends it as one of the noblest instances of patriotism, which is to be met with in ancient history; because, says he, the legislator arrived a double point by this manner of dying; he put a most honourable end to a virtuous and well-spent life, and he affixed his death as a seal to his laws, which he left as his last will and testament to his country. He tells us likewise, that his bones were carried home to Sparta, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he says, was afterwards blessed with lightning, an accident peculiar to Lycurgus and Euripides the poet. The Spartans, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how, or where, this great man died; some say, he ended his days at Cirrha, Aristocles affirmed, that he died at Elys, Timaeus and Aristothenes agree, that he finished his days in Crete, the latter says the inhabitants thence his tomb. Aristothenes the son of Hipparchus wrote likewise that he died in Crete; but he added, that by the direction of Lycurgus the peripolos with whom he lodged burnt his body, and scattered the ashes thereof in the air, and on the sea, that they might never be transported to Lacedaemon, to prevent the people apprehending themselves released from their oath. He left behind him one son, whose name was Antinous, who dying without issue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual assembly in commemoration of the deceased, and that they might therein discourse, and esteem each other to the imitation, of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legislator entitled Lycurgus (B).

*Plut. ubi supra.  
*Plut. in vit. Lycurg.  
(B) The life of Lycurgus was the last which Plutarch published, as he himself observes (11). He seems to have had a mighty liking to the Spartans and their customs; for, besides this life and that of Leonidas, he

(11) In vit. Thucid.

The reign of Charilias and Teleclus.

From the death of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian history is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials from whence it may be collected, than scattered passages of ancient authors, which, as well as we are able, we shall put together. Charilias made war on the Argives, but with little success; afterwards he fell on the Tegetae, a people of Arcadia; but in this war also he had very bad fortune, for he was taken prisoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valor of the women, and to purchase his liberty, he was constrained to take a solemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more, which oath, however, he kept very indifferently. He then turned his arms against the Aebeans, who had taken the Lacedaemonians several frontier towns, which he and his colleague Teleclus recovered. Among these were Mycles, Pbras, and Geronotra; the first they raised, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of Peloponnesus; such were the military exploits of Charilias or Chariliris; he retained always a great respect for his tutor Lycurgus, as appears from several of his sayings which have reached our times: for being once asked, why Lycurgus had made so few laws, he answered, Men of few words need but few laws; and it being demanded of him what kind of policy he held to be most complete, That, said he, wherein most of the citizens contend in virtue without disturbing each other. His obsequies on the day of the funeral were held at Tegea, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he succeeded to the crown, by some who fought to flatter him,

f. Pausian. in Arcad. g. Plutarch. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

several other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the law and customs of the Lacedaemonians, and another of his Lacedaemonian prophecies: he owns nevertheless, that what refers to the family and the time of the birth of this legislator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things else, a man of a pure character, and his behavior to the proof that the wise man is often described, and so much commended by philosophers, was no mere ideal character sustained by human nature. He is very particular as to the titulation of the prophetesses at Delphi, which, he says, ran in these words: Welcome, beloved of God, and rather God than man. This oracle was certainly very famous in Greece, and generally speaking believed, otherwise Secanes would not have repeated it in his discourse (12), or Plutarch would have so often urged it at a full sentence to all the calumniators raised against his hero. Yet something may be said, no greatly to the reputation either of the oracle at Lucreas, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about what could otherwise never have been brought about, the impiety of his birth laws upon the ]ortum. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of Mi the Great law-giver, who described all his laws in ]ortum, but from whose name he took it, an ancient author of great note affirms, that the residence of the laws were framed by his wit, and perused by his money (13). The reader will find in the Athenian history many instances of a like nature, and we shall hereafter show, that Lycurgus knew how to make Apollo speak kindly in his favor, as well as Lucreas. It is clear, that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's approving his intentions to be just and divine, for in case he would have suffer his laws to be cut into writing, but trailed them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. Plutarch affords us an instance of this; he says, that by a Roll of Lycurgus the people had power to assent or dissent from what was proposed to them by the kings and senate; but many degrees they extended this power, and began to look upon the laws, to consent to one part of them and to dissent from another, the kings and senate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the Rhetra to this purpose, that if the people should offer any crooked pronouncement, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of the legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction, and thereby strengthened their own authority at the expense of the people's (15). Most politicians have held Lucreas's invention of a female to have been a most excellent contrivance: Plato was so much charmed with it, that from thence he titles it its author a divine spirit refining in a human nature (16); yet Aristotle, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that illustration; he thought it unreasonable, that fates should be made for life, because frequently men abilities decay so that instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to attend those of their own family. He was likewise offended, that they were left without control for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them, especially if their errors might any way affect the state (17). The invention of Lucreas, of which we have any certainty, is his bequeathing the oracle from Dephi to Sparta, according to the approbation given by Apollo to all his laws; that he stooped himself there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour, and his life could never have been cloaked by any act more flattering than this of quitting supreme power, when his countrymen unanimously defined that he should retain it. This shewed, that he was truly disinterested, and did not feel any other reward for the services he rendered Sparta, than the glory of having served her. Soth, though a period of a different temper, was as disinterested as he; he setted the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men, but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder, genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealth they founded.
him, that his father had spoke slightingly of him, he answered, That he was sorry for it, because he would not have done it, if himself had not deferred it b. His death gave occasion to the Meissenian war, but after what manner cannot easily be determined. There was, it seems, a temple of Diana seated on the marches between Laconia and Meissenia, to which the inhabitants of both regions referred; some Spartan virgins repairing thither were violated by the Meissenians, and Teleclus, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was slain; the women also famished themselves to death. This is the Spartan side of the story; the Meissenians reported it thus: That Teleclus, intending to purify some of the principal perions of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with goadsmen under their cloaks, and that, a fray happening, Teleclus and some of his associates were slain. But their wanting not other causes of ill-will among these people, for the Spartans entertained an opinion, that their kings Eurykleides and Procles were cheated by their uncle Crefromontes in the assignment of their territories, the most barren being given to them, and the best referred to himself. While things were in this situation, an injury done to a private person kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; Polybares a Meissenian intrusted Euphubes a Lacademonian with some cows, on condition that he should have a moiety of the profit arising from their milk. The Spartan told one cow to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdsmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by long terms. Soon as this was done, Euphubes went to Polybares, and told him a melancholy story of certain robbers who had stolen the cattle and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midst of his tale, one or two of his herdsmen, who had made their escape, and falsified all he said; upon this the Lacademonian confuted the truth, and told Polybares, that if he would send his son home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the Meissenian readily agreed. But when they were come to Sparta, Euphubes most perfidiously murdered the lad, and Polybares, coming several times to Sparta to demand justice, was forced to retire unredeemed and unheeded.

He, being exceedingly provoked with such barbarous usage, resolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and, in consequence of this resolution, killed as many of the Lacademonians as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly regretted by that people. These transactions we have thrown together, though they happened at some distance of time, because we were willing to place all the causes of tipped causes of the Meissenian war in the reader’s view at once; we will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preserve in its just order the succession of the Spartan kings.

To Charilaus succeeded his son Nicander, who reigned thirty-nine years, and in the thirty-fourth year of whose reign was celebrated the first Olympiad; he is said to have carried on the war with the Argives, and to have done them a great deal of mischief; but for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. Teleclus had for his successor his son Alcmenes, who, with his college before-mentioned, sent to the Meissenians to demand justice against Polybares, and that he should be delivered up; the Meissenians were at that time governed by Antiochus and Antiochus, brothers; the former was much against yielding on any terms to the request of the Lacademonians, alluding, that they were the aggressors, and therefore ought to do justice first; the latter was again hazardizing the public safety on account of a private person, and therefore declared that he would give up Polybares rather than break with the Spartans; the disputes on this occasion rose to high, that from words they came to blows, wherein Androcles was slain. Antiochus, now reigning alone, sent immediately embassadors to Sparta, beseeching the king and senate to consider, that they were originally of the same flock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the present case to leave the decision of this matter either to the Argives, who were their common allies, to the Amphictyonic council, or to the senate of Athena at Athens. The Spartans gave no answer to these deputies, and while things were in this situation, Antiochus died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son Euphaes; to him the Lacademonians made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correspondance with the Meissenians, yet were they all this time providing secretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the least notice. Before they

b Plut. ubi supra.   2 Paust. in Meissen. Strab. lib. viii, viii. Just. lib. iii. c. 5.
they proceeded to hostilities, the kings and senate called a general assembly, in which
the troops appointed for the war took a solemn oath never to return home till they
had entirely conquered Messenia, which shewed, that this was a war of ambition rather
than justice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the
country of their neighbours.

Achaeus king of Sparta, at the head of a complete army, entered the Messenian
territory suddenly and by night, in consequence of which he easily surprized the

city of Amyclae, which were open as usual, the inhabitants not having

the least suspicion of what afterwards happened. The Spartans behaved on this oc-
casion very cruelly, they slew without distinction all who came in their way, nor

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did even temples or altars afford a sanctuary to such as fled thither for protection.

The convenience of the city, which the Lacedaemonians knew would serve them as a
proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability
engaged them to treat the people thus heartily, that they might make themselves
absolutely masters of it and its districts. Epidauros the Messenian king, on the first
news of this extraordinary stroke, assembled his people, and encouraged them to keep
up their spirits, and not to believe that all was lost, because Amyclae was in

the hands of the Lacedaemonians; he likewise gave them his opinion of the war, and
of the manner in which they might best carry it on; he observed to them that the

Lacedaemonians were not only brave, but were also bred up to war as to a
trade, Nay, were indeed bred up to nothing else; whence he inferred, that it was by
no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with such an enemy.

Wherefore his counsel was, that they should carry on a defensive war in the best
manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the

Spartans upon equal terms. The Messenians, following his advice, maintained a de-
defensive war for three years, in which they suffered the Spartans to obtain very few
advantages over them. In the fourth year Epidauros ventured an engagement, but it was
with great circumspection, for, having intrenched his best troops, he drew out his
horse and light-armed forces skirmishing with thefe; and when the Spartans drew
nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army
behind his retrenchments; and as the Spartans had no materials for filling up the
ditch which lay before his works, they were constrained to retire, and shortly after
returning to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on
account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they
had thoroughly reduced Messenia. A very short time after this both the kings died.

As to Nicomedes, we find little of him in ancient authors more than has been already
mentioned; with respect to Achaeus, Plutarch hath preferred some passages of his
life, which shew that he was a wise and prudent prince. Being once asked how a
prince might best secure his government, he answered, By despising gain. When the

Messenians fought by preferment to have gained him to their interest, he refused them,
and the reason of this being demanded, he readily answered; If I had taken them, the
laws and I could never have agreed. He inherited, it seems, a great deal of wealth
from his father, and increased it by his own management, living still in a plain parsi-

monious manner; for which being reproached, he said, Is it not a mark of virtue
and good sense, when he who has abundance enough to live, rather according to reason than
appetite? It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before
mentioned copied these sayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuse us,
if, finding little to say of their deeds, we entertain him sometimes with the sayings
of those Spartan kings.

Polydorus succeeded his father Achaeus in the kingdom, and Theopompos his father

Nicomedes. With these princes the Spartans intrusted a new army, with express in-
structions not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in pos-
session of a prize which they had so long desir'd. The Messenians, under the command
of Epidauros their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont;
but prepared to give them battle, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was
not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour; the Laceda-
emonians then marched towards the enemy in battalia, Theopompos commanding the
right wing, and Polydorus the left; the Messenians dispoled their army so as best to

oppose

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1 Pausan. & Justin. ubi supra. 1 Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 4. = Plut. in

oppose the Spartans, Antander and their king Euphaes commanding their left, and Psybaratas their right; the engagement was very obstinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the Spartan army was routed by Euphaes, as was the right wing of the Messenian army by Polydorus, Psybaratas their general being slain. These advantages, however, were so inconsiderable, that neither party durst pursue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw and bury their dead; after which the Spartans, notwithstanding the injunctions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conquest of Messenia appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the present. The reader will observe, that we have ascribed this war to motives of interest, which at first sight may seem to clash with what the historians, whom we have mentioned, have said about it; but that the fact was so, putting all circumstances together, is indubitably true; nay, Polydorus the Spartan king openly professed as much when he went to this war; for some of the Messenians having demanded of him, If he would fight against his brethren, alluding to their and the Lacedaemonians different from the same parents, the king readily answered, No, but I will put in my claim to an estate, to which as yet no body has any good title. The great refitishment the Messenians made on this second invasion determined the Spartans not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harafling and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the Messenians worn out and destroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the Spartans, that what was their bulwark, in which if they were not engaged they were idle, whereas the Messenians, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and destroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garrisons, besides a standing body of troops in the field. To aid to these misfortunes, which were already almost insupportable, a distemper raged in Messenia, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not sweep off such numbers. These misfortunes produced a long and serious consultation among the chief persons in the kingdom, who at length came to a resolution to abandon their villages and little towns as were least capable of defence, and to fortify a city which stood on the top of the mountain Ithome, to which the inhabitants of the demolished places might repair: from this they promised themselves two things; first, that they should be released from the expanse of garrisons; secondly, that in time of distress this might be made a place of certain safety.

The Spartans were about this time called off from the Messenian war to engage with the Argives; the dispute was about the city Thyrea and its district, which, lying on the borders of Argolis and Laconia, had been an old bone of contention between those states. To avoid a great effusion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred Argives and as many Lacedaemonians should decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both sides retiring. In consequence of this agreement, these six hundred men engaged, and fought with such obstinate resolution, that when night came on, there were but two Argives, viz. Akinor and Chronious, and one Spartan, whose name was Obyrades, left alive. The Argives ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. Obyrades remained in the field of battle and erected a trophy; hence a new dispute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the Argives, because two of their men were left; the Spartans, because the Argives fled and left Obyrades in possession of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the Lacedaemonians were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of Polydorus, and that of the Argives, with a mighty slaughter of the latter. Some would have persuaded the Spartan king to have pursued this victory, and to have attacked Argos itself; but he answered, what generosity becoming his character, that the Spartans sent him to afford their rights, and not to rob others. Thus ended the Argive war, some circumstances of which are variously reported; Let us now return to the affairs of the Messenians after their fortifying Ithome.


[C] In the letter to the parallel between the Greeks and Romans, generally ascribed to Plutarch, the abovementioned fact stands thus: "The Argives and Lacedaemonians being engaged in a dispute about the city and district of Thyrea, the Argives decreed, that it should be decided by "combat. The Lacedaemonians chose for their captains Obyrades the Argive, and the Laconian, being "being their fortifying Ithome."
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The Spartans renew'd war with the Messenians.

Chap. 19. The desire of freeing themselves from this grievous war with Sparta engaged them to find a person to consult the oracle at Delphi; the name of this man was Epicles, who on his return was attacked by some of the Lacedaemonians garrison in Laconia, from whom, however, he escaped, though grievously wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the oracle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unless a virgin of the house of the Apstidas, that is, the royal family, was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation; this oracle, when reported, struck the Messenians, and especially the royal family, with the utmost terror. Lots, however, were cast, and the daughter of Lycurgus taken; but when the should have been sacrificed, Epebolus the footstayer declair'd, that the was not Lycurgus's daughter, but imposed upon him by his wife, who therby sought to impe the imputation of barrenness. While the footstayer was setting forth this matter to the people, Lycurgus withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to Sparta. Upon this Aristodemus, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter; a young man, who was present, alledged, that he was contract't to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her, which plea being overruled, he set up another, that he had consummated his marriage; and she was actually with child by him; Aristodemus, conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, slew his daughter infancy with his own hand, after which opening her womb, he threw it to the people. The footstayer insin' that this daughter should be sacrificed, the daughter of Aristodemus having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a vicim; but all the family of the Apstidas join'd with the king, who persaul'd the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of Aristodemus's daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the Messenians concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed they would be victors.

Six years after the flight of Lycurgus, and eight from the fortifying of Ithome, the Lacedaemonians entered Messenias again with a great army. The Messenians might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defensively; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which, fuiting the Spartan method of making war, quickly fell out; this battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them; Euphaes, however, venturing too far against Thopomac, the Spartan king, was mortally wounded, and fell down; this, far from checking the spirit of the Messenians, made them the more eager, infomuch, that a warm contest began about carrying off the dying king, in which the Messenians prevailed, though with the loss of Antander, one of their belt captains; Euphaes, being carried back to Ithome, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. Euphaes leaving no issue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon Cleonidas, Domestis, and Aristodemus put in their claims; the people elected the last, notwithstanding the footstayers alleging he was incapable on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the Arcadians, Argives, and Sicelians, in order to draw them to his assistance against the Lacedaemonians, wherein he was very successful, almost all the Peloponnesians beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the same time Aristodemus laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether for the future they should be freemen or slaves; with this view he flowered his favours upon all, he raised his competitors to the chief dignities

over, there remained only two Argivians, whose names were Agesii and Cimon, who ran strait to the city to carry the news of their victory.

was in the mean time, while all was quiet; otherwise, who was not quite dead, rote from the ground, and having propped himself up with two pieces of broken lances, he drew together as many shields as lay within his reach, and piling them up, wrote on the uppermost with his own blood these words: To Jupiter the conqueror, guardian of trophies. This creating a new dispute, which was again brought before the assembly, they went to take a view of the place, and having thoroughly examined all things, decreed in favour of the Spartans. This is recorded by Chrysander

in the third book of his Peloponnesian history (18).

(18) Plutarch. in Paral. p. 666.
in the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed a money amongst the people. Such was the beginning of Aristeodemus's reign, who was an avowed and most dangerous enemy to the Spartans.  

About this time, as the belter authors agree, a great change was made in the Spartan republic, which is ascribed to Theopompos, who seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the ephors, who afterwards made to great a figure in the Spartan state. Some think, that they were at first the king's friends to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they soon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dogs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as chiefs on the senate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect anything, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite; as to their authority, it was in a manner boundless, they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state; they likewise held a court of justice, enquired into the behaviour of all magistrates, inspected into the deportment and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the Helotes; and in short by degrees drew the whole administration into their own hands. This Theopompos's queen is said to have conjectured on their first appointment, which made her reproach her husband with fulminating the regal dignity to descend to his children mutilated, and in a worse condition than he received it from his ancestors. Theopompos answered her with great prudence, that, far from having lessened or injured the regal authority, he had strengthened and secured it, because the people, being satisfied by this institution, would have lost inclination to run into tumults and seditions, in which princes are never safe. One great privilege of the ephors was, that they did not rise up the princes of the kings, as all other magistrates did; another, that from the first elected of these magistrates the year was denominates, as at Athens from the first of the archons; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any sort of excess, the ephors took cognizance thereof, and punished them. Some disputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be discussed in the notes, but it is now time to resume the thread of the history (D).  

(D) We have in the text placed the institution of the ephors under the reign of Theopompos, though it may be owned, that not only Herodotus in his history (19), but Xenophon also, treating expressly of the republic of Lacedaemon, attributes the setting of the ephors to Lysanias (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our reasons why we have rejected these authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other case, and have placed the ephors a hundred and thirty years lower than Lysanias. First then, we think, that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legislator's scheme of government, since he seems to have fought, as far as in him lay, to support the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwise, why did he institute the senate? or why did he charter the people in their general affinities, nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that these arguments would be of no weight at all against such authorities as Herodotus and Xenophon, if there had not been writers of no less character on the other side. For, feociously, diethke is expressly in placing their institution lower (21); Plutarch in his life of Clomennos introduces that prince, aligning them the same institution which we have done; besides Theopompos's answer to his queen is recorded by authors of the best credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reign of Theopompos and his colleague, rather than under that of Charilios. Undoubtedly their power grew by very slow degree, and that at their first institution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exercised with so high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at first appointed by the kings at their pleasure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, those who hold this notion have affixed the time, viz. in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, when Cleis was the first of the ephors, that is the Ephemiros, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any ancient author offered in support of this notion, and as it is founded only on the supposed fense of a passage in Diogenes Laertius, it is sufficient that we have mentioned it, nor are we bound
The administration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the Spartan kings renewed the Messenian war, and having engaged the Corinthians to lend them some assistance, they marched with a great army towards Ithome. Aristodamus, like a great captain, dispensed his own forces and those of his confederates in the best manner possible; himself and Cleomis commanded the heavy-armed forces, those who were light-armed being committed to the care of Damis; the Argives and Sicilians he opposed to the Corinthians; and the chiefest of the Arcadian troops, with the flower of the Messenian infantry, he ranged against the Lacedaemonians; the light armed soldiers were posted behind the hill, and all things thus dispensed, the battle began with great vigour on both sides; the Lacedaemonians, though hard pressed, fought firmly in their pots, and the Corinthians behaved very bravely for a long time, but when, on a signal given, the light-armed forces commanded by Damis took them in flank, and by a shower of misive weapons destroyed a great many men; they were at first constrained to betake themselves to flight with very considerable loss, tho' the number be not ascertained. The Spartans were exceedingly afflicted at this mishap, and the Corinthians were badly distressed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every side an enemy's country to pass through before they could reach home. The Lacedaemonians continued the war, and sent deputies to consult the oracle at Delphi on its event; the Messenians did so too, to the former the oracle answered to this purpose, By fraud (i.e. of Crephthones) Messenius was obstinately ended by fraud it must be falshed. To the latter the oracle also gave an answer, but so perplexed and obscure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the Spartans, in purview of their respose, contrived many stratagems, and at last fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to Ithome as supplicants, from whence they might easily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's councils; in this they followed the example of Ulysses, but not with the like success, for Aristodamus, immediately perceiving the fraud, obliged the pretended defectors to return home, and directed them to tell the Spartans, that though their injustice was new, yet their trick was stale. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at Ithome, Aristodamus himself had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him and upbraided him with her death. They had recourse to the old remedy, sending deputies to Delphi, and their deputies brought them advice, that whoever first dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of Jupiter at Ithome should remain master of the place. This roused the spirits of the Messenians again, who, having no money to make the tripods of brass, immediately cut them out in wood. The oracle being from Delphi to Sparta, one Oebatus, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, disguising himself like a bowler, got into Ithome, and having placed them in the temple of Jupiter escaped. The Messenians at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found the city invested by a great army from Sparta; Aristodamus encouraged them awhile, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in spight of all his care would at last fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himself into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himself. On his demise the Messenians did not elect any other king, but chose Damis their chief by the title of general only. He did for them all

Paus. Meff. 4 Paus. Laco. 6 Paus. Meff. & Laco.

bound to refuse it. It is true, that Cleomenes, in his speech recorded by Plutarch, alludes the same thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not assign the time when their election was vested in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known; the truth seems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king Tlepotamus first devised this expedient of creating ephors for the preservation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what Cleomenes says as the opinion of Plutarch as an authority infallible in all its circumstances; for he delivered this discourse to the people after he had taken away the ephors, and therefore it is to be presumed he would say any thing that might serve to colour his design; but we find it elsewhere recorded by the same author, that the ephors gave this account of the institution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their disputes were likely to prove fatal to the state (25). We shall hereafter have occasion frequently to mention the conduct of these magistrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at present we have done all that was necessary, in producing the reasons which have engaged us to believe, that the ephors were set up under the reign of Tlepotamus, but were always elected by the people.

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all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, such of the Meffanians as had any hopes of a good reception fled into the adjacent countries; the rest, together with the city of Ithome, were constrained to submit themselves to the Spartans, who treated them with great rigour. Polyamus indeed tells us, that Ithome was taken by the following stratagem: Theopompos with part of the army pretended to defect his colleagues, actually removing from the camp and pitching behind the city; the Meffanians, greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on Polydorus, with whom they were no sooner thoroughly engaged, than Theopompos with his forces attacked the city and took it by storm. However this matter happened, Ithome was certainly raised by the Lacedaemonians, and the Meffanians, who remained in their own country, were tied to these conditions; first, that they should cultivate their lands with all diligence; and render half their fruits to the Spartans; and secondly, when any of the nobles of Sparta, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral procession in their wools, on pain of suffering the highest penalties if they neglected. Besides, the Spartans gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the sea to the Lacedaemonians, and another part to the descendants of Antigone, this was the end of the famous Meffanian war, which makes such a figure in the Great Hellenic wars, that is to say at this time; for we shall see it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the Spartans.

Some time after this war was over the Spartans loft both their kings, which characters therefore we shall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. Theopompos was a wife and gentle prince, as in a great measure appears from an answer he made to the following question; By what means a monarch might live with the greatest safety? Let him (answered the king) possess his friends to advise him freely, and be himself always ready to punish the wicked freely, and with a good will. He left his son Archidamus a little before the Argive war, which was the reason that the conduct thereof was committed to his colleague. It is very probable, that there were great feasts in Sparta during their reigns, for besides establishing the ephori, these kings had recourse to the contrivance before-mentioned, of substituting a new censure in the Rheta concerning laws, whereby they restrained the power of the people. The Plians, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him excepve honours, which he declined by this short message; Moderate honours time increases, but takes the immoderate away. He died in peace a natural death, after a long and glorious reign. Polydorus was a prince of the most amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and just in both; he was prodigiously beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one Polymarchus, a Spartan of a considerable family and who was himself eminent in the state, killed him, for what reason is unknown. The Lacedaemonians, as a grateful testimony of their just sense of his merit, honoured his memory with a statue, and, which iarpassied the usual measure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraved on the seal which their public magistrates were to use of for the future, as if they were defirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble instance fully of their gratitude, and his virtues.

Eurycrates succeeded his father Polydorus, and Zeuxidamus the son of Archidamus his grandfather Theopompos, those princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the Meffanians nor the Argives having yet recovered spirit enough to begin any new disturbances; at home, however, a conspiracy was discovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the state. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it seems reasonable, that the relation of Ephoros the historian should be preferred. The Spartans, when they were engaged in the Meffanian war, having been ten years absent from the city, because of the oath they had made not to return till they had entirely subdued that country; the women sent to them to put them in mind, that while they were so careful to subdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that such young men amongst them as came out of Sparta under age, and so were not obliged by the oath, should return, and associating themselves promiscuously with

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... with the unmarried women, preserve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, such as were born of these young women were called *Paribōνες*, i.e. *fons of virgins*. When the Lacedaemonians returned after the reduction of Messenia, they visibly neglected these young men, who at the same time found themselves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritances to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the Helots, who were as unhappy as they could be, determining to fall upon the citizens at a general assembly, and to open to themselves a path of riches and honours with their swords. They went so far as to appoint the signal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but some of the Helots dreading the confidences discovered the whole matter, and when the time was come for the assembly, in which the conspiracy was to be executed, the cryer by command of the ephebi made proclamation, that no man should throw up his cap, whereby the Paribōνες understood that their design was discovered; the Lacedaemonians did not, however, treat them harshly, but weighing the hardships they were under, and considering at the same time their numbers and their intrigues with the Helots, they wisely agreed to pass the matter by, and by public decree permitted Phalántus, who had been the ringleader in this business, to sail with them over into Italy, where they settled themselves in Tarōνium. Such was the issue of a very dangerous business, and which fully proves the shallows of human policy, which in this case was driven to undo what it had before brought to pass, and which when it was brought to pass, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary stroke of widom. Further particulars of these kings we have none, except a few layings of Zævilidamus, which are of no great importance.

Alexander succeeded his father Eurysocrates, as Anaxidamus did his father Zævilidamus, in their reign the second Messenian war began, for these poor people, having for a long time bore the cruel treatment of their insulting lords, became at last unable to sustain it longer. *Aristomenes* the son of Nicomedes of Andania, defended the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprising, intrepid, a man of strong judgment, strict honour, and enthusiastically fond of liberty and his country. He perceived, that the Arcadians and Arcadians were friends only by force to the Spartans, wanting and wishing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To these *Aristomenes* applied, and receiving an answer more conformable to his wishes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimously to take up arms thirty-nine years after the taking of Ithome, as Pausanias relates, though Justin and Eusebius allow an interval of eighty years between the first and second Messenian war, which is far from being probable, though, as we shall hereafter see, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the Spartans and Messenians met at a village called Dera, where an obfinate engagement ensued; *Aristomenes* behaved himself so well therein, that he brought victory to his side, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal achievements; in gratitude therefore, respecting being also had to his benefit from Epistus, his countrymen unanimously saluted him king, which title he modestly waved, allying that he took arms to set them free, and not to make himself great; he conferred, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatever he thought requisite for the service of the public. Knowing well the superstition of the age in which he lived, he resolved to intimidate the Spartans, by shewing them what he was for sure they would take for an ill omen. Disguising himself therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a sheild on the wall of the temple of Minerva, with this inscriptions; *Aristomenes* dedicat this to the gods of the Spartans to the gods in Delphi to inquire of the oracle concerning its event; the answer they brought was, *That it behoved the Spartans to seek a leader from Athens*. The Athenians, naturally envious of the Spartans, granted their request indeed, but in such a manner as manifested their spite, for they sent them for a general *Tyrtæus* a school-master and poet, lame of one foot, and who was full speeded to be a little out of his wits. But here their will failed them, for this captain, notwithstanding his despicable appearance,

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ance, proved of mighty consequence to Sparta, teaching them how to use good fortune, and how to bear up under ill. In the mean time Aristomenes had drawn together a mighty army, the Eleans, Argeans, Sicelians, and Arcadians, having sent troops to his assistance, the Spartans in this as in the former war having no ally but Corint. The Spartan kings, according to the custom of their city, no sook took the field, but, notwithstanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle, which Aristomenes readily accepted; it was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end the Messenians were victorious, and the Lacedaemonians put to flight with a great slaughter; Aristomenes pursued them, notwithstanding Theocles the footspear called him back, perceiving Cagog and Pellas in a tree, by which there was a necessity of passing in the pursuit, which he continuing notwithstanding, when he came to that tree, lost his shield, which gave the Lacedaemonians an opportunity of withdrawing without further loss. It is scarce to be conceived how much the Spartans were struck with this defeat; they were weary of the war, disconsolate with their kings, deficient of their own power, and, in a word, sunk into a state of general meagreines and want of spirit. It was now that the Athenian general convinced them, that he was capable of fulfilling all the promises of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counsels, and recruited their broken armies with choicer men from among the Helots; he shewed them the folly of disdaining, and routed them to the practice of those virtues for which Sparta had been famous, Aristomenes, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour, he thought it not enough to restore the reputation of the Messenians, if he did not also restore their wealth and power; he therefore taught them to act offensively against their enemies, and entering the territories of Sparta he took and plundered Phary, a considerable borough in Lacedaemon, putting all such as made any resistance to the sword, carrying off at the same time an immense booty; this, however, was an injury which the Spartans could not brook with patience, they therefore sent immediately a body of forces to overtake the Messenians, which accordingly they did, but little to their profit; for Aristomenes routed these puriters, and continued to make a mighty slaughter of them, till such time as he was disabled by having a spear thrust through his thigh, which occasioned his being carried out of the battle; his cure, when it took some time, being finished, he resolved to carry the war to the very gates of Sparta, and to that purpose raised a very great army; but whether he found his design impracticable, or was really diverted by some dream, he gave out, that Cagog and Pellas with their sister Helena had appeared to him, and commanded him to desist. A short time after this retreat, going with a small party to make an incursion, and attempting to take prisoners some women, who were celebrating religious rites near Egina a village in Lacedaemon, those zealous matrons fell upon him and his soldiers with such fury, that they put them to flight and took him prisoner; however, he soon afterwards made his escape and rejoined his forces. In the third year of the war the Spartans with a great force entered Messenia, whither Arisocrates king of Arcadia was come with a great body of troops to the assistance of his allies; Aristomenes therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the Spartans approached, but they entering privately into a negotiation with Arisocrates, engaged him with bribes and promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceased Arcadian represented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retrieving into their own country, in the battle should be lost; he then pretended, that the sacrifices were ominous, and having terrified his Arcadians into that disposition of mind fitted to serve his purpose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced the Messenian ranks and put them too in confusion. Aristomenes and his troops, however, drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the better, and indeed they had need of all their valour and skill, for the Lacedaemonians, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all sides. Fortune was on this occasion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the Messenians, so that notwithstanding their utmost efforts, most of their army were cut to pieces, and amongst them the chief of their nobility. Aristomenes, with the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the Lacedaemonians upon equal

* Strab. Geogr. lib. viii. 
* Pol. Lib. ii. c. 51. 
* Id. ibid.
equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount Era, and to make the best dispositions possible for a long defence; he likewise placed garrisons in Pylos and Methone on the sea-coasts, and to these three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the rest of Messenia to the mercy of the Spartans. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finished, for which reason they divided the lands amongst their citizens, and cauffed them to be carefully cultivated, while they besieged Era; but Aristomenes quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He chose out of all the Messenians three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when Messenia would no longer supply the wants of his garrison, he penetrated into Laconia, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary to the subsistence of his countrymen shut up in Era; so that at last the Spartans were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation not only of the Messenian territory in their hands, but also of Laconia in its vicinity, whereby they distracted themselves more than their enemies, inducing at last a famine in Sparta itself, which brought with it its usual attendant sedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wildness of the poet Tityrus had not supported the Spartan courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of Era, and to maintain a flying camp for the security of the country.

Aristomenes, in spite of all these precautions, committed terrible depredations with his small corps of three hundred men. Amongst other places which he plundered, the city of Amykle was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but also many carriages laden with provisions. The kings of Sparta, laying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as soon as they heard of this expedition, marched after Aristomenes with the utmost diligence, and as the Messenians were encumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach Era. In this situation of things, Aristomenes, prompted rather by despair than prudence, dispersed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithstanding they were so few, made a long and vigorous resistance against the whole Lacedaemonian army. At length, however, numbers prevailed, the greatest part of the Messenians were slain on the spot, and Aristomenes and about fifty of his men, who survived the slaughter, were taken prisoners, that chieftain having received so many wounds, that he was senile when they carried him away. The Lacedaemonians expressed the loudest joy at the sight of this illustrious captive, who for so many years by his single abilities had enabled his exhausted country to defend itself against the whole force of Sparta. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow prisoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common punishment of the lowest kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmost severity, excepting that Aristomenes had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this dismal place, lying upon and covered over with dead bodies; the third day he was almost famished through want of food, and almost poisoned with the stench of corrupted carcasses, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him, upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox just by him, he with one hand feizd it's hind-leg, and with the other defended his face by catching hold of the fox's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his straggling guide, the fox at last thrust his head into a little hole, and Aristomenes then letting go his leg, he soon forced his way through, and opened a passage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble Messenian had been so long debarr'd. Feeble as he was, Aristomenes wrought himself an outlet with his nails, and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could, at length arrived safe at Era, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was first blazed abroad, the Spartans would have had it pass for a fiction, but Aristomenes soon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the polis of the Corinbiots, who, as the allies of the Spartans had a considerable body of troops before Era. Most of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he flew, pillaged their camp, and in short did so much mischief, that the Spartans, under a pretence of an approaching festival, agreed to a cessation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occasion Aristomenes for the second time celebrated the Hecatomphonia, or the sacrifice appointed for thole

Pausan. in Meffin.
who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands; he had performed the same before after his second battle when he loft his shield; and he lived to do it a third time, which must appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that notwithstanding this truce, certain Cretan archers in the service of the Spartan King Aristomenes, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away prisoner. There were nine of them in all, two immediately ran away with the news to Sparta, and seven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lonely cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It so fell out, that the young woman dreamt the night before, that she saw a lion without claws, bound and dragged along by wolves, and that the having loosed his bonds and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As soon as Aristomenes came into the cottage, he and his mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, the faintly concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore pled the Cretans with drink, and when they were asleep took a pair of bread from one of them, cut the thongs with which Aristomenes was bound, and then put it into his hands; he presently verified her vision by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to Sparta, where, as a reward for her service, he married the young woman to his fon Gorgias, about eighteen years of age. When Gorgias had held out near eleven years, it fell into the hands of a Servant by an accident; the servant of one Empiramus a Spartan commander, driving his master's cattle to drink at the river Neda, met frequently with the wife of a Messenian, whom he engaged in amours; this woman gave him notice that her husband's house was without the wall, so that he could come to it without danger when the good man was abroad, and the likewise gave him intelligence when her husband was upon duty in the garison. The Spartan failed not to come at the time appointed, but they had not been long in bed before the husband returned, which put the house into great confusion; the woman, however, secured her gallant, and then let in the good man, whom she received with the perpetual flattery peculiar to her sex, inquiring again and again by what means of good fortune he was blest with his return; the innocent Messenian told her, that Aristomenes was being detained in his bed by a wound, and the soldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had a grant to retire to their houses to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season. The Spartan no sooner heard this than he crept softly out of doors, and ran pell-mell to carry the news to his master; it fell out, that the kings were at this time absent from the camp, and Empiramus had the chief command of the army; as soon as he received this information, he ordered the army to begin its march, though it rained excessively and there was no moonlight; the fellow guided them to the front, and managed matters so well, that they feizd all the Messenian posts; yet after all they were afraid to engage, darkness, a high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of Aristomenes, kept them quiet on the places they had seized. As soon as it was light the attack began, and Sparta had been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it; but the women fought with such fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought such an accession of numbers, as made the besiegers doubtful; three days and two nights this desperate engagement lasted; at last all hopes of preserving the city being lost, Aristomenes drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth morning he disposed the women and children in the centre, the Messenian youths in the front and rear, the able men in the main body, himself commanded the van; the rear-guard was brought up by Gorgias and Manticus, the former the son of Aristomenes, the latter of Theocles a Messenian of great merit, who had fallen with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cause of his country. When all things were ready, Aristomenes caudled the last barrier to be thrown open, and brandishing his spear marched directly towards the Spartan troops in order to force a passage. Empiramus, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them a passage, so that Aristomenes marched off, in triumph as it were, to Arcadia. It should seem that writing, as we do, the history of the Lacedaemonians, we should here have done with the Messenian captain, the war being now at an end; but it falls out otherwise, there is no keeping to the story of Sparta without following this man to his last hour.*


* PAUSAN. in Meissen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.
The Arcadians, when they heard that Era was taken, were very desirous of
recovering their old confederates in this deep distress; they therefore intreated
their king, Aristocrates to lead them into Melissa; but he, corrupted by the Lacedaemonians, perfumed them that it was too late, that the Lacedaemonians were all cut
off, and that such a step would only expose them to the fury of the conquerors; before
this, when the thing appeared to be otherwise, and it was known that Aristomenes was on
his road to Corint, the frontiers of Arcadia, they went in crowds to carry him provisions, and to testify
their readiness to afford him and those under his command all the assistance in their
power. Aristomenes desired to be heard before a general assembly, which being according-
ly convoked, he there opened one of the boldest and best-laid schemes recorded
in history; he said, that he had yet five hundred undaunted soldiers, who at his com-
mand would undertake anything; that it was very probable most of the Spartans
were employed in pillaging Era; and that therefore he was determined to march and
surprise Sparta, which appeared so feasible, that all the assembly loudly commended
his great capacity and unshaken courage; Aristocrates, however, took care to betray
him, having by various pretexts retarded the execution of the project. The Arcadians,
who began to fulminate him, waited for and surprized his messengers as they came
back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the assem-
bly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindness both
now and in the battle, and promised that the Lacedaemonians would be grateful; as
soon as the letters were read, the Arcadians fell to stoning their king, frequently
calling upon the Messenians to assist them, which, however, they did not, waiting
for Aristomenes's orders, who, far from triumphing in this spectacle, stood still with
his eyes fixed on the ground which he wet with his tears, his soul pierced with for-
row to see a crowned head so shamefully and so devotedly put to death. The
Arcadians afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate
his infamy. As for the Messenians under the command of Gergus and Mantiscles, they
passed over into Sicily, where they founded the city of Messene, one of the most
famous in the island. Aristomenes remained, however, in Greece, where he married all
his daughters, except the youngest, to person of great rank. A prince of Rhodes
inquiring of the oracle at Delphi whom he should elope with, his subjects being
happy under his polity, was convicted to marry the daughter of the most worthy of
the Greeks, which answer was immediately understood to point at the virgin daughter
of Aristomenes; her therefore he demanded and received, Aristomenes accompanying
him back to his dominions, where he formed a scheme of uniting the Lydians and
Medes against the Spartans, resolving with this view to go himself to Media and to
the court of Sardis; but while he meditated these great things, death surprized him,
and thereby freed Lacedaemon from the most inveterate enemy she ever had. His
son-in-law honoured his memory with a most magnificent tomb, and as for his fame,
all historians have shewn the utmost regard in concerning it.

(E) The story of Aristomenes, as we have related it from the best authorities among the Greeks, tho' it contains a great many wonderful circumstances, hath not in it, however, any thing absurd or incre-
dible; but it is not to be wondered, that such as prefer the marvellous to a confident history have laid
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The History of the Lacedaemonians.

Book I

Messenia once more reduced, the Spartans treated the remaining inhabitants with a severity that became proverbial, making them all slaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the district of Melitone which they gave to the Argives, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the sovereignty of Greece. We find nothing farther which deserves notice recorded of either of the Lacedaemonian kings, unless it be a laying of Aneasander; of whom it being demanded, Why the Lacedaemonians kept no money in their exchequer, he answered, That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves.

Eurycrates succeeded his father Aneasander, as Archidamus did his father Aneasander; of their reigns we know nothing more than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for though various authors have recorded the names of these princes, remembrance of their actions we find none; unless it be the following wise saying of Eurycrates, whom Plutarch calls Euricrates; who, when it was asked him, Why the ephori sent every day to determine causes about controlls, answered, That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies. Archidamus was also called Aegistheus, which is the reason that Herodotus, making use of the Ionic dialect, writes his name Heigistheus.

The reign of Leonidas succeeding his son Leonidas, concerning whom historians are not so silent. Leo was a man of great capacity, and very fertile for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, Under what government a man might live safest, he answered immediately, Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none. At the Olympic games, when every body commended the victors, how much better, said he, would it have been, if those men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift in learning to be beneficent! Arisio his colleague is remarkable in history for some extraordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was so fortunate as to have children by either of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend Aegistus, the most beautiful woman in Sparta. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: He took his friend Aegistus one day in a gay humour, and having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and when Aegistus had sworn the kingdom in consequence of that oath demanded his wife. Aegistus professed, that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but Arisio insisted, that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it took it; Aegistus submitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he facet with the ephori hearing caules, a servant came in great haste to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and called him Damarectus. During the reigns of Leo and Arisio the Lacedaemonians were engaged in a war with the Thebes, wherein they were successful, as it should seem from Pausanias's account of the matter, though Herodotus tells it otherwise.

Aneasanderes succeeded his father Leo during the lifetime of his colleague Arisio; in his time the body of Orestes, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported also to have had two wives, which was a singular thing in Sparta, for whom he built separate houses; the reason of it was, that the ephori commanded him to divorce his first wife, because she bore him no children; but he, not being able

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The oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon Asimoneus took a certain sacred depositum, which Lyre the son of Pandion had foretold should be preferred till the Messenians were totally destroyed; this he interred in the most private part of the mountain Ibome, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of Era (21). There is nothing farther which deserves to be added to this note, unless it be the explanation we proposed of the different dates assigned to the last Messenian war, which is, however purely conjectural. It is this, that Eusebius did not say that the second Messenian war began eighty years after the first, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the first disturbances on account of the death of Teleclus (22).

to bring himself up to this, contented himself with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had Cleomenes; his first wife then also conceived and brought him a child, who was called Dorius. The ephori pretending to make some scruple whether this was really her child or no, the business was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing Leonidas and Cleomenes. This king Axandrides was certainly a very wise man, and had very just notions of government, as, amongst others of his sayings recorded by Plutarch, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, Why the Spartans were so cautious in passing capital judgments, and why, notwithstanding his aquisit, they still demanded a recognition of a person accused, he answered, Because in capital cases execution can never be recalled; and in the other case they kept that recognition, that if it should fall out, that the guilt of the person acquitted should afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juster judgment. Aristoc was also a prince of great worth and probity, and in consequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of these princes, Creatus king of Lydia was vanquished, taken prisoner, and an end put to his kingdom by Cyrus; he was during his prosperity a great lover of the Greeks, and particularly of the Lacedæmonians, with whom he had frequent intercourse, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himself to the chief among the Greeks, which he immediately undertook of the Spartans.

Axandrides was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, as Aristoc was by his son Damardus. It was strict regard to hereditary right which induced the Lacedæmonians to place Cleomenes upon the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his senses, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of measure; whereas his brother Dorius was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleness of his temper, and his skill in the art of war; he was so much disdained, however, at his brother’s being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuse for quitting his country. The beginning of his reign Cleomenes engaged in a war with the Argives, whom he beat, and having driven a considerable body of them into a wood, he cau’d the Helots to let that wood on fire whereby numbers of them were destroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he fought only victory, without inquiring whether the means by which he sought to obtain it were just or not; yet he had sometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to say, that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, Heziod of the Helots, because the former made war his subject, and the latter treated of husbandry. He was early suspected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the state; for at his return from the war with the Argives, he was accused of having let slip manifold opportunities of taking Argos itself; but the answers he gave, when the matter was to be heard before the ephori, were so satisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to Cleophon the Athenian and his party, at whose request he drove the Pheidippides out of Athens; afterwards he joined with Iphocrates, whom the Athenians had banished, and endeavoured all he could to vest in him the sovereignty of that city, whereby he created great mischief to the Greeks. The Corinthians, who, as we have elsewhere seen, were the faithful and steady allies of the Lacedæmonians, disdained at the haughty behaviour of Cleomenes, and at his waiving the territory of Eleusis, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deserted them; Damardus his colleague also, who was a very worthy and excellent person, opposed him; and while he was gone into Eginæ, where he pretended to seize the principal persons in the island, under colour that they were in the Persians interest; Damardus accused him to the ephori and the Senate of being an enemy to peace, a disturber of Greece, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring states to look with an evil eye on Sparta. These discourses had at first their effect; but when Cleomenes returned, he found means not only to get himself acquitted, but to get his colleague deposed, which he wrought after the following manner: He suggested, that Damardus’s birth was liable to great suspicions, alleging the expulsion of his father before mentioned; the Spartans sent to the oracle at Delphi, in order to have this

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pausian. in loc. herod. lib. v. plut. apophth. lacon. herod. lib. ii. herod. lib. v. pausian. ubi supra. plut. apophth. lacon. herod. lib. v. pausian. lacon.
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this intricate question decided; Cleomenes foretold this, and therefore took care to a corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the response, Damareatus was depoosed, and Leotychides his cousin, the eighth in the dencent from Teopompus, was raised to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the deposed king, that, instead of quitting his country, he still endeavoured to render it all the more service he could, being content to execute inferior magistracies. But the intemperance of his successor vanquished at length his patience; for Leotychides being one day informed, that Damareatus was setting as inspector in the place of public exercises, sent a servant to intitle him, by asking him this question, How he liked his present office after executing that of king. To which Damareatus fiercely answered, That himself knew the weight of both, which he who sent him did not; but that this question should either prove the cause of great misery, or of great felicity, to Sparta. Then covering his head he retired to his own house, where having first sacrificed to Jupiter, he then sent for his mother, and earnestly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth, whether, as he was reputed, he was the son of king Ariste, or whether, as his enemies suggested, Agis was his father. She having in the most solemn terms assured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to Delphi, but indeed resolved to quit Sparta for ever, and to retire where he might be absolutely safe; with this view he went first to Elis, from thence to Zacynthus, and at length into Persia, where he was received by king Daricus with the utmost civility, had large revenues assigned him, and was in every respect used as a prince. In his exile he behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and without shewing any rancour against his country; as an instance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the Per- sian monarch would have punished a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards Daricus's persuasion submitted himself to the king, the Spartan generously inter- pos'd, addressing the Persian king in these words: It is dishonourable, O King, not to have had it in thy power to punish him when he was a rebel, and as dishonourable to exert a power of punishing now he be become thy friend. With respect to the latter, when he found that the Persian was determined to make war on Greece, we are told, he sent the first advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of Sparta who was victor in the Olympic games. In a word, he was a peron of such merit, that none of the Persians envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his posterity flourished many ages after.

Leotychides, as he was raised to the kingdom by the craft of Cleomenes, so he was entirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to Aegina, from whence they brought away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners, and left them with the Athenians their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards suffered, though he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of Cleomenes. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconfidently as formerly, that is, sometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the least regard to justice. When Arishgaras the Aiolian tyrant came to Sparta with an intent to perfole Cleomenes to make war upon the Persian king, he heard his proposals both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himself; but he advised his country against the former, and absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity, for the same prince prevailing with the Athenians thereby induced that war, which had well-nigh brought on the total destruction of Greece. He likewise refuted all the solicitations of Meander the tyrant of Samos, who also would have tempted him with money; and not only so, but complained of him to the ephors, telling them, that if they did not banish this man out of their territories, he would teach the Lacedaemonians to be knaves. When by degrees his contrivances against Damareatus came to light, and the Spartans began to shew some inclination to examine strictly into that matter, he thought it best to fly first into Thebes, and then into Arcadia, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of Arcadians, and endeavouring by a solemn oath to bind them to his service. The Spartans, knowing well his enterprising genius, and being afraid lest he should excite the Arcadians to invade them, recalled him, and restored him to his dignity; but a short time after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with his sceptre as he met them in the streets.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Herod.} lib. xvii. \textit{Pausian.} Lacon.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b} \textit{Plut.} Apophth. Lacon.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{c} \textit{Herodot.} lib. vii.} \]

\textit{Pausian Lacon.
upon which they were constrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood. In this condition he was attended by a Helot who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a sword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himself up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the Spartans imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of Delphi, and thereby procuring the deposition of Damasus; the Athenians attributed it to his sacrilege at Eleusis; the Argives were as positive that he befell him for burning their sacred grove (F). As for those who were for ascribing his end to natural causes, they alleged, that drinking immoderately with the Sybiian embassadors, his drunkenness issued in madness. He left behind him a daughter named Gorgo, one of the most celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of Eginia upon his death applied themselves to the Spartans, complaining loudly against Leotychides, for that he in conjunction with Cleonemnes had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the Athenians. The Spartans, who, as a nation, piqued themselves much upon their justice, disclaimed the whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of Eginia to deliver up Leotychides into their hands; but the deputies of that island wisely declined carrying the king of Sparta away; they contented themselves with marrying with them to Athens. There the Argives were in utmost endeavours to rectify the mischief he had done them by procuring their horses to be delivered up, which accordingly he did; but his and their applications being fruitless, they suffered him to return again to Sparta, where he still remained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their

(Pausan. Lach. Herod. lib. vi.)

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(Pausan. ubi supra. Herodot. ubi supra.)


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their custom, regretted their absent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the consequences of all this we shall hereafter have occasion to explain; let us in the mean time pass to the story of his colleague ¹.

Leonidas the son of Amystandridēs, half-brother to Cleomenes, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter Gorgo; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a value superior to most men of his age; some of the Spartans, however, who disliked his family, could not help speaking disrespectfully to him; one of them particularly told him to his face: "That, except being a king, he was no better than they; to which Leonidas replied, if I had not been better than you, I had not been a king." When Miltiades the Athenian fought the famous battle of Marathon, the Spartans had promised an army, but had sent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the spot where it was fought, where having considered attentively the prodigious difficulties the Athenians had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to Sparta. When, as the wisest of the Greeks had foreseen, this battle at Marathon only excited the Persian to attempt again the conquest of Greece; the Spartans, with a resolution worthy of the disciples of Lycurgus, determined to oppose them; Demaratus their king was constrained to accompany Xerxes in this expedition, though in respect to his country he had lent early notice thereof to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, and the daughter of his greatest enemy. When it was apparent, that Xerxes would enter Greece in person with a prodigious army, a general assembly was held at the Ilissus, the resolutions of which were these: That the states of Greece should unanimously join in defending its liberty against the Persians; that for the present all their quarrels among themselves should be suspended; that the gods should be consulted; that of those who deferred the common cause a declaration should be made, that is, a tenth part should be put to death without mercy. Warm and generous resolutions, if the same spirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates the Spartans and Athenians only seemed ready to do anything. The Thessalians were the first who were to feel the weight of Xerxes and his myriads; they therefore sent to the Greeks to beheef them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they submitted to an enemy they could not resist. Upon this ten thousand men were sent by sea to Troad by the command of Eucrates a Spartan and Themistocles the Athenian; but when they came thither, they were convinced, that this measure would be ineffectual; for a powerful country, as Thessaly is, there could be no hopes of opposing such multitudes of men with a few, especially when it was known, that many of the Thessalian princes could not be depended on. Many of the partisans in Thessaly were in the power of Alexander king of Macedon; the army therefore returned without doing anything. At the next general council, however, it was resolved to defend the straits of Thermopylae, in pursuance of which resolution six thousand foot were appointed for that service, and the command of them was given to Leonidas ². Of these three hundred only were Spartans, according to the direction of the king; and when some principal persons demanded of him whether he had not a secret design in his head, he answered frankly, I pretend to defend the straits of Thermopylae, but in truth I go to die for your country; and when they still wondered at the small number of men he took with him, he turning to those to whom he had communicated his secret, said, There are enco, considering the design we go upon. When he took his leave of his wife, she asked him if he had anything particular to say to her (G); "Marry some brave man, said he, and bring


(G) The character of Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, deserves to be particularly considered. Plutarch, who was so fond of the Lacedaemonians, that besides his inimitable works on their manners, which was indeed extraordinary; and the reason of it was, because the Spartan dames were of a very masculine disposition, and spoke and acted with a freedom denied to their sex everywhere else. Gorgo, who is to be the subject of this note, makes a very considerable figure in that treatise; but before we proceed to acquaint the reader with what Plutarch says of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable story recorded by Herodotus. That noble historian tells us, that when the oracle of the tyrant of Miletus, attempted to engage Cleomones in a design not only of freeing Ionia, but even of subverting the Persian empire; he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down as before; after having shown Cleomones on this the fraction of the Ionians, and expatiated with great warmth on the
Chap. 19. The History of the Lacedaemonians. The
bring him brave children*. When Xerxes came with his mighty army, he sent a spy to bring him advice of the posture in which Leonidas and his troops were; this spy reported, that he found them exercising themselves in their usual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate some festival; the Persian thereupon asked Damasatus the meaning of it. These men, Sir, said he, have devoted themselves to death for the service of their country; at which Xerxes laughed, conceiving, that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himself doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were some among the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. These referred to Leonidas, That a discharge of the Persian arrows would take away the light of the sun; Very well, replied he, then we shall fight in the shade. When they approached, the same perils came to him again; The Persians, Sir, said they, draw near; What of that, said he, Shall not we then be near them? When Xerxes saw that he was mistaken, and that Leonidas really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the real superiority of his army might exclude his not opposing him, and that, if he would embrace his interest, he should be lord of all Greece. To which Leonidas with great moderation answered, If you know wherein the happiness of life consists, you would not covet what belongs to others; for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of Greece, than command over it. Xerxes then ordered the Medes, who led the van in his army, to fall upon the Greeks, which they did with very great resolution, but were notwithstanding repulsed with prodigious slaughter;

* Plut. in Apophthg. Laco.
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The auctor, he then commanded a choice corps of Persians to dislodge them, but it was in vain; the Greeks were not only superior in valour, but they better understood the art of war; they had also great advantage from the situation of the place, so that, after numbers were slain, the Persians were constrained to retreat. Xerxes now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reason; for the dead bodies having stiffened, the passages still more, it seemed doubtful whether the weight of numbers would force the pass or not. At length one Epibates a Trachinian offered to shew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the Greeks in the rear; Xerxes thereupon detached Hydarnes with a great body of chosen troops, having forced the Phocians, advanced aspace towards Leonidas and his troops; that great commander, who is said to have been informed that the senate had received an oracle, purporting, that either one of their kings, or the city itself must fall, as soon as he was informed of what happened, gave leave to all the confederates to withdraw, that they might relieve themselves, as he phrased it, for better times, excepting only the Thebians and the Thessalians, who with his Spartans made in all not above fourteen hundred men; with these he purposed not to wait the attack of the Persians, but to go and find them out, yet looking on his Spartans, and observing some striplings who had scarce attained the age of men, his heart releved; calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to fend by each of them a billet to the ephori; he would have afterwarde slain the fame thing in favour of some perfons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his design, refused to obey him, one of them answtering, Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, not as a courier. Another, Let us fight, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle. Having made the proper dispositions he passed the freights, and fell upon the enemy; he and all his Spartians were slain together with the Thebians, but the Thessalians holding up their targets cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were stigmatized. This victory, if we must call it so, cost the Persians twenty thousand men. The body of Leonidas being found, Xerxes ordered it to be nailed to a cross, an action which reflected dishonour upon himself, and could do no hurt to a dead body; as to the fame of Leonidas, it was out of the reach of Xerxes, and had remained still fresh three thousand years after his decease (H). The Persians after


(H) The action at Thermopylae makes so great a figure in history, and so justly at the fame time that it is nearly concerning the Lacedaemonians history, that it would be unpraisable in us not to give such particulars thereof as may serve to set it in the clarest light, and do honour to that nation of whole affairs we are treating. In the first place let us remark, that Leonidas acted all along with great equality of mind, a philosophic courage, and the true spirit of a patriot. He went in the common cause of Greece to give a check to the Persians at their first entrance, that thereby the numerous army of Xerxes might receive a taste of the opposition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headstrong and irreprehensible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the strength of fifty was left to no purpose. In fighting at Thermopylae Leonidas made ufe at firft of all the advantages of ground afforded him, by his own situation and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narrowest part of the passage, and when he retired from the field of battle, he disposed his battalions in such a manner that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to harass them, in such a manner, that there were more slain in the retreat than in the fight; if Epibates had not led the Boeotians round the mountains, Leonidas would have carried his first point, that is, he would have constrained Xerxes to retire (31). But when the augurs Megistus, upon inspecting the sacrifices, declared, that all the Greeks were threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence that the enemy were actually scaling the mountains, Leonidas put in practice his resolution, which was the devoting of his Spartans and himself to death for the safety of Greece in general, and of Sparta in particular (32). This resolution was founded upon two reasons; the first, that the freights of Thermopylae ought not absolutely to be abandoned, but sold to the enemy as dear as might be; the second reflected it upon this oracle which the Lacedaemonians had received.

Thy plains, O Sparta, Persians rage shall feel, Thy sons shall slaughter'd fall by foreign heel, Unless a king of the Heracleum race, In war, to save the reef, full death embrace. This prompted Leonidas to receive that death, which he knew must some time or other happen him, when it might avert evil from his country; it was to prevent an unnecessary carnage, that Leonidas disdained the greatest part of his allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, where three hundred Spartans, seven hundred Thebians, and four hundred Thessalians; he then advanced without the narrow passage, because he no longer thought of defending his own party, but hoped he might moll injure the enemy; and in that desperate attack

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after this confuted Damaratus again, adjuring him by the kindnefs he had shewn him to give his sentiments frankly as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The Spartans therefore proposed to him feizing the ifle of Gthera, which lay over-againft Lacertis, and from whence he might have made the Spartans so uneasy as would infallibly hinder their ifending affifiance to the Abbe-
nians, or impeding him in his defign of penetrating into Greece; but Abbe-
nomaes the king’s brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land-army both might be ruined. Xerxes preferred his counsel, and thereby
failed in his defign.* The Grecian fleet in the mean time lay at Artemifium under the command of Eurybiades a Spartan, a man of great personal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in sea affairs. The Persians, hoping to surprize
and surround them, detached two hundred ships with orders to fall round Euboea, 
and fall on the rear of the Grecian navy; but this being trayed to the Greeks, they weighed anchor in the night, and stood directly to sea to meet these two hundred ships, so that instead of surprizing others, they were themselves surprized; thirty of them sunk, and the rest forced to betake themselves to flight, wherein they were no less unfortunate; for a storm arising, most of them were shipwrecked on the coast. The Grecian fleet some time after failed to the coast of Attica, and at the desire of the Abbe-
nians anchored near Salamin. Eurybiades had still the command, though of three
hundred and fifty-eight ships, of which the fleet confifted, a hundred and eighty
belonged to the Abbe-nians. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our Abbe-nian history, and therefore
shall not trouble the reader with needless repetitions here.* The first step that was taken afterwards, was, to prepare a great fleet to procure this victory, the command of which was given to Leotychides king of Sparta; but it soon after appeared, that the Persians had not totally abandoned their defign, Mardonius remaining in Greece at the head of a very considerable army, with which he threatened in the spring to revifit Attica; the Greeks therefore found themselves under a neceffity of raising a
land-army also.

Pausanias the fon of Cleonymus took upon him the character of tutor or protector of Piharcus the fon of Leonidas, and in right thereof was the first magiftrate in Sparta, the other king, as we have faid, being abfen, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this fimuation of things, the dilatorines of popular councils
eminenntly appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the Abbe-
nian embassadors found the Lacedaemonians celebrating the Hyacinthia; in vain these mini-
fiers representcd, that the common caufe was neglected, and that the Abbe-
nians had reafon to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of Greece; the epohi and ifenate, confiding mightily in the strong wall which by this time was erected crofs the ifthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till Cleitus a Tegeacien, who had a great reputation amongst them, fhewed them how foolish and diifounour-
able this conduct of theirs was, since it was plain, if the Abbe-nians were ruined
through


he fell. Xerxes loft two brothers in this engage-
ment, and an incredible number of troops. On the
field of battle there were three monuments raised, one to perpetuate the memory of thofe of the troops
as were slain before the confederates were difmissed, with this inscription:
Four thousand here, from various nations brought,
For Greece against the Medes three millions fought.
The fecond was for the Lacedaemonians only, with
this difhonor upon it:
Go, friend, and to our brother Sparta tell,
With what applause we in their service fell.
The third was for the augur Megabias, who, though
prifoned by Leonidas to retire, refused, containing
himself with fending away his only fon:
Divine Megabias lies beneath this stone,
Who met without concern ill fortune’s frown;
Nor would to have his life content to fly.
When the brave Spartans had refolved to die.


It is alledged, that Eurystus and Andromachus, two
of the three hundred Spartans, being ill of fore eyes,
retired to Alpen with the permission of Leonidas,
and were there in the time of the last battle, on the
news of which Eurystus caufed his armour to be put
on, and ordered his fervant to conduct him directly
to the field, where running, blind as he was, into
the midft of the enemy, he was suddenly covered
with wounds, and fell down dead; but Andromachus
returned to Sparta, where he met with a very in-
different reception, being treated as a man who
had not courage enough to die with his compa-
nions; to aggrivate their ill ufage, they furnifhed
him the Fagitro; he redeemed his credit, however,
at the battle of Platea, where, having devoted himself to death, he performed fuch actions as are
fearce credible (53).
through their delay, the Persians, being masters at sea, might land what forces they would in Laconia, and bring the war home to their doors; the wall crosses the isthmus in such a cleft useles 5. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand Spartans, and, which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their Helots, Paeanias commanding in chief. This, however, did no hinder Mardonius from taking Athens, or from seeking the Greek army and offering battle. Paeanias had the command in chief of the whole Greek forces, which were not less than one hundred thousand men. The Persians were certainly double their number, nay, according to Diodorus's account, Mardonius's army consisted of five hundred thousand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of Platea, an engagement happened between a great body of Persian horse, commanded by Molossus, and a corps of Greeks, wherein, after a great effusion of blood, the Persians were routed and their commander killed. A general battle being delayed, the Greek army suffered much by defection, as on the other hand did the Persians for want of provisions. Paeanias at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army fresh and more advantageous quarters, in which, however, he was opposed by Amphiareus an old Spartan commander, who inflamed, that it was derogatory to the Spartan honour to retire in flight of an enemy. Paeanias, like a wise man and a great captain, answered, That marching this way or that was not dishonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his intrigues were in vain, and that Amphiareus would not be persuaded, he gave the signal, and immediately the Lacedaemonian and Tegean foot began to move. Amphiareus, who was hitherto of opinion that Paeanias would not desert him, when he saw him actually on his march, ordered his standards to be taken up and moved slowly after him. Paeanias kept the high ground, the Athenians, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the rest of the confederates withdrew to the temple of Juno, where they were out of reach of the Persian cavalry. At the temple of Ceres, which was on the brow of the hill, Paeanias halted with all his forces to give Amphiareus and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the Persian horse attacked them with great vigour. Mardonius looked upon this decampment of the Greek troops in the same light that Amphiareus did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerness, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, seems to have been the chief cause of his misfortune; for his Persians marching hastily and without order, the rest of the corps of which his numerous army was composed did the like, which gave the Greeks great advantage. The troops under Paeanias did not much exceed 50,000 men, and on this account it was that he sent to hasten the Athenian army to their march. The Athenian, who on this occasion acted with the utmost generosity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily stopped short by the Boeotians and other Greeks in the service of the Persians, who on this occasion behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The Lacedaemonians and Tegeaean were forced to engage Mardonius's army without assistance. It is universally acknowledged, that the Persians behaved very well on this occasion; but, being neither so well armed nor so well disciplined as the Greeks, their valour was of no use but to bring them to slaughter; for, as Herodotus rightly observes, it was all the same, whether one or ten Persians broke into the Greek ranks, since the next line was ready to receive them without confusion or disorder, so that they were precipitately slain without effecting anything, because they charged tumultuously; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as Mardonius lived, who, mounted on a white horse, and fighting at the head of a thousand men, gave signal demonstrations of a courage deserving a better fate; but when he was slain, the Persians began to break and to give way, which dispirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their swords. The Athenians also defeated the Greeks who fled with and fought for the Persians, so that Artabazus, who was next in command to Mardonius, and against whose advice these measures were taken, judging all to be lost, retired with forty thousand.
The History of the Lacedaemonians.

Chap. 19.

And, marching with all the expedition he was able back to Thessaly; the rest of the Persian army withdrew as speedily as they could into their camp, where they strengthened the works formerly thrown up, and resolved to defend to the utmost of their power these posts against the victorious Greeks. Paeanianus, coming up with his Lacedaemonians, attacked the camp without hesitation, but at the same time with little success; for the Persians, fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a most obstinate resistance; besides, they had the same advantage over the Lacedaemonians here, which the Lacedaemonians had over them in the field; for, as we have hitherto observed, the Spartans were unaccustomed to such attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of Lycurgus, all sieges as much as in them lay; yet this state of things lasted but for a small time; for when the Athenians came up, who of all the Greeks best understood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a passage to the Lacedaemonians, and when what was once done, a merciless slaughter ensued, since of three hundred thousand men, whom Mardonius brought into the field, scarce three thousand escaped of the Greeks, however, it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe Herodotus, there died of the Spartans ninety-one; of the Tegeataeans sixteen; and of the Athenians fifty-two. Plutarch owns one thousand three hundred and sixty to have fallen, but Diodorus Siculus is positive, that there were very few less than ten thousand. When this bloody engagement was over, the rest of the allies came up to be witnesses rather than affluents in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themselves contempt and scorn. Lampson of Aigina proposed to Paeanianus, that the body of Mardonius should be carefully searched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle Leonidas by the command of Xerxes might be revenged thereon. To which Paeanianus answered, "Friend of Aigina, I very kindly accept of your good intention, and the respect you express for me and my family; but I cannot help telling you, that your zeal hath drawn you to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; for whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the courage of my countrymen, and the action we have this day achieved, you throw all this down again by importuning me to inflame the dead, and persuading me that I shall heighten my glory, if I do that which is fitter for Barbarians to do, nay, which we have not spared to reproach even in them; I cannot therefore assent to these notions of the men of Aigina, nor to those of any other nation, who delight in such actions, being content to be commended by the Spartans, for neither doing, nor speaking an unbecoming thing. As for Leonidas, whole death you would have revenged, I am of opinion, that the innumerable multitude we have slain have sufficiently repaired the loss of him and those that fell with him at Thermopylae. Come no more therefore to me with such discourses; offer me no more such councils, but look upon it as a very great favour that you have escaped even now unpunished." When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to Mardonius, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he ordered some of his own servants to dress a Spartan meal; which being also done, he sent for the principal officers among the Greeks; thus pointing to both the suppers, he said with a smile, See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the Medes, who, living in this sumptuous manner as he was, would needs come so far to spoil us who fare so hardly. Part of the prodigious spoils that were taken in the Persian camp, the Helots, who were intrusted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all forso was given to Paeanianus, and the rest distributed among the Greeks. Having thus put an end to the war, Paeanianus thought next of punishing such as had betrayed the common cause of Greece; with this view he marched immediately to Thebes, the citizens of which at first attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chief of the Median faction which were in their hands; they vainly fancied, that they might redeem themselves with money, but in this they were greatly mistaken; for Paeanianus, disdaining their proposal, hurried them away to Corinbo, and caused them there to be put to death. The same day that the battle of Platea was fought, Leochidas king of Sparta, the Greeks with Xenophon the Athenian, gained a glorious victory at Mycale, where the last victory of Xerxes is remains of the Persian fleet and of the Persian armies, which had been drawn together.

\* Herodot. ubi supra. \* ubi supra. \* ubi supra. 2 ubi supra. \* Herodot. ubi supra.
together for the destruction of Greece, were utterly defeated; the commanders of the Persians fleet greatly discouraged their men by the puellanimity of their conduct; notwithstanding they had a great number of ships, they ran them all ashore, and fought to shelter themselves under the protection of an army of fifty thousand men, which under the command of Pheres had been left to defend Ionia. The Greeks seeing this determined to attack them on shore, and Leotychides, standing in towards the coasts, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the Greek tongue, in these words: "Men of Ionia, such among you as my voice reaches hearken with attention to what I say, the rather because the Persians cannot understand me; when the battle begins, every one of you ought in the first place to remember liberty, and in the next, that the word in our army is Hebe; let such as hear me inform those who hear me not." This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the Ionians to favour the Greeks, and it so frightened the Persians, that they knew not whom to trust. The Persians, before the battle began, difarmed the Samians, having some intelligence that they had been intriguing with the Greeks; but confiding greatly in the Milesians, they intrusted them with the custody of the passageways through the mountains behind them; these dispositions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the best they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the Greeks landing, the Athenians marched straight forward along the shore, the Lacedaemonians took a compaus by the hills. The former after an obstinate resistance forced the Persians camp, about the same time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the Samians, in the midst of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the Persians in their very camp, and the Milesians, who were to have guarded the paeans, as soon as the Persians fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them prisoners. A very odd circumstance, which according to the superstitious of those times paffed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory: it was this; about the time the battle began a rumour was spread throughout the army, that the Barbarians were beaten at Platea, though, as we have observed, that engagement happened in the morning of that day in the evening of which this happened at Mycale; but of this strange business, which fome modern writers have treated very obscurely, the reader hath received a satisfactory account in the note I. 1


I. Herodotus is no mighty admirer of Leotychides, king of Sparta, for he expressly gives the preference to the Athenians, after them to the Corinthians, the Tegeanians, and the Sicilians; yet the truth seems to be, that Leotychides behaved with great prudence upon this occasion, as we have said above in the text, and there is one instance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as some called it, of the victory won at Plataea, not in consequence of any intelligence, for that was impossible, but believing it the best way to incline the Ionians to favour the Greeks; he industriously spread the pretended news, and at the same time openly invited the Ionians to throw off the yoke, and assert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great measure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very recom mendable to one of his sayings recorded by Plutarch: A Spartan in good circumstances asked one day this prince, How he might best preserve his happiness? Leotychides answered, By not trusting all to fortune (36). It is certain, that Leotychides was not a very adventurous soul, but absolutely refused to accompany Xenophon when he found the bridges removed which Xerxes had thrown across the Hellespont; but this may be easily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of Sparta; the Athenians, by nature and by the constitution of their state, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the sea, of which as yet Sparta had little ambition, though the poet praised it; for, as Herodotus plainly says, the command was given her by the allies, who refused to follow any other than a Spartan admiral (37). Leotychides therefore did all in his power to serve the common cause, while the united fleet continued together in the Hellespont; but when flight became necessary for the enemy's coast and ships, he, whose particular squadron was of no strength, did not think fit to remain long at sea, because in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the Spartan name and glory.

upon this he fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, affecting the affilliance of the great king to make himself sovereign of Greece; that at this time he first entered into these practices appears from hence, he sent such Persians of great quality as he took in Byzantium to Gorgyius of Eresus, telling the Greek chiefs that he referred them for punishment, whereas he had privately given directions that they should be sent back in safety to Xerxes. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and desired the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond; another action happened at Byzantium extremely prejudicial to his character, and which some say disturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love with a young lady named Cleone, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but she in great modesty declaring that the lights might be put out, when she came into his chamber, unfortunately stumbled on an extinguished lamp, whereupon he, awakening, and fearing that some afflatus had broke into his room, caught up his sword and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almost before himself; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately sent to accuse him as Sparta; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even besieged him in Byzantium; escaping, however, from thence, he fled to Heraclea, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in use, to pacify the ghost of Cleone. In this place he met with certain persons who had, or pretended to have, the power of raising the spirits of persons deceased, and who at his interview brought up that of his mistresses, who to all his questions gave him this short answer: When you come to Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes. Accordingly when he came home, the ephors caused him to be seized; but having no sufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour against so eminent a person on bare suspicions, he was for a time enlarged. These warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. Artabazos was the person he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule: that whoever brought any of Paeanias’s epistles should immediately be put to death, that there might be no possibility of producing witnesses against him. But growing impatient, and finding that Ithomeaetes, notwithstanding the injuries done him by the Ithomeans, would not enter into his intimacy, Paeanias wrote in peremptory terms to Artabazos, and confided his letters to Argillus his particular favourite, and as some say, catamite. This man, confiding with himself that none of Paeanias’s messengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predecessors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who discovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict Paeanias; but Argillus soon helped this out, for retiring to Tanarus, and pretending there to pay his devotions to Neptune, he set up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain Spartans, and in the other he entertained Paeanias, who came to expostulate with him for not carrying his letters; by these expostulations, those who overheard them became direct witnesses against him, so that, at his return to Sparta, the ephori determined to imprison him, of which having some intelligence, he retired to the temple of Minerva Chaeidicis, and there took sanctuary, which gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in history; for the Lacedaemonians, not caring to invade the sanctuary, were at a loss what to do, till the mother of Paeanias taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without speaking a word, she retired to her own house; the Spartans, having considered her conduct, following her example blocked up the gate, and, thus preventing his going out, reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body delivered it to his relations. About this time Lesycides, being sent with a great army to chastise the Thebans, who had shewn themselves no friends to Greece in general, and expressed a particular enmity towards Sparta, instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory and reduced the enemy into very bad circumstances,
cumstances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in against him, he was surprized in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to Sparta, and finding that his citizens were in no humour to diffence with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to Tegaa, and died there in exile, having survived his son Zeuxiphanes, in whom he placed all his hopes. 2

Pliofarbas the son of Leonidas, to whom Pausanias was tutor did not live long; he was succeeded by Pliofanax the son of Pausanias, the next legal heir of the royal family, as Leotychides was by his grandson Archidamus; as for Pliofanax, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable disposition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the Athenians, acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himself b the more necessary to them. Archidamus was of a like disposition, and it may be truly said, that under the reigns of these princes the Spartans felt no mistrust but what they brought upon themselves, and had no good luck but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonce of Pliafanax Nicomedes the son of Cleombrotus acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVII olympiad a most dreadful earthquake happened at Sparta: Diodorus says, that twenty thousand persons lost their lives, and Xenarch affirms, that only five houses in the city escaped ruin; in the midst of this general confusion, Archidamus gave such an instance of his wisdom and firmness, as must render him everlasting admiration; considering with himself that his citizens were of far greater value than even their most valuable effects, and yet seeing that to save them they were ready to risk themselves, he caused an alarm to be founded, as if an enemy had been just at hand, whereupon in haste they armed themselves and repaired into the field, which wrought them double safety; for the Helotes, now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel masters, unanimously took up arms, and marched boldly to Sparta, expecting they should find none to withstand them; but they were greatly mistaken, for Archidamus, with his citizens compleetly armed, made such a stand, that they were constrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had so ill treated in the time of their distress, they determined with themselves to perfide in their revolt, and to make for a pacification to their swords, rather than to their intreaties. Many reasons contributed to strengthen the Helotes in this determination; the Spartans were already embroiled with the Athenians, who were inclined to dispute with them the sovereignty of Greece; the Messenians began to shew evident marks of their renunciation of the indignities and oppressions which were thrown upon them; the rest of the Peloponnesian states were not a little dissatisfied, so that never were the Lacedaemonians less able to act vigorously against their rebellious subjects than at present. The first step they took, after throwing off the yoke, was feising a port in Messenia, from whence they made continual inroads into Locisia, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to; the Spartans in this distress applied themselves to Athens for assistance, which after some opposition was granted them, and sent under the command of Cinous the son of Miltiades; they likewise solicited the other allies, who, seeing the readiness of the Athenians, and considering the great favours which all Greece has received from Sparta, likewise sent their quotas, which enabled Archidamus to take the field, notwithstanding the Messenians had joined with the Helotes and fortified Ithome. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle or not; but however it was, the Helotes and Messenians thought it better to retire to Ithome, than to abide the Spartan army in the field, whereby the latter, much against their wills, were constrained to make the siege of this city; for, as we have more than once observed, this was a part of the military science, in which the Lacedaemonians were but indifferently skilful; it was chiefly on this account that they besought the aid of the Athenians, and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themselves more actively than the Spartans themselves, they grew jealous of them, and being fearful lest the strangers in their army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the Athenians, go over to the enemy; they dismissed the latter, telling them they had no farther occasion for their service, which exceedingly incensed the people of Athens, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the Spartan greatnes;
than hitherto they had been? While things were in this situation, the Phocians made war upon the Dorians who inhabited mount Parnassus, and took from them several cities, and amongst the rest their capital. These Dorians being originally Lacedaemoneans, the Spartans dispatched an army under the command of Niconedes; he quickly reduced the Phocians to reason, and set all things right; but returning with his army, the Athenians, joining the Argives and Tebegians, first up the passes into Peloponnesus: Niconedes upon this retired towards Tanagra in Boeotia, whither the Athenians followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein, the Tebegians deserting them, they had much the worst: the next year the Lacedaemoneans afflicted the Thebans against the Athenians, but were therein so unfortunate as to be totally routed at Tanagra with great los. The Messenian war was still carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year. libone being naturally a strong place, and the oracle at Delphi having threatened the Spartans, if they injured the suppliants of Jupiter libone, wherefore they were forced to turn their siege into a blockade, and at last hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the Messenian should depart Peloponnesus, never to return, on pain of becoming slaves if they did; these poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the Athenians, rather out of Spleen to Sparta, than any great desire to render service to the disaffected. They granted them Nazathus for their residence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which in the course of the Peloponnesian war they dispossessed the Lacedaemoneans. The next war the Lacedaemoneans undertook was that filled the sacred, by some the Phocian war; the end of it was to put the temple at Delphi into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the Phocians, which the Spartans effected, and for which the Delphians by a decree conferred on the Lacedaemoneans a right of first consulting the oracle, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf consecrated in the temple; the Athenians soon after restored the temple to the Phocians, and from them obtained the same privilege which the Delphians had granted to the Spartans, and this decree they caused to be engraven on the right side of the wolf; the Lacedaemoneans having induced the Boeotians to revolt from the Athenians, and Tebegians, who attempted to reduce them, being slain, and Euboea at the same time revolting, they held this as a fit leaon for giving a mortal blow to Athens; for which cause Pleistoanax was ordered to invade the Athenian territories with; a great army, with him; being but young, Cleobis was sent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for, being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from Pericles, and persuaded the king to return home without effecting anything, for which the Spartans punished him with death, and drove their king into banishment; not long after a peace was made between this nation and the Athenians, which though it lasted some time, yet was it far from extinguishing that hatred which for some time had burnt in the bosoms of both. At first the Athenians had the stronger party among the Greeks, because the Lacedaemonians had behaved with haughtiness while they held the sovereignty, but the Athenians gaining power, and making in a bad use of it, or worse, almost all Greece, except the states immediately under her jurisdiction, and even some of them also hated her, and applied themselves to the Spartans: In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have lasted thirty, a great assembly of deputies from the states of Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece was held at Lacedaemon, where they unanimously accused the Athenians of tyranny, oppression, injustice, plundering of vaft sums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beleeving the Lacedaemoneans to stir in the common caufe of Greece, and not suffer the Athenians to effect what the Persian king with all his power: was not able to perform. Some embassadors of Athens, who were by chance in the city, defended the caufe of their country stoutly. The Spartans, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war against the Athenians. But Archidamus, like a wise and good prince, interposed, and advised them to weigh well the flep they were about to take; he shewed them, that, comparing their own estate with that of Athens, not only the aid of the Greeks, but of the Barbarians also, was necessary.
The History of the Lacedaemonians.  

Book I.

He demonstrated, that the invasion of Attica would signify little, that if they went a
flow into this business, the Athenians might probably return to a proper temper,
and make satisfaction to their allies, that at least they would preserve their own re-
putation, and would enable themselves to carry on the war with effect. But Siste-
nelaides, one of the ephors, declared himself of a different sentiment; he alleged,
that it was a great happiness for Sparta, that other states had taken umbrage at her
rival, that if she was not quickly pulled down, their united strength would be too
little, and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their
power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which
deputies were sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, where they received a response
suited to their wishes: Embassadors were likewise sent to all the allies to desire them to prepare their quorums, and also to Athens to offer peace upon certain conditions,
which at the motion of Pericles were rejected.

The first action of the Peloponnesian war was the attempt made upon Platea
by the Thebans; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the Pelopon-
nesians, except the Argives and Aeacians, sided with Sparta; without Peloponnesus the
Messenians, Phocians, Locrions, Boeotians, Ambacriots, Leucadians, and Aostraians;
the Corinthisans, Messenians, Sicilians, Peloponnesians, Eleans, Ambacriots, and Leucadians
furnished ships, the Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrions sent cavalry, the rest of the states furnished their respective quorums in foot. Arcidamus, at the head of a mighty army,
marched to the frontiers of Attica, from whence he dispatched a messenger to
Athens, being very desirous even to the last of avoiding if possible this war; but the
messenger was sent back unheard, and the enemies of Arcidamus beginning to in-
nivate, that, out of friendship to the Athenians, he betrayed the common cause, he
marched into Attica, and penetrated within a few miles of Athens itself, destroying
the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned
through Boeotia into Peloponnesus; in the mean time the Athenian fleet infested the
coast of Laconia, and the troops on board it landing besieged Methone, to the
relief of which Braedas the Spartan hafted with a hundred men, and breaking with
much ado through the enemy, got safe into the town, where he made so vigorous a
resistance, that the Athenians were forced to retire; the same year the inhabitants
of Egea, being expelled by the Athenians, fled into Peloponnesus, and had the district
of Tyrhea allotted them by the Spartans. In the spring of the second year Arci-
damus entered Attica again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that
Pericles with a great many wafted Peloponnesus, he returned to affix his countrymen,
the rather because the plague raged violently in Attica. In the third year Arci-
damus besieged Platea, which making an obdurate defence, he was constrained to
turn his siege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered Attica the third time,
and wafted all the ripe corn, whereby the Athenians were greatly distressed; the same
year the Messenians revolted from the Athenians, and in the winter of that year
Platea was reduced to such frights, that part of its garrison forced their way
through the Peloponnesus guards, and escaped to Athens; the rest were in the begin-
ninng of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being
razed to the ground, notwithstanding the generous zeal he had expressed in the cause
of Greece, in the memorable battle fought on her territories; this year also Arci-
damus died in a good old age; and after a very long reign; he was one of the last
kings that Sparta ever had, and this will in some measure appear from the following
faying of his, being asked, "Who were governors at Sparta, he answered, The laws, and
the magistrates according to those laws;" he left behind him two sons Ages and Ageas,
the elder of which succeeded him.

In the spring after his father's death Aegina invaded Attica, and while he was em-
ployed there the Athenians seized Pylos, whither he was forced to hasten, but to little
purpose, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of Sparta being taken and sent pri-
soners to Athens; but long after the Athenians seized the island of Cythera, and fitted
it with a colony of Messenians, who proved the bitterest enemies, as indeed they might
well, to the Lacedaemonians. Tyrhea was also taken, and the poor inhabitants of
Aegina who had settled there were massacred. To remove the war to a greater
distance,
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distance, the Lacedæmonians sent Brasidas their famous general into Thrace, where he
effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the Athenians.
When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by the com-
mand of the ephors, that such of the Helots as were willing to enlist themselves as
volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two
thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty, but their liberty confined
only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they having pointed out to
their jealous masters, who among their were most warlike, they were immediately
dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining Helots were,
together with a thousand mercenary Peloponnesians, sent with Brasidas. Thucydides
the historian commanded the Athenian forces at that time in Thrace, and performed
there whatever could be expected from a wise man and an experienced commander;
but the fortune of Brasidas, the valour of his forces, and the proneness of the people
of the country to side with him against the Athenians, gave such high advantages to
the Lacedæmonians and their allies, that Amphipolis and several other cities were
taken. The life made of this at Sparta was to set new negotiations on foot, partly
because the war was very burdensome, and partly because Brasidas was greatly
envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which
Brasidas fell upon Cleon, who commanded the Athenian forces in the neighbourhood
of Amphipolis, and gained a great victory, Cleon himself with six hundred Athenians
being slain, with the loss of only seven Spartans; and yet this victory was too
dear, Brasidas being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest,
and one of the most illustrious men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits,
while at the same time he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at
Sparta; he exactly made good the letter he sent the ephors, when he first arrived
in Thrace, and which was conceived in these words; What is for the honour of the
state I will perform, or die ✷. Plutarch has preferred a saying of his, which both its
good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking
one day among some dried figs, he caught a mouse, which immediately turned
and bit his fingers, whereupon he let it go; You see, said he to some who stood
near him, That creatures that have but little strength can get rid of invaders, if they
dare exert the little they have ✷. The great mischiefs which this captain had wrought
the Athenians, and the mighty los of which the Spartans conceived they had sustained
by his death, determined both states to put an end to the war; Pheidon laboured
all he could to promote this disposition, persuading himself, that in a time of peace
he should be able to deal with his mutinous subjects, than while a war was
waging on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter
of reproach against him. We have heard on what account he was banished, and we
are assured, that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a
response from Delphi, concerning which the Spartans affected afterwards to have many
doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from some of Pheidon’s agents ✷.
The king, however, getting the ephors for the time present to join with him,
procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace
was hardly made before new intrigues were set on foot in Peloponnesus; the Corintians,
and in general the allies of Sparta, were greatly offended with the peace, because it
did not exactly answer their private purposes; besides they were apprehensive lest
Sparta and Athens should enter into a close union, whereby the dominion of Pelo-
oponnesus might be left to the former, and the sovereignty of the islands with the
Greek colonies in Asia transferred to the latter. To defeat this scheme, if any such
there was or should be, several of the Peloponnesian states leagued themselves with
Argos, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for Sparta,
and which at this time seemed to threaten her; this league made the Lacedæmonians
very uneasy, and the more, when they found that the Argives, and those who were
allied with them, were negotiating at Athens. Thither therefore the Lacedæmonians
sent their embassadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they
had depended upon Nicias their old and constant friend; but suffering themselves
to be deceived by the artifices of Alcibiades, who, acting on his uncle Pericles’s
maxims, fought to revive the war, they themselves were drawn to give the Athenians
great.
The History of the Lacedaemonians.  

Book I.

The next year the new ephori grew likewise fond of war, and though Nicias strongly laboured to compose all differences, yet all he could obtain was no more than the feasting to the peace anew, which he well enough understood would not content his citizens. In the summer when the Xcitom Olympiad received an high affront, the Lacedaemonians received an high commen. The Eleans refused to let them sacrifice, or in any manner partake of the sacred rites, placing a strong guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reason assigned for this was, that the Lacedaemonians, while former olympics were held, had feasted the cattle of Pherou, for which they were fined two hundred drachmas, which fine they not having paid, they inflicted on excluding them. The Lacedaemonians would have excused themselves by their embassadors, but their excuses were not accepted, and so they were forced to sacrifice at home, which highly incensed them (K). A quarrel happened in the winter between the Heracleans of Thrace and the Thessalians, wherein Pausan a Lacedaemonian general was slain; however, the Corinthians were with-held from joining with the Argives, which gave some hopes that the power of that republic might be weakened. The next year the Argives attempted to surprize Epidaurus, in hopes of securing themselves on that side against the Corinthians, and also open an easy passage to their allies the Athenians; in the winter the Lacedaemonians partook of three hundred men into Epidaurus. The next summer Sparta resolved to exact her self, and to crush at once the Argives and their allies. With this view the ephori and Senate sent to exhort all their confederates to be in readiness to take the field early, as they themselves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king Agis at the head of the Spartans, Arcadians, Beotians, Corinthians, Sicilians, Peloponnesians, Phocians and Megareans, entered the territory of Argos with such an army as had not been seen since the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The Argives were very ill prepared, the succours they expected from Athens not being arrived; however, they resolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very instant the engagement should have begun, two of the Argive captains cried out to king Agis, that their citizens were willing to do whatever the Lacedaemonians; which made such an impression on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, that he immediately consented to a truce of four months, which exceedingly provoked the allies of Sparta, who could not bear after all their prepa-

(K) Of the Olympic games we have elsewhere spoken somewhat, but not enough to make either this or any other passages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of supplying these deficiencies here (38). The olympics were not, as some imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, strictly speaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the second month of the year, or, if it were possible to express it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and lasted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the institutions of these games, but the most satisfactory is that given by Strabo, who in his description of Elis says, that an Arcadian colony, together with some of Hercules’s posterity, having having subdued many of the Pisaean towns, and amongst them Olympia, there instituted these solemnities (40). The care and management of these games belonged originally to the Pisaean, but afterwards to the Elisian, by whom the Pisaean were dethroned and their name extinguished; for the most part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the Greeks, out of a religious respect to their superintendence of these games, not suffering the found of war to be heard amongst them; which will be the last wondered at, if we consider, that during the celebration of these games there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of Greece might be at liberty to visit them; and in consequence of a breach of this truce the Eleans proceeded in the manner above described against the Spartans (41). The security, which for the generality these people enjoyed, made them add to themselves more to husbandry than any other people of Greece, because they were under no form of restraint nor apprehension in their fields, but were considered as servants of the Olympian Jupiter. At first they appointed one judge only: At the eleventh olympiad they affiliated two, and by degrees these twofold to no less than twelve, one being chosen out of each of the Eluan tribes (42). When the Arcadians became too powerful for the Eleans, the number decreased again; yet even in the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian there were no fewer than nine of them. Ten of the persons who fought to contend in these games were obliged to appear ten months before at Elis, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reside, and to prepare themselves after a certain method prescribed for their exercizes. At the solemnity the Helenides, that is the Elis judges, 1st naked, having the sides of their crown before them, which, when the games were over, they presented to whom they were received it to be (43).

preparations to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of Agis to Sparta, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have rased his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit when he should be next employed, with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified; but what seems more extraordinary is, that the Argives were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preferred them from ruin, nay they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with Bones, if they had not retired into sanctuary. 2. The true reason why the Argives were so warm was, because the Athenians had sent them a supply of one thousand foot and three hundred horse: under the command of Alcibiades, at whose instigation they solemnly denounced the truce made with Agis. When the Spartans were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without affixing him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At Mantinea the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the Greeks had ever brought into the field against each other; but the Argives and their allies were more numerous than the Spartans; some therefore advised king Agis not to fight, to which he answered coolly, If we could rule many, we must fight many. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion; but the generals under him did not behave so well, so that, while the right wing which was under his command carried all before it, the left was routed, which when Agis beheld, he notwithstanding continued his pursuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obstinate resistance defeated them all, and gained a complete victory. King Pihenaeus with a body of reserve which had been left at Sparta, hearing of the great alliance which the Argives had received, marched to the reinforcement of Agis and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, so that, his presence being no longer necessary, he returned presently after with his troops to Lacedaemon. The Argives and their allies loft eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred Spartans; as for the allies of Sparta, as they did little, so they suffered little. After this things continued in Greece in great confusion, the faction in Argos who were for oligarchy siding with Sparta, those who affected democracy with the Athenians, great fires were there, and little peace; the Athenians at last ventured to break the league by attacking the isle of Melos, of which, however, the Spartans would take no notice, only they caused proclamation to be made, that, since the Athenians prey’d upon their subjects without regard to laws, their subjects might if they pleased prey upon the Athenians. The miseries which her ambition had brought upon her were so evident in this state, that the began now to act with more wisdom and mildness than heretofore she had done; the Helotes were treated with lenity, a thousand of them were actually set at liberty for the service they had performed under Bra Ephialtes, their allies were used with mildness and respect, and the confinements of those measures were, that matters began to take another aspect; the Athenians, grasping too many things and acting haughtily, were deplored, while Sparta gained the command and the hearts of most of the Peloponnesians. In the last year of the XXIId Olympiad Pihenaeus died, the last act of his life which was memorable was relenting the affairs of the Porphosians, who were worn with interline wars; during the time of his exile his ten Persianus had the regal title, his uncle Cleomenes acting as his tutor; but when Philetarchus was recalled, he again assumed the regal dignity, in which the same Persianus succeeded him at his death.

Agis king of Sparta was sent with an army against the Eleans, to revenge the dishonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be present at the Olympic games of the Eleans. This war was of some continuance, the first year the king penetrated as far at once as the mount Olympia; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year Agis invaded Elis again, and did a great deal of mischief; whereupon Xenis took a Elean and put himself at the head of a party and declared for the Lacedaemonians, seeking in truth to establish an oligarchy; but Thersylus, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city; the third year Agis entered Elis again, and after remaining

remaining there some time, he left a part of his army under the command of Lycurgus a Spartan, with orders to support Xenias and his friends. Thrasybulus, seeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a composition with Xenias, and by this means treated with the Spartans, whereupon a peace ensued. The Peloponnesian war now broke out again: The Athenians had sent a great army into Sicily, the consequence of which being considered, the Lacedaemonians sent Glytippus to affright the Syracusans with a small force, but with promise of farther supply, which was likewise performed. About the same time Alcibiades repaired to Sparta, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the Spartan manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promised, that he would put them in a short train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to those of Sparta. Agis was at first so charmed with him, that he took him home to his house; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promises he had made the senate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with Agis to invade Attica, he advised him to fortify the castle of Decelia, which had never been thought of before, and which proved such a thorn to the Athenians, as disquieted them more than all that happened to them before; for now the Spartans did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually, so that either they could not plough or sow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop. The Spartans were so well pleased at this counsel of Alcibiades, that they cried him up as a captain far superior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealousy of Agis made him glad to quit Lacedaemon, to seek among the Barbarians a place of safety. Timea the wife of Agis brought forth about this time a son, who was called Leotychides, concerning whom Agis lied publicly, that Alcibiades was his father; Timea increased the suspicion as to her son’s birth by her own foolish behaviour, for she was ever telling her maids, that the boy’s name ought to be Alcibiades instead of Leotychides; and thus, while the child’s birth was canvassed at home, Alcibiades confirmed all the suspicions abroad, by saying, openly, that he did not debauch Timea out of lust, but from the ambition he had of having some of his posterity reign over the Spartans; but his folly defeated his wickedness, as we shall see hereafter, and deprived the unhappy Leotychides of his succession. Glytippus all this while managed their affairs in Sicily with great reputation; at first he was little set by, even among the Syracusans whom he came to affright, because of the plainness of his garb and of his speech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they saw that the soldiers confided in him, and that great favours were sent him from Peloponnesus, they treated him with greater respect, and at last ran into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill use of his power, he knew he was sent to relieve the Sicilians, and not to oppress them; he was, however, covetous, and we shall see hereafter how that vice not only tarnished all his good qualities, but destroyed his fortune and ruined his reputation. The defeat of the Athenians in Sicily filled the Spartans with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means, that could be thought of, either to deprive their rival’s affairs, or to raise their own; Alcibiades was sent to command the foreign troops which were raised with Persian money: King Agis managed the war in the heart of Attica, where he had all the fumer a good army, besides the garrison in Decelia. Lydander was now employed in maritime affairs, and as he proved the great hero of Sparta, and the finisher of the Peloponnesian war; it is fit, that we shold in this place give the reader his character. Plutarch says, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet he was generally agreed, that he was of the Herculane race. His education was truly Spartan, that is, he passed his younger years under all the restrictions of the Lycurgus institutides, which rendered him bold, hearty, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, and an extensive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modest, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with these great qualities he had some mean

mean ones, he could to serve his own purposes be very supple and complaisant, which was highly repugnant to the Spartan customs; he was not much affected with the love of Greece, but conversed freely with all sorts of people, and fought above all things to raise his own credit and authority; the worth of all was, that he was absolutely dishonest, and, which is not a little strange, fought not to conceal it, it being a common saying of his, That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oats; for which reason he never denied his when it made for his interest, or stuck at breaking it when to keep it would serve his purposes no longer. He found the Allobroges greatly superior at sea when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all. The first thing of importance that he did was restoring the state of affairs at Ephesos; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to side with Sparta, and above all things to attach themselves to him; he showed them how conveniently they were feared for trade, he brought his ships to be refitted in their port, and when once he had gained the confidence of the Ephesians, he took equal care to promote their interests, and to make their subjuvent to his. Abydos having managed foolishly, and given Aetbidares an opportunity of insinuating into Tifnthedes notions prejudicial to the Lacedæmonians, Lysander, who saw clearly that without the: Barbarian gold Sparta could not carry on the war, determined with himself to counterplot both Tifnthedes and Aetbidares, by applying himself to Cyprus, who then refi 
ced at Sardis; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant; Cyprus readily heard him and by degrees the Spartan won so much upon him, that he made him a promise in few words to grant him whatever he should request; Lysander modestly required, that a small addition might be made to the folk's pay, which disinterestedness to much charmed Cyprus, that he gave him ten thousand pieces of silver, which he made use of to support his soldiers and refit his fleet. Agis, in the mean time being informed of great fires in Athens, attempted to surprize it, but without effect; for the citizens on his approach united among themselves, and falled with such unexpected fury, that they killed a considerable number of his men. They afterwards offered to make peace, 
but the Spartans, considering the unfetteredness of their government, refused so much as to hear their propositions; some short time after Hegesanderides a Spartan reduced Euboea, and, if he had prosecuted his successes with ardor, might have taken Athens itself; but this opportunity being neglected, Aetbidares in a very short space so refounded their affairs, by defeating and killing Mardonius, who had succeeded Abydos, that the Spartans in their turn were forced to sue to the Athenians, who with great haughtiness rejected the propositions they offered, though highly reasonable in themselves. When Aetbidares failed again into the Hellespont, after he had been at Athens, Lysander, finding himself too weak to engage so numerous a fleet under so fortunate a general, kept in the port of Ephesos, where he carefully refitted his ships, and kept his soldiers and his mariners to their exercise. At length it happened that Aetbidares had occasion to go from Samos to Phœacia, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to Anticleus a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the instructions which had been given him, and sailing out of port with two galleys only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of Ephesos, where he insulted Lysander; this incon siderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the Athenians were defeated, though with no very considerable loss, and yet this accident destroyed all their affairs; for upon the first news of it they diffi 
ned Aetbidares, and with him their good fortune. Lysander, while he lay at Ephesos, projected a scheme for making himself in a manner sovereign of Greece; he picked up enterprising men of various cities, and, engaging them to settle at Ephesos, advised them to live in strict friendship among themselves, and to study political affairs, for that he would suddenly find employment for them. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the Ephesians and the rest of the cities in that part of the world, so that when Callisthenes was sent him for a successor, all the Astatic Greeks were extremely uneasy; this uneasiness increased at the presence of the new admiral, who was the very reverse of Lysander, a man of great parts and great courage, but withal of great virtue and unubiaffed

sander. Thucyd. lib. vi. 4 Dio. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi. 5 Plut. in vit. Lysander,
Dio. Siuc. lib. xiii.
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Lycurgus dealt with him very safely; he sent back what money remained in his hands to Cyrus, and said to his successor at parting with him, "Let us see now, Callistratidas, how you can support the charges of this army. The noble Spartan found it very difficult, the people were quite drained, treasure there was none, so he was forced to go to the court of Cyrus, where being two or three times refused admittance, being sometimes told that the king was busy, at other times that he was drinking, he at last said, I must not be so eager for money, as to do any thing unworthy Sparta: Whereupon he felt fail for Ephesus. Cyrus, considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself: the first he took, but the latter he sent back again with this memorable message, 'That there needed no private friendship between Cyrus and him, because if the king kept up the terms of his league with the Lacedaemonians, he should think himself included therein.' He defeated Conon the Athenian admiral, and besought him in Miletus; he likewise beat a small fleet that was sent to his assistance; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at Arginusae, over against Lefkos where he was stationed, he resolved to engage, when he sacrificed in the morning, the priest who conducted the intrails told him, that the fleet should in the end prosper, but that the admiral would certainly be slain: To which he answered without any concern, Very well then, let us fight, Sparta will not lose much in losing me, but he would lose her honour, if I retired in the fight of the enemy; when I fall, let Cleander be your admiral. He was accordingly slain, and by that means the Spartan affairs were put into much disorder. After this mishap both Cyrus and the allies of Lacedaemon demanded that Lycurgus should be sent admiral again, a request directly opposite to the laws of Sparta; however, to gratify their request, they gave the title of admiral to one Aroclus, but lodged the power with Lycurgus, who immediately sailed for the Hellespont, where, after receiving great supplies from Cyrus, he drew together his fleet; but finding the Athenians much superior in men to him, he wisely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the slip, appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of Greece, and made descents on the islands of Aegina and Salamis; he failed over to the coast of Attica to shew Agis, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power. Yet having intelligence that the Athenian fleet was approaching, he fled away for the Hellespont, where he besieged and took Lampascus. Conon with the grand fleet of Abon, bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river Agos, there the Athenians refitted him for many days together, which Lysander bore with wonderful patience, keeping his soldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a sudden, when the Athenians had disembarked their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and sea. Conon the admiral saw clearly that all things were lost, so he, with eight gallies and a very inconiderable body of men, fled away to Cyprus; the rest fell intirely into the hands of Lysander, who in a single hour put an end to the Peloponnesian war, and to the maritime power of Abon.

This mighty victory having put all things into the power of Lysander, he acted rather as a universal monarch, than as a general from Sparta; he immediately visited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a Spartan as chief magistrate, and with him ten of his friends from Ephesus, where, as we have before observed, he erected a kind of political university. These men as they came in by force, so they kept no measures with those over whom they ruled, they treated them with the utmost haughtiness and severity, so that from the very beginning the Lacedaemonian government was rendered ungrateful, and the people universally disposed to shake it off as soon as they could. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the masts of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and defined it to be sent to Sparta, whether he had or not discharged a messenger with news of his victory, and with an assurance, that he would be shortly with a fleet of two hundred sail before the city of Abon; in confidence of this the Spartans sent both their kings, Agis and Pausanias with a very great army into Attica, on the coasts of which in due time arrived.

arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the siege of Athens, we have already in
fitted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough, that we infer the Spartan decrees
contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place,
which decree is preserved by Plutarch, and runs thus: Know, this is the decree of the
Lacedaemonians. Pull ye down the Pyreum and the long walls, quit all the towns you
are possessed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upone these
conditions, provided you yield also to what shall be further thought reasonable, and receive again
your cities. As for the number of ships you may keep, observe the orders we shall here-
after give on that head. Lyfander deprived them of all their vessels except twelve,
and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered Athens in triumph
on the anniversary of the great victory at Salamis; he cauht the walls to be demoli-
lised to the found of music, which likewise played while the Athenian ships were
burning, himself, and his commanders having garlands on their heads; he also
altered the government, established the thirty tyrants, and left a Spartan garrison
in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures. The next thing he did was
to send the immense treasure he had collected to Sparta under the care of Gy lipsus,
who had so eminently distinguished himself in Sicily, and who found a way to distin-
guish himself no less eminently on this occasion, though less honourably; for he, little
regarding the fees upon the money bags, ript them open at the bottom, and, having
taken out what money he thought proper, threw them up again. When he arrived
at Lacedaemon he delivered the money as he had been directed, and directed, that par-
ticular notice might be taken of the fairness of the fees; but, unluckily for him, Lyf-
ander had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein;
upon comparing these notes with the sums contained a deficiency was discovered,
but still the ephori and senate were at a loss where to fix it; at last the servant of
Gy lipsus impeached him; and, his crime with all its circumstances being detected,
he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the scandalous
imputation of being a cheat and a thief (L). The coming of this huge mass of
wealth created great disputes at Sparta, many celebrated Lyfander's praisirs and
rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better
acquainted with the nature of things and with their constitution, were of quite an-
other opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the
laws of Lycurgus, and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of
time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than
it was worth; at last a compromise was proposed and agreed to, whereby it was


(L) Gy lipsus the Spartan had this vice of cove-
toufhetls hereditary in his family; his father Chron-
ides having, as we have before shown, suffered death
for accepting a bribe from Pericles, when he en-
tered Athens with an army (42). Authors are pret-
y much much divided as to the character of this man.
Plutarch every where represents him as a person of
courage, integrity, and humility, till this last act
(43); but Diochorus the Sicilian gives him quite an-
other character; he introduces him making two
long speeches at Syracuse to influence the Sicilians to
shew the Athenians no mercy; this is directly con-
trary to what other historians have written, and on
what authority he reports those orations we know
not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with
Lyfander seems to throw a shade on his character;
for we do not find, that this ambitious general either
loved or trusted men of strict honour, and from
the beginning Gy lipsus was one of its creatures; it
was he who preferred him to the command in
Sicily, and in the present case, as a formal mark of
his confidence, sent him with the treasure he had
collected in the war, to Sparta, so that to speak the
truth, this was not only a public theft, but an act
of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not

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enacted, That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither on pain of capital punishments, which resolution of theirs, as Plutarch observes, was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual; because declaring money to be useful to the state evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while at the same time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal. Lycurgus, in the mean time, returning to the Hellepons, returned also to his old practices there, in making laws. He had done some very extraordinary things, which sufficiently betrayed the height of an impious disposition; he set up his own statue, and the statues of his commanders who were in his good graces, in brass; he dedicated two ships in honour of the deities Cyblos and Poseidon, in order to keep up an opinion, which his disciples had taken care to propagate, that these ships were seen in the rigging of his ship at the battle of Aegae.

But it he acted thus in Greece, he set less bounds to his ambition in Asia, where he made not only the Greek cities dependent on him, but struck terror into the Persians. He gained a large body of capacity, and a matter in Lycurgus’s science of diemmation. He had a law by which any representations he could make to this very high and broad body of power, were to be expected by a number of powerful persons made as holy by his favour; he was able to find out any good or bad thing, though it were at a great distance, and with this view dispatched some of his emissaries to Sparta. There they began to open, without apprehension of danger, the inquisition of Lycurgus’s conduct, they set his ambitious designs in their proper light, they charged him with an intention to render himself a general for life and independent of his constituents; and they alleged such probable reasons for what they said, that the ephors and senate immediately dispatched a Seytale to recall this terror of Asia. They began likewise to inspect narrowly the conduct of his friends in Greece, for some of them to death, and amongst the rest Thorax one of his principal commanders, in whose house, in contradiction of the late law, they found a large quantity of silver. The surmise of Lycurgus was inexplicable, when the messenger of the state presented the Seytale which had recalled him (M): He had no previous intelligence of it, nor could he immediately guess by whom it was obtained, but on recollection he determined in himself, that it must have been by the procurement of the Persians; this discovery made him more solicitous, especially when he heard what had happened at home, he therefore resolved, according to his flayed maxim, to see the lion’s mouth with the fox’s skin; in consequence of this he demanded a conference, to which Perseus readily yielded. At this meeting Lycurgus made use of all his art to soften the Persians, and

(M) In this note we intend to explain the Seytale of the Lacedaemonians; but first, let us hear what Plutarch says of them: “The nature and use says he of the laws, that the magistrates gave their commission to any army or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness; one they kept themselves; the other, the was delivered to their officer, so that, when they had any thing of moment or importance to do, they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow channel of parchement, and rolling it on their own stuff, it roll close upon another, they wrote their business in it; when they had wrote what they had to say, they took off the parchement and sent it to the general, he applied it to his own stuff, which being just like that of the magistrates, the rolls fell in with each other, exactly as they did at the writing; and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confusely disjoined and altogether unintelligible, appeared then very plainly (46).”

There are many things omitted in this account which we shall endeavour to supply from other authors. Teiresias calls them wands, which the ephors delivered to the general or admiral when he let out to take upon him the command; he says, they were very flayed and very slender, the parchement being also narrow, which they made use of to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the usual form of the Spar-tan oaths; for Demosthenes in his speech says, that the Seytale was between two and four cubits long; he does indeed suggest that there was but one of them which was split in two, and one half being given to the general, the other half remained at home (48); but Dioscorus says expressly, there were two (50); Thrasybulus says, the Seytale was round, smooth, and long (51); the Chalcidians on the other hand, says it was made of a black wood (52). It should be feen, that, besides this law-Seytale, private men used, and by this means a contrivance of the like nature prevented deceits in contrivances, but those were easily like our tallys.

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Chap. 19.  

a to engage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been suggested in his name to the ephori and senate, to which with some difficulty Pharnabazus agreed; he wrote this letter in Lyfander’s presence and in terms suitable to his wish; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and subslitted it while he pretended to fold the other, so that here the deceiver was deceived, and Lyfander with all his skill outwitted.  

b Receiving this letter, he set out immediately for Sparta, but when he was informed of its contents he was mightily disturbed, and fearing lest he should be called to an account, pretended that he had seen a vision, wherein Jupiter Ammon had commanded him to come immediately and consult his oracle.  

c The ephori and senate shewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his request, but, as soon as he was gone, the kings of Sparta began to contrive the destruction of his friends, that he might no longer have such an interest in sofias as at this time he had.  

The Athenians at this time taking arms against their tyrants, Lyfander hearing thereof returned suddenly to Sparta, where he vehemently pressed the government to support those he had established at Athens, and that they would make use of him as commander in chief in that expedition.  

This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make use of all their interest to prevent it.  
Pausanias therefore procured the command of the army to be vested in him, and marched, as it was generally understood, to support the tyrants against the people of Athens; but in truth his design was to reconcile the Athenians, and to compromise their differences with Sparta, that Lyfander might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he also effected, and which Lyfander highly relented.  

Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his spleen and of reconciling himself to the people; for the Athenians, according to the fickleness of their temper, flying out again, the Spartans were highly incensed against Pausanias, and cried up Lyfander for a man of integrity and true public spirit.  

While things were in this situation Agis died; he was taken ill at Heraea in Arcadia, and being conveyed to Sparta died there; in his last moments he owned Leotychides, moved thereto by his tears and earnest entreaties; and at the same time that he did this, he befouged the Lacedaemonians who were present to bear witness of the sincerity of his declaration, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have rashly said of his supposing the legitimacy of Leotychides; but this late recognition of his son was, as we shall presently show, altogether ineffectual; Leotychides losing not only his pretensions to the crown, but his paternal estate.

Agis left behind him a younger brother whose name was Agesilus, and who be- Agesilus came not only an honour to Sparta, but to Greece itself. This Agesilus set up for Agis and fell for Leotychides.  

This Agesilus was a younger brother, and though the laws of Lacedaemon, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the sharp discipline of the Lyceugic education; yet the younger children of kings were no less severely bred than the meanest Lacedaemonian, which proved a great happiness to the prince of whom we are speaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of those qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of such as render men ambitious and aspiring and of such as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of a high spirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps beyond companion; for he preferred her interest not only to his own, to his peace, and to his safety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit which the commanded, and placed his utmost happiness in his capacity of serving her, not only on such occasions as were attended with Jutre and eclair, but in those which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them. Such were the means whereby Agesilus gained to himself friends; as for the regard which Lyfander had for him, it flowing thus: When Agesilus was a youth Lyfander was his lover, and this friendship of his continued when Agesilus was grown up, and chiefly facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends

b Plut. ubi supra.  

Hellen. lib. iii.  

Corn. Nepos. in vit. Agesil.  

Vol. II.  

7 P
friends any trouble, and it was this; one Diopithes, a man reputed to have great skill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Thou goest thy empire, Sparta, yet refrain
From a lame reign, which come, thou shalt futil
Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
Of war, no force can quell, or skill auffaige (N).

This was thought to point at Agestilus, who had one leg shorter than the other, but Lyssand'or outdid the interpreter even in his own science; The oracle, said he, cannot justly point at a lamens in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot bote, because they caused it; the lamens must be in the tile, lest therefore be Lacedaemonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whose birth is suspected, for that is most likely to be the same reign bionted as by the oracle. Lyssander, on the other hand, had the desired effect; the senate and people, excluded Leotychides alike from the kingdom and from the private estate of his father; half of this estate of Agis Agestilus bestowed on that prince's relations by the mother's side, who, though they were perons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the ephor or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and not only fo, but with the greatest confidence and affection; those who were of the opposite party at the time of his election he was ever studious to oblige; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reason: he receved them, when under misfortunes; in fine, he acted so prudently and so benignly, that at last the ephor, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage

(N) It was the custom of the Greek, as we have shown in this and in the Athenian history, never to undertake any act of importance without consulting an oracle, of which there were many in Greece, but that of Delphi was the most remarkable. Many learned men seem to be of opinion, that the responses from thence were frequently supernatural, and sometimes plain and direct, justified also by the event. However that matter be, yet it cannot be that even in the most early times they were frequently corrupted, which is the only influence, and in the prosecution of our history shall have occasion to give many more. If public oracles were liable to such inconsistencies in sight of all the care that could be taken of them, it is easy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To say the truth, wherever a fanatical humour of believing such fort of things prevails, experience shews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impose on fools. These keepers of oracles were filled divine or sacred persons by the Greeks, and from the influence before us we see what mighty things they were able to effect. Plutarch speaks very respectfully of Diopithes, who produced the oracle which gave occasion to this note; and to do justice, we must acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two fuses: yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, since it is almost impossible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which some time or other will not be accomplished. It is very remarkable, that Diopithes, who by his profession was an interpreter of these sort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his solution, and that Lyssander should have adduced enough to conquer the prophet in his own profession (53); for, as Xenophon justly observes, the oracle speaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by Plutarch (54). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that in all our versions of Plutarch into English, these oracles are constantly rendered wrong, the word heir being substituted instead of kingdom (55), which is of mighty consequence; still, because it misinterprets the sense of the oracle; and secondly, because it leaves no room for Lyssander's interpretation, though Plutarch himself acknowledges it was well received, and Xenophon states Agestilus's carrying his cause to the feeling of the people. After all, if there was any thing supernatural in this oracle, it was never so mortally understood, till very lately M. le Fere declared its true meaning to be, that Sparta should take care to preserve both her kings, or, if not, they must be for once allowed to make use of technical term, to govern by changing her dynasty into a monarchy, and in this sense the oracle was most fully accomplished, as we shall hereafter have occasion to show (56). In the mean time let us observe, that Plutarch approved Diopithes's interpretation; he conceived, that Leotychides was mortally injured, and that the great evils which befell Sparta during the reign of Agestilus were the punishments threatened by the oracle, in case the suffered heir to be governed by a lame king. Xenophon on the contrary affirmeth, that Agestilus destroyed Leotychides's claim by three invincible arguments; the first was the repeated declarations of his feigned father Agis; secondly his mother, who ought to know best, averred the same thing; lastly, that an earthquake forced Agis out of bed from his wife, he thereupon abstained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term Leotychides was born (57). To close this account let us observe, that there is no reason in the world to doubt the impartialty of Plutarch, and that the history of Xenophon is an open panegyric on Agestilus, whose friend and confident he was.

umbrae at his good ones, and laid a mullet on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. Monopolizing the affections of the people; which, however, was consonant enough to the constitution of Sparta. Before Agesilaus was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly disfriended; the Persian kings, to whom in the course of the war they owed such mighty obligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for dispossessing them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business we must ascend a little higher: Lycurgus while he continued in Asia had paid all his court to Cyrus, the younger brother of Artaxerxes, who on the death of his father ascended the Persian throne; in consequence of this friendship between Lycurgus and Cyrus, Clearchus the Lacedaemonian general received orders from the ephors and senate to affit that princ, to the utmost of his power, in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that Xenophon had a command, and it was at the head of them, after Clearchus and the other captains were taken off, that he made that retreat called the Retreat of the ten thousand; this behaviour of the Lacedaemonians drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after spoke of them in terms of disfriect, and sought as much as in him lay to destroy their power. It is very probable, that some of the wifel of the Persian statesmen managed this disposition of the king for effecting what they rightly conceived to be the interest of his empire: this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, viz. of sending relief to Athens, and money into Boeotia; at the same time he determined to reduce all the Greek cities absolutely to his obedience, which was wounding Sparta in the tenderest part, the having over and over declared herself the protectress of the Grecian liberties; on this account it was that they sent Timbro with an army consisting of a thousand Laconian foot, four thousand Peloponnesean infantry, and three hundred horse from Athens: this man managed the war but indifferently, suffering his troops, since he could make no impression on the enemy, to plunder the allies of Lacedaemon. The ephors therefore sent Dercyllidas to succeed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewise a great politician; he found his force too small to prevail against Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, the king's lieutenants; he resolved to remedy this evil by making them destroy one another, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their masters these governors of provinces became friends, the Spartan was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loss, though his army did not exceed seven thousand men, and the Persians had twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse in the field, besides great garrisons. Pharnabazus was indeed for fighting, but Tissaphernes, who was a better officer and who knew well what these Greek troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with Dercyllidas, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on these terms: That the Greek cities should remain free; that his army should retire out of his province; that the Lacedaemonian governors should remove out of the cities; and that this treaty should subsist, till it was either ratified or disfavored by the king of Persia and the state of Sparta. The Persian king, however, within a short time after began to fit out three hundred ships of war, which greatly alarmed the Greek cities and occasioned an application to Sparta; where, as we shall soon see, Agesilaus offered himself by the advice of Lycurgus, and was declared general of Greece. But, before any resolution was taken, the king pacifying for his country according to custom, the augurs, from the bowels of three several victims, declared, there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him and all the magistrates of Sparta; a little of this conspiracy was discovered to the bottom by the information of one of the perfons concerned, whereupon the senate took such quick measures, though with some little injury to the laws, that all the conspirators were suddenly taken out of the way. (O). Things were in this situation, when

  h Plut. in vit. Afr.

(O). It is a great misfortune to such as endeavour to collect the Greek history from the lives of Plutarch, that they find it impracticable to distinguish any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the just order of time in which they happened. In the
The History of the Lacedaemonians.

Book I.

when Lyssander, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into Asia, which had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such an army to be decreed to Megalopolis, and thereby, as he conceived to himself, as would, if no unforeseen accidents had intervened, have left in all probability no room for Alexander's conquests, as Plutarch hath very rightly remarked. Besides the forces already in Asia under the command of Demetrius, the Spartans voted two thousand manumitted Helots and six thousand Phocion's foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty assigned him, of whom Lyssander was in all respects the chief. While the army was drawing together about Grecus, Agesilus went with some friends to Aulis, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability suggested to his mind a dream, wherein he was admonished to imitate Agamemnon in sacrificing, inasmuch as he was become his successor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the Greek forces against the Barbarians, an office which had never been borne but by Agamemnon and his friend; Agesilus, in compliance with this vision, resolved to sacrifice, but, reflecting on the barbarity which Agamemnon had been guilty of, he substituted a hind instead of a virgin, and having caused it to be crowned with garlands, he directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The Boeotians hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he should employ one of his attendants instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, sent deputies to forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having delivered to him their missal in the temple of Aulis, and perceiving that he did not give much heed thereto, went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice off on the ground. This may seem a circumstance too trivial for a history of this nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occasion of a war, which subverted the Spartan empire over Greece, and had well nigh destroyed her state. At this time Agesilus was so much discomposed, that he immediately hoisted sail and bore away for Aisa, without staying for any other rites, or offering any other sacrifice. 1 On his arrival he found things in a situation he neither expected nor could foresee; at Sparta he was a king, but here Lyssander was treated as if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application was paid to him, and he received it rather with the hightenings of a deity, than with that complaisance which


the present case, he relates this story of a conspiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of his reign (57). Whereas it is certain from Xenophon, who could not be mistaken in point of fact, that it fell out in the first year of his reign; the same author hath also recorded the several circumstances attending it, and as some of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them here. On the discovery of the plot it appeared, that one Cinado was at the head of the conspiracy; this Cinado was a young man, very conspicuous for his valour, though not for his family; the informer likewise declared, that this Cinado had once reckoned up forty Spartans, including the kings, the senate, and ephebi; and that on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, Cinado replied, These are they who are against us, the rest in town and country are of our party. The ephebi then demanded of what number the conspirators consisted; the informer replied, they were not many; but that they reckoned upon the assistance of all the Helots, the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of people, who, as often as they spoke of the Spartans, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded, if the conspirators had arms; the informer replied they had, and that Cinado had told him, that in the first commotion, workmen's tools, or those that belonged to husbandry, would serve their office as well enough, since it was not to be frustrated, that they should find their enemies very well armed; being occasioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly, but that Cinado had ordered him to hold himself ready whenever he should be called upon; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the consideration of these things, the ephebi were so much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to sit at the feasts of the senate, or to assemble the people; at length they bestowed themselves of a method of petrifying themselves from the danger: They sent for Cinado, and told him, that they discovered at a town a small distance from Sparta contrivances carried on against the state, in which lady of singular beauty and admirable accomplishments was deeply concerned; they therefore desired him to take a small party of youth, such as he could best truant, and to bring the lady and such others as they gave him a list of prisoners to Sparta; the better to colour this business, they engaged him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of horse to escort him if he should have occasion; this troop of horse, as soon as they were at a convenient distance from the city, surprised him and his companions, and one of them having discovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was sent back with this information; whereupon the conspirators were all apprehended, and Cinado upon examination having confessed that he had no other cuise for being discontented, than that he had finding himself, he and his companions were without further process put to death (59).

is natural to man; the rest of the commanders first stormed it, they grew uneasy at finding themselves degraded from being counsellors of Agesipolis into officers, or rather minions, of one of their colleagues, they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied to a quick remedy, which was this; he denied every fact that Lyfander made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the design he intended; for as soon as the Greeks settled in Asia perceived it, they no longer moved their fleets by Lyfander, but continued notwithstanding to pay him as much respect as before; thus the nesterd the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man over his provisions, and to infiltr the Ionians, said openly, Let them now go and pay court to my butcher. Lyfander quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclairsment; for the first time they were alone he addressed the king thus: In truth, Agesipolis, you know very well how to lessen your friends. Yes, answered the king, When they affect to be greater than I, nor can it be thought unjust that they should have power with me, who most concern themselves in promoting my power. Sir, replied Lyfander very modestly. You are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in speaking than I ever did in acting: but I beseech you, Sir, for the sake of those strangers, who have their eyes upon us, to affix me that part, wherein I may be least suspected by you, and have it most in my power to render you service. The king thereupon appointed him embaassador to the allies of Sparta near the Hellespont, which office he executed with great diligence and integrity; he persuaded one Mitridates a Peran, who was at variance with Pharnaces, to revolt, with a great body of troops and to join Agesipolis; however, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himself to return to Greece, highly disaffected with his treatment, and not only so, but with the government of his country, which he resolved to overthrow if it was in his power; in order to effect these purposes, he set on foot such schemes as are scarce to be paralleled in fury, but in intensity as they were never carried into act, through the cowardise of one of his associates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our history; wherefore we have digested what is most material in them into a note (P). After his depar-


(P) During the whole continuisse of the Spartan state, there never arose therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortune, than Lyfander; how he came to turn those vast abilities from the service to the disservice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conspiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will best appear from the following account of Plutarch, taken, as he professed, from Eratosthenes, an ancient great inlearn with Strabo and Polybius. Things had been a great while ripe for changes, and people were ready to break into rebellion; he resolved therefore not to miss the opportunity, but set it on foot; as soon as possible. His first tagen was this: Some of the Halicarnassians, who came into Ephesus and mixed with the Dorian, were now grown very numerous and power-ful in Sparta. Of these two families only, could claim any right to succession in the kingdom, those were the Eurysteidæ and the Agiæoi; the first, notwithstanding their high extraction, had no greater share in the government than what was common to the meanest citizens. For they only who could plead most merit had the blet titles to the common reward of virtue. Lyfander was one of these, and, when he had gained fo get a reputation by his offices, had many friends and much power; he was uneasy to see that city, which owed its increase chiefly to him, ruled by others no better defended than himself; so he contrived to alter the settlement which confined the government to two families only, and gave all the Halicarnassus an equal right to it; nay, some by not to the Halicarnassians only, but to all the Spartans; and make it a reward, not so much to Heracles' posterity, as of those who bravely imitated that valor which gave him a place among the gods. He had great hopes, that when the kingdom was thus to be divided of, no Spartan could appear with those advantages that he could; Upon which propcons, first he endeavoured to inflame the reasonableness of this change into "private people, and learned to act a fine part at a fine price", which Cleon of Halicarnassians had made for him upon that subject. But when he came to reflect on the difficulties of this undertaking, which was not to be effected by ordinary means, he had recourse to extraordinary. For as in tragedies, when any thing of great importance is to be ef- fected, the assistance of some god is made use of, to he, to promote his designs with the colour of authority, had recourse to oracles, pretending he should prevail upon more citizens by the terror of the gods, than he could persuade by Cleon's elo-quence. Ephorus says, that after he had in vain endeavoured to corrupt the Pythian oracle, and as unsuccessfully sent Prioces to corrupt Dodona, he went himself to Amorion, and proffered the priest's prodigious sums of gold, who, with great indignation rejected his bribes, and sent people to accu- sate him at Sparta, where he met with such favourable judgments, that he was easily cleared from their impeachments; upon which the Libyans took their leave of the Spartans in this manner: "When you come to dwell among us in Africa, you'll end us more impartial judges. Now there was an antient prophecy, which foretold, that the La- cedemonians
departure, Agesilaus carried on the war with great success and reputation; Tiraphernes, the implacable enemy of the Greeks, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into disgrace with his master, and soon after beheaded; Titibraules succeeded him, he, as soon as he entered on his office, sent deputies to treat with Agesilaus, to whom he proposed, that the Greek cities in Asia should pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other respects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the same time large sums of money if he would condescend to make a peace, which Agesilaus refused, alleging, that he had not power to do so; however, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of Pharnabazus. Titibraules, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of Sparta could not be corrupted in Asia, dispatched Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents into Greece, to see if any of the captains or state-men there were less honest than Agesilaus; this agent of his found several such furt of people as he looked for in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; to them he imparted such sums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of Greece, which no longer left the Spartans at liberty to think of extending their empire beyond it. The Thebans, who of all others came most heartily into this business, saw plainly, that the Lacedaemonians of their own accord would not break with any of the states of Greece; they did not care to act offensively themselves, because the chiefs of the Persian faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the successes of the war; they persuaded therefore the Locrians to make an incursion into a small district which lay in dispute between the Peloponnesians and themselves: upon this, as they rightly judged, the Phocians without more ado invaded Locri; the Locrians applied to their allies the Thebans for assistance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the Phocians addressed themselves to Sparta, setting forth that they had not been the aggressors, but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the Spartans were on their side glad of an opportunity of breaking with the Thebans, against whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the Persian talents disturbed the tranquility of


"cedemonians should some time or other inhabit "Asia. Lyfander's design in this matter was very "subtle and intricate, and managed by very great "politicians; so in order to clear the whole in-

trigue, we must trace it, as we do mathematical "demonstrations, up to its first principles; I shall "therefore at large explain it as it is related by "Ephorus, a great historian as well as a philosopher."

"There was a woman in Pontus, who being "with child pretended Apollo was the father."

"Many, with a great deal of reason, suspected it, "others were so credulous as to believe it. Where-

"fore when the came to be delivered of a son,:

"several of the greatest quality in the country "took peculiar care of its education, and for some "reason or other gave it the name of Silenus."

"Lyfander taking hold of this concurrence made it "the ground of his whole stratagem, and chose "such confidents to assist him in it, whose cha-

"racter might bring the story into reputation with-

"out the least suspicion of forgery. To make the "belt advantage of this story, they spread abroad "another story, That there were very ancient oracles "closely concealed in the custody of the priest at Delphi, "and it was upon record that they were not to be pro-

"faned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for "any man to read them; till in some future age one "would who could manifestly prove himself the "son of Apollo, and challenge to himself the inter-

"pretation of those mysteries. When the credit of "this report was well establihed among the peo-

"ple, Silenus was to come and demand the presen-

"tation of his birth. The priests, who were con-

"federates in this plot, were strictly to examine "into every circumstance and particular of his na-

"tivity, and afterwards, being fully convinced that "he was the true son of Apollo, were to deliver "up their charge to him, and thereby the son of the "god was to unfold in public all those credos, "especially that, for the sake of which the whole "plot had been contrived, relating to the govern-

"ment of Sparta, wherein it was to be declared, "That it would be best for the honour of "Sparta to break the present faction, and for its "future chuses their kings out of the most deserving "men in the commonwealth. But when Silenus was "grown up, and every thing ready for the time, the "whole business miscarried by the cowardice of "one that was an agent in it, whose heart failed "him junct at the time of execution (60)" Nothing "of these intrigues was discovered during the life-


time of Lyfander; but after his demise, Agesilaus "being directed to search his papers on account of "some disputes with the Argives, he found among them the oration made by Cleon before-mentioned, which at first he designed to publish in order to con-

"vince the Spartans, who still revered the memory of Lyfander, that they had quite misconceived the "temper of the man; but Lacedaemon, one of the king's "friends, gave a noble testimony of his wisdom, by "advising Agesilaus to let it alone; he said, it would "be dishonourable to disturb the ashes of Lyfander, "and that he was content to let the oration, it would "be better to bury it with him, than to trouble it abroad "in the world; where, considering the force with "which it was penned, it might raise a spirit not easy "to be laid. Agesilaus on the other hand showed his "wisdom in taking the advice of his friend, and "passing by in silence this business which must have "produced great mischief, had it ever become the "subject of debate (61)."


in vit. Lyfand. & Agesil.
of Greece and put her in a new ferment. Lyfander, though a very old man, grew extremely uneasy at lying idle, he had besides a private hatred to the Thebans on account of the affinities they had given to Athens, as such time as the hook of the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had establisht; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occasion to perfide the ephori and senate once more to intrust him with an army. As soon as he prevailed in his request, he began to dispoze all things for the war; an army was quickly raised, at the head of which he put himself; another was raising, which was to be commanded by king Pausanias. Lyfander marched with the forces under his command directly into Phocis, desiring Pausanias to lead his army round by Citheron, in order to invade Boeotia on that side: the e agonis of Lyfander prompted him to quick marches and vigorous measures, wherefore, finding Pausanias loiter, he sent an express to him who was then encamped at Plataea, with letters, informing him of the time when himself expected to arrive at Haliartus, conjuring him to meet him there; these letters, Plutarch says, were intercepted by the enemy and sent to Thebes, where the Thebans resolved to intrust their city with the Athenians, who were come to their affiance, and to march directly to Haliartus. Lyfander arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night; but when day began to dawn, and he had still no news of Pausanias, he resolved at all events to attempt the surprisal of the place; when he drew near the walls and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a sudden the gates being thrown open, the Thebans and Haliartians flouted in exact order, and charged the Lacedaemonians so briskly, that Lyfander was killed on the spot, with a priest who stood by him, before the forces commanded by him could recover themselves, another body of Thebans charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with the loss of no less than a thousand men, the Thebans on their side lost three hundred. The news of this defeat being brought to Pausanias, he immediately marched with all possible diligence to Haliartus, where he fought by all means to gain the dead body of Lyfander; some of the ancient Spartan commanders were for attacking the enemy and recovering it by force; but he, considering that they were already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that Thrasylalus the Athenian had now joined them, refused to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of Lyfander was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of Boeotia, which he accordingly performed, and in his retreat buried the corps of the decapitated general in the territories of the Panopeans. On his return to Sparta, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his trial, for which reason he retired to Tegae, where he led a private life. As for Lyfander, his memory was greatly revered in Sparta on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, and because, after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himself, he died miserably poor, having always preferred that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his latter years, he is said to have been extremely melancholy, and even peevish, which some have ascribed to his natural temper; though that seems to be not a little unjust, if we consider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by Agesilaus, on whole friendship he had reckoned so much. After his death, some Spartans of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to espouse them, finding they had no money, for which the ephori fined them, and that very severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one. Agesilaus, having subjected the greatest part of the coast, determined with himself to march into the heart of Pelopis, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by Xerxes when he invaded Greece. In the midst of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them into execution, a messenger from Sparta brought him a fylate, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. Agesilaus hesitating not a moment, he relinquished all his victories and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the constitution of Sparta to the prospect of subduing the whole Pelopon empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be supposd inexhaustible, since the action of Agesilaus has hitherto appeared inimitable.

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The Spartans had declared him an admiral as well as generalissimo of their forces, which charge he now betook on his wife's brother Pifander, leaving four thousand men to secure his conquests, and with the rest of his army taking the same route which Xerxes had done when he entered Greece. In his passage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only went to inquire of them whether they would have him pay them as an enemy or as a friend; meeting with some opposition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march.

After the flight of Pausanias, who left behind him two sons, Ageopolis and Cleombrotus, the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himself, his uncle Aristeus, to whom the Spartans gave the command of a very great army, which they raised as well to revenge the death of Lycaon, as to quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed against them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, consisted of fifteen thousand men; the confederates immediately opposed it with another of twenty thousand, of which thirteen thousand were heavy armed troops: Near Corinth a battle ensued, wherein the Spartans were victorious with the loss only of eight men, if we may believe Xenophon, that is, eight of the Spartans; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell. News was immediately dispatched of this victory to Ageus, who, far from being pleased therewith, cried out, "O Greece, what a number of brave men are slain in thy private quarrels, when with a few of thy blood thou mightest have reduced all Persia!" Though these were his private sentiments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions sent him by the ephebi, and immediately invaded Boeotia contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the sun was eclipsed, and he received the news of the defeat of the Spartan fleet and the death of his wife's brother Pifander; being afraid this ill news might discourage his followers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he sacrificed to the gods, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head and using other testimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that Pifander had fallen in the engagement. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of Circeon, the sharpest which happened in his time, as Xenophon relates; and of this he must have been a very good judge, because he was present. In this Ageus was the victor where he fought, and the Thebans on the other hand prevailed against that wing whereon they charged; Ageus was constrained to return to try his fortune anew against these: It is generally agreed, that on this occasion he was guilty of a great oversight in attacking the Thebans in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. Xenophon indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him Ageus was never wrong, yet it is certain, that the mistake had like to have been fatal; the Thebans behaving with great resolution, killing many, and wounding more, among whom was Ageus himself. At length they marched slowly from the field, leaving to the Lacedaemonians the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits. Ageus went to Delphi, where he consecrated the tenth of his spoils, and in the mean time Gylus his lieutenant led the army into Locris, where they were so busy in plundering, that the people suddenly rose upon them, and, making a good use of their disorder, killed Gylus and many others. Corinth was the head quarters of the confederates, as Sicyon was of the Lacedaemonians and their allies. At Corinth there were great seditions, many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the Argives, resolved, if possible, to free themselves by bringing in a Lacedaemonian garrison, which in some measure they effected. The other part in Corinth sent for aid from Athens, which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmost danger of being totally ruined. The Spartans had possession only of a fort, their enemies had the city, Ageus to put an end to the dispute invaded the territory of Arcos with a great army, and having passed through it besieged Corinth by land, while his brother Teleutias blocked it up by sea; yet did not their enterprise succeed.
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After the return from this expedition, the Acheans demanded aid of Sparta against the Achaians, and, according to their request, Argos was sent to help them with a great army; he so effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace. This war over, Argos fell at the head of another army entered the country of the Argives, though much against his will; for as this people had defied a truce, he conceived this severity to be a kind of injustice, and therefore would not put himself at the head of the troops, till he had consulted the Olympian Jupiter and the Delphian Apollo on this scruple of confidence. Satisfied with the answers returned by these oracles, he undertook the war, but meeting, or fancying he met, the course thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time Conon the Athenian threatened the Spartans with the loss of their sovereignty by sea, wherefore to soften the Persian king, it was resolved at Sparta to send Antalcidas into Persia to endeavour the withdrawing of the great king from the interest of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in Asia, in case the proposals he was enabled to offer were refused; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to Sparta, and this embassadower was a person who differed much from his fellow citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and in short every way well accoutred in order to execute a commotion at the Persian court (Q.).

The Athenians, however, took such measures as hindered his succeeding immediately. Thimbro, who commanded the Lacedaemonian troops in Asia, for a time did good service, but at last he was defeated and slain; Teleutias, however, gained some advantages at sea, and having extremely frightened the city of Athens by an attempt on the Pyreneum, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the Greeks took a share in it. For as Sparta, notwithstanding her late victories, she found the expense of the war so heavy, that it forced her both to with and to seek for peace; the Athenians, terrified with their late losses, recollected the fatal illus of the Peloponnesian war, and desired to be rid of this, left its end should prove no better; the Argives, finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would find a place in their country as well as elsewhere, wished a general pacification might take place for their own particular interest. The Persian king had also his own profit in view, he stood in need of Greece as well as mercenaries for carrying on his wars, and there were not to be had at a time when Greece stood in need of Spartans from Cephissus; very true, replied Antalcidas; but we had never any occasion to drive you from Eurotas. Being desirous to gain admission to the Ionian mysteries, the priest asked him, whether he had never done any great crime? If I have, said he, the gods know that already (64). This peace of his was very ill received in Greece by such as piqued themselves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at Sparta itself, who could not forbear expressing their resentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the Barbarians, insomuch, that a person of condition said in the hearing of king Agis, that Greece was now in a lamentable state, since the Spartans themselves began to turn Medes: Say rather, replied the king sharply, that the Medes begin to turn Spartans (65). How little former Agisius approved this peace, he supported it with all his might, and constrained both the Thebans and Argives to accept it much against their will. On the whole it must be acknowledged, that Antalcidas by his art secured the sovereignty to Sparta, and that she left it by gratifying her own herself, and her king Agisius's inveterate hatred against the Thebans (66). As to the fate of Antalcidas, we shall have occasion to mention it in the text, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.


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need of all her subjects: He therefore signified to Teribazus, who immediately communicated the dispatches to the Greeks, the terms wherein the king desired the peace should be made; they were these: That the cities in A sia, with the islands of C lazemene and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; that such as refused to embrace this peace, should be compelled to accept it by force of arms. At first the Thebans absolutely refused to comply, because the government of Boeotia was taken from them; but, Agesilaus making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede; the Argives too quitted Corinths, to which the exiles returned, and every thing else was done which the Spartans desired. Such was the peace which from its author was filled the peace of Anticteas, whereby the sovereignty of Greece indeed was in a manner guarantied to Sparta, but upon very dishonourable terms; the Greek cities in Asia being entirely abandoned to the Persians, notwithstanding all the promises that had been made them, and that Agesilaus himself had fought in their quarrel. This flow of success made the Lacedaemonians love all temper, in somuch, that, on the conclusion of the peace, they began to think of punishing with severity such as had injured them, or such as they had suspected during the war, as if the dominion of Greece had been a small thing; if their new subjects did not feel the prejudice of their government. The first who experienced the weight of their resentment were the Mantineans, though they had been their confederates and had done them great services. The Spartans, to have a pretense for making war, very modestly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had served their forefathers, where they might be sure to enjoy peace themselves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refused, Agesipolis was sent with an army against them, for Agesilaus did not care to command against his old friends and acquaintance; Agesipolis besieged the city all the summer, but when winter drew on the Lacedaemonians dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon rose to such a height in the city, as either to overflow, or to throw down their houses, and this compelled the Mantineans to submit to the conditions prescribed to them by Sparta, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city which they had so long enjoyed. The Pelopians were the next, it was objected to them, that they had exiled some of their own citizens who were in the interest of Sparta, these therefore they were constrained to receive again, and to do whatever else the Spartans required of them. The Olynthians were in the third place to be chastised, because they were become powerful; to say the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated Sparta so nearly as did this of Olynthus; for under pretence of freeing the Macedonian cities from the tyranny of Amyntas, they conquered most of them and kept them to themselves; the Acontians and Apollonians signified to the government of Sparta, that in a very short space they must be constrained either to take arms against Olynthus, or submit to her and fight under her banners; Eudamidas was sent to assist them with two thousand men, he marched into Thrace, where he did great service, expecting his brother Phaedidas, who was raising a great army and had orders to follow him; but he, passing through Thebes, in his march had it betrayed to him by Arcbias and Leontidas, whereupon he feigned the city called Cadmea and put a strong garrison into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature most flagrantly unjust; yet Agesilaus protected his author, either from an over-weening passion for his own country, or out of an implacable averterion to the Thebans. On his motion therefore Sparta abated Phaedidas, and transferred the government of Thebes to Arcbias and Leontidas who had put it into his hands, an act highly displeasing to the Greeks, and made them very apprehensive of the power of Sparta. Teleutias was sent to command in Thrace, with strict orders to reduce the Olynthians at all events, which he set about so eagerly, that going in perfon to the affittance of some of his troops, who were repulsed by the Olynthians, he exposed his whole army to a great loss, and was himself slain upon the spot. Agesipolis, as soon as the news reached Lacedaemon, was dispatched to supply his

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his place; he fought with great success, reduced Tereoe, a strong city in those parts, and brought the Olybiomians into great frights, but in the midst of his conquests a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days: He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave Agislaus room to grow upon him, and to make him subdervent to his purposes, so that he made no great figure in the state; yet he did not unregretted, the people forrowing for the losd of one who always treated them with kindness, and Agislaus expressing great concern for a colleague, with whom he had lived long, and without any difference. Agispolis having no children was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, but he did not succeed him in the command of the army, which was intrusted with one Poly. succeeded Agispolis: binders, who in a short space reduced the Olybians to such detraits, that they were compelled to make a treaty with the Spartans, whereby they undertook to have the same friends and enemies with them, and to follow them as associates whitherhoever they should lead them in their ways. The Phoebians having given some new offence, by not treating the exiles whom the Spartans had restored with the respect which it was thought they deserved, Agislaus marched against them with a great army, at which, however, they were not so much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous resistance, and defended their city for a very long time; at last war and famine brought them to low, that they were constrained to yield at discretion, whereupon commissioners were named, part Spartans, part of their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens should have mercy, and which should be put to death. Thus did Sparta govern with pride and cruelty those whom she had most unjustly brought under her dominion; for by the peace of Antalcidas she had engaged, that all the cities should be left to their freedom. Such thebans as could not endure to see their country in slavery had privately fled to Athens; but, entertaining a correspondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted secretly, and, having stabbed the chief men of the opposite party, assumed the administration to themselves. The Spartans upon this sent Cleombrotus their new king at the head of a great army to restore things to their former condition, in which, however, he had no great success. At his return he left a garison under the command of Spohrius at Thebes, as well to encourage the Thebans in the Spartan interest, as to awe the adjacent country and lay it under contribution; this Spohrius, either of his own accord, or, as some say, prompted thereto by the artifice of the Thebans, attempted to seize the Piraeus, which drew the Athenians into the quarrel. Sparta might easily have ridden herfelf of this new enemy, if she had acted justly, and punished Spohrius as he deserved. But here again, king Agislaus, being prevailed on by his son, interposed and protected the criminal; this effectually induced the Athenians to engage in the league formed against Sparta: upon which Agislaus was forced to underserybe the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excused him; he invaded Boeotia, but with little success, Cleombrotus the Athenians having taught the Boeotians to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, Phocidas, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horse; the next year Cleombrotus marched against the Boeotians, but the Athenians and Thebans disputing his passing, he was constrained to return. At sea the Spartans were beaten by Timotheus the son of Conon, and in short all things began to decline, notwithstanding the utmost care of Agislaus, on whom Antalcidas revenged himself, for some smart things he had said of him, when he negotiated the peace in Persia; for the king returning home wounded by the Thebans, the statesman cried out, You are properly rewarded, Agislaus, for teaching those Thebans to fight together they would or no. In the beginning of the hundred and first olympiad, Aristeuus, king of Persia laboured exceedingly in making peace among the Greeks, because, having the reduction of Egypt in his eye, he floated in need of their affinities; in little more than a year he accomplished it, if that can be said to be accomplished which was of so short continuance. The Thebans would never accept the peace, and the rest of the cities had very little regard to it, such seeds of discord being now sown as could not be rooted out. The Lacedemonians had every-where established while they were in power an oligarchical government.
ment, which in consequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late masters, and to treat them as little justice now they were degraded, as they had used towards them when in power. The Perian king still wrought for the bringing about a settled tranquility, which, in the beginning of the hundred and second Olympiad, seemed to be nearly effected; the Atenians concouring heartily with the Lacedæmonians, and shewing no sort of countenance towards the Thebans, who still refused to hear of peace, because the Spartans insisted they should set the cities of Boeotia at liberty. In this opposition they were chiefly encouraged by Epaminondas, who demanded, that before the Lacedæmonians gave laws to others, they should shew a proper regard to thee maxims of equity themselves, by giving up Messenia to its ancient proprietors and setting Lacoonia free k. This violently incurred Sparta, and at the same time did not a little offend Athens, who could not bear to see the Thebans act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of Sparta. Cleombrotus with an army of twelve thousand men was sent into Boeotia, Epaminondas feigned the passages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into Boeotia from the side next Phoci, and advancing towards Leuctra, encamped his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The Thebans were greatly dispirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet Epaminondas prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question to fight the enemy; in the interim, Ajax, a powerful prince of Thebes, arrived with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to swell the Thebans, though on his arrival he proved to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As Cleombrotus was about to retire out of Boeotia, he met Archibamus son of Agislaus, coming with a great reinforcement from Sparta; these princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to Leuctra in order to fall on the Boeotians, where they found Epaminondas and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none to serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so, which permitted the Thebians and some others embraced; this done, he disposted his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other; the former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a flapping front. Cleombrotus and Archibamus advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with such vigour, that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thousand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost the empire of Greece, which they had held now near five hundred years l. When the ephors had the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were superintending the Gymnè solemnities, and though they evidently saw what the consequences would be of this mighty loss, yet they did not interrupt or allourn the festival, contenting themselves with sending advice to their relations of the names of those who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the Spartan virtue shone with greatest lustre; the fathers, mothers, and those who were nearest of kin to such as were killed, assembled the next morning, shook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of those who had escaped from the battle hid themselves among the women; or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was accomplished, k Xenophon. Hellc. lib. vi. Dio. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Epamin. l Xenophon. ubi supr. Dio. Sicul. ubi supr. Plut. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Epaminond. Justin. lib. vi. c. 6. Pausan. l. v. 271.
accomplished, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, since under the sovereignty of Agis I. this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities and the little hopes they had of Argos, the son of Cleombrotus, who was a person but of very mean parts, they appointed Agis I. dictator, or rather legislator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reason; such as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, constrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half shaved, half unshaved, and to suffer any to beat them who pleased without resistance; to execute this at present was absolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to Agis I. to new-mold the constitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occasion such a proof of his wisdom, as showed he was worthy of the trust reposed in him, such a proof as Plutarch confesses at him above comparison, and which indeed can never be sufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public assembly, and by one short sentence restored the public peace, preferred such as were under apprehensions, and at the same time saved the Lycurgic institutes; this sentence runs thus: Let the laws sleep this day, but to-morrow let them refine their full vigour. Then, old and lame as he was, he assembled an army which he led out into the territories of the Arcadians, and purposely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to show his countrymen that the fortune of Sparta was not entirely lost. Some time after this peace was concluded, the Mantinians took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the Lacedaemonians, who at length, not able to contain themselves, invaded them; but the Mantinians, driving themselves up in their new city, refused to hazard their safety by a pitched battle. The Arcadians about the same time built the great city of Megalopolis, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the Lacedaemonians, who thereupon invaded Arcadia, and slew Lycomedes the Mantinean, general of Arcadia, with two hundred men; this broke the spirit of the Arcadians, who thereupon sent to Athens for relief, but being denied there, they made their application to Thebes, from whence Epaminondas and Pelopidas were sent with a great army to their assistance; when they were come into Arcadia, and found themselves at the head of fifty thousand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at last it was resolved to invade Laconia, a thing hitherto unattempted, which accordingly they did, and, under the auspice of Epaminondas, appeared before Sparta itself, which then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood; in this desperate situation of things, Agis I. took the command upon himself, difpleasing the citizens with such skill, and opposing the enemy, where evcry they attempted to enter, with such numbers, that Epaminondas, notwithstanding he greatly desired it, found it impossible to attack the place, but was constrained to retire, waiting the country as he marched off. In the midst of these misfortunes a very dangerous conspiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels feizing the temple at Diana at Isseron. The Spartans would have immediately attacked them and put them to the sword, but Agis I., not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and, having only one servant near him, went in person to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, Sir, you mistake my orders, I did not direct you to go all in one place, but that some of you should go here, and some there. The conspirators hearing this believed they were not discovered, and therefore separating immediately went to the pofts which he assigned them; thus separated they were easily feized, and being conducted to examination were afterwards put to death the same night, without any respect had to the ordinary forms of law. Epaminondas, when he quitted the territories of Sparta, left behind him such a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history; he rebuilt the city of Messene, and calling the ancient inhabitants of Messenia from the several countries where they had taken refuge, he restored them to the possession of their ancient patrimony, after they had left it three hundred years. It is remarkable, that the Messenians, notwithstanding their dispersion, preserved the old Doric dialect, which continued to be spoken amongst them to the times of Paulyanis, the geographer and historian; when Epaminondas had accomplished this,
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this, he offered the Lacedaemonians peace, on condition that they quitted all pretentions to Messenia and left Laconia free, which terms were rejected with scorn. The present diffidence of Sparta obliged her to sue for affiance to her rival Athens, which, whether from a principle of generosity or vain glory is uncertain, was readily sent them under the command of Idicrates, who in this expedition was so unlucky as to lose a great part of his reputation; the military prudence of Epanimonidas putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, Epanimonidas being sent with a great army to join the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, who were in arms in Peloponnesus; the Lacedaemonians in the mean time applied themselves affluently to all the methods that could be devised for detaining their affairs. They solicited their allies, they manumitted such of the Helots as were willing to take arms, they fought the affiance of the Athenians, and even of Dionysus the Sicilian, who ordered two thousand Gauls and Spaniards to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into Greece as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the Lacedaemonian army, consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus, and, having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder Epanimonidas and his Thebans from entering Peloponnesus. But this hope was vain, for though the Theban army was far inferior in number, yet Epanimonidas, having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weak, where the Spartans were posted, determined at all events to attack them there, which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into Peloponnesus, where he swept the country, reducing Sicyon and some other cities, and afterwards marched to Corinth, which he had also taken if it had not been for Corinthus the Athenians, who, being cordially in the interest of Sparta, defended the place so well, that Epanimonidas was forced to retire. Here the Gauls and Spaniards, who by this time come from Sicily, did great service, and in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home.

The Lacedaemonians, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. Agislaus affixed them with his counsellors; Cleomenes, who succeeded his brother Agesilaus after a year's reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate, Archedimus the son of Agislaus having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of Spartans, and their allies, and being affixed by Ciphas general in chief of Dionysus's forces, marched into Arcadia in order to revenge his country for the many inroads, which within a few years before they had suffered from the Arcadians. Having taken Cape and put thole he took therein to the sword, he projected still greater conquests, till on a sudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of Ciphas, that, his commissary being expired, he could act offensively no longer; in consequence of which declaration he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the Mezerians, he went to Archedimus to beseech his affiance; the Spartan immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with such vigour on the Arcadians and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the slaughter of no less than ten thousand men, without so much as one Spartan being slain, whereby the prediction of the the priests at Dodona is said to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when Archedimus marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the Lacedaemonians. Some time after this Epanimonidas broke in again, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, into Peloponnesus, yet without doing any great mischief; the endeavours of the Persians being almost all Greece to think of peace, which with much ado was affected, after the Lacedaemonian or Boeotian war had lasted about five years, in which if Agislaus was to blame, for having through his hatred of the Thebans been a principal author thereof; yet the great services he did his country therein, and his preferring the city of Sparta from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were such reparations, that we may justly commend the Spartans for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making use of those high qualities which

which were alone capable of preserving them. We have been led to this observation from the nature of this history, which shews how soon the haughtiness of any state can raise up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wisdom of a finge

peron may be capable of conferring and restoring a defected and defeated nation both to spirits and power. In the second year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad, there broke out new commotions in Peloponnesus, the Tegeans and Mantinians making war on each other; the former requiring the aid of the Thebans, the latter of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, gave occasion thereby to a new and fatal controversy; for Epaminondas, at the head of a great army marching to the assistance of his allies, had notice, that Aegialus, with the whole power of Sparta, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himself that Sparta must be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmost diligence. Xenophon himself acknowledges, that this measure was so well taken, and so briskly pursued, that nothing could have prevented his purfizing the place; but by accident a peron gave notice of his march to Aegialus, who thereupon dispatched a courier to Sparta to define the citizens to be on their guard; Archidamus no sooner received his father's dispatch, than he made all proper Dispositions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houfes, that they might incommodate the Thebans by throwing tiles and stones, such as were capable of bearing arms he posted in all the avenues of the city, so that when Epaminondas came, he had the mortification to see that his design was discovered, and it was impossible for him to think of entering without great effusion of blood; notwithstanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received so warmly that he was obliged to retire; yet Archidamus following him gave an opportunity to the Thebans to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of Spartans, who had thus needlessly exposed themselves by an unwary pursuit. Epami-

nondas, to make himself amends for this successful attempt, marched directly to surprise Mantinea, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by Aegialus's march to the relief of Sparta. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wisdom; six thousand Athenian auxiliaries were just landed in Peloponnesus, and entered Mantinea the very day that he attacked it. These being fresh and full of spirits, had the better of his horse, and forced him to abandon his design. These miscarriages sunk deep into the bosom of this great general, who reflecting that his commissiion was about to expire, and that, if he retired out of Peloponnesus without effecting any thing, he should not only lose his own glory, but that authority also to which he had raised his country; he determined, for the preservation of both thee, to risque a battle at all events. When therefore he understood that Aegialus at the head of the Lacedaemonians and Arcadians with the rest of the allies, being no less than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, he led forth his army, and having drawn it up in battle, marched off towards the hills of Tegesa, as if he intended to incamp there; but on a sudden altering the disposition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched suddenly back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no such matter; the confusion was so great, that the Thebans would have acquired a very easy victory, if Epaminondas, charging the Lacedaemonians, had not exposted his peron too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of thebes was centered in this single man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleh, and returned upon those who discharged them; at last one Antigthes a Spartan struck him into the braect with a javelin with such force, that it broke and left the iron sticking thereupon, whereupon he fell down, which occasioned a new contest for his body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loss of their best officers. All Greece looked with concern on the issue of this battles, which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of so bloody a war, unanimously struck up a general peace, excepting only the Lacedaemonians, who at the interchange of Aegialus refused to become parties thereto, because the Messenians were comprehended therein; for which he is justly cenured by Plutarch, who was likewise no les displeased at the last actions of his life, which were

were these. Finding that the Perioeci was no longer inclined to Sparta, he contented
for the false of a large sum of money given to his country by Tachos king of Egypt to
in peril to command the Greek mercenaries he had in his service; there for a
a time he was of great use to the prince, at whose request he went into Egypt; but at
length, either to gratify his own remitment, or because he thought it more advantage-
ous to his country, he deserted him and sided with his competitor; from whom he
having received a large sum of money for his good services, he imberked in order to
return into Peloponnese; but being by contrary winds forced on the African shore,
he died after a short illness, rather of age and fatigue than of any other difftemper,
when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one
years, leaving behind him the character of a wise prince, a great captain, and a
passionate lover of his country " (R).
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Archidamus suceeded to his father Agesilaus, he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained over the Arcadians, and which, because no Spartans fell therein, they transmitted to posterity by the name of the tearless battle. In his reign broke out the Phocians, or sacred war, wherein he sided with the Phocians in the persuasion, as some writers lay, of his wife Dicteba. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himself were wrought on by the bribes of the Phocians, but even the ephors, the fences, and the whole republic of Sparta; but they he espoused their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which, on the contrary he openly condemned and opposed. When Philip king of Maceden began to interest himself much in the affairs of Greece, and to take highly upon him for the many victories he had gained, Archidamus is said to have sent him this missalage; Sir, if you will be pleased to meassure your shadow, you won't find it a subit longer then it was before. He was by no means pleased with the customs of his country, but on the contrary thought them burdensome and rigorous, affecting to live freely and without restraint, supposing, that it did not at all affect a man's honesty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reason he was glad of an opportunity to leave Sparta, and of residing in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws or giving scandal to his subjects; the Tarentines therefore requesting aid of the Lacedaemonians for their support against their neighbours, Archidamus very readily offered to command the forces that were deccred them, and paffing on this occasion over into Italy, he was there slain near the city of Mandonium after having reigned fifteen years; his statue was erected at the temple of Jupiter Olympus, an honour which none of the Spartan kings had done them except himself, which Pausanias supposes was conceded to him, because he died fighting against the Barbarians, and did not receive those epithelial honours which had been given to all his predecessors.

Agis the son of Archidamus succeeded his father; he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been sent embasedor to Philip of Macedon, who seeing him alone, whereas all other cities sent many deputies, fai'd with an air of contempt, What! from Sparta but one? Why, Sir, said Agis, I was sent but to suffer you to set your foot in any other part of Greece. It is a mercy, said he, that ye have a good deal of room at home. During the reign of Alexander, thro' he hated the Macedonians, yet he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin by opposing them; but when after the battle of Ipsus abundance of mercenaries fled out of Persia, he lifted them to the number of eight thousand, and openly declared for Darius; from whom receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he failed over into Crete, part of which he subdued. After the battle of Arbela he stirred up all Greece to revolt, by shewing them that, when Alexander had subdued Persia, they must become a province of his empire, which would be no less grievous to them, than if they had been subdued by any of the former kings of Persia; for, as he rightly observed, a Greek king reigning in Persia would be a Persian to them; besides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be constrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The Greeks, roused by these remonstrancnes, raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, of which when Antipater had notice, he compoed on any terms the disturbances in Thrace, and marched strait into Greece with forty thousand men. Agis, however, did not retire or shun an engagement, so that a decisive battle was quickly fought, wherein, after a glorious refilance, the Spartans and their confederates were routed with the loss of five thousand three hundred men, Antipater losing three thousand five hundred soldier. Agis himself fell, but in manner greatly to his honour; being covered with wounds he was borne by his soldiers out of the battle, till seeing them on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down, and


"for want of honey, which the Spartans were wont to use in embalming, his servants wrapped his body in wax, and brought it safe to Sparta". Xerophon has taken much pains to vindicate even

(67) Plutarch. in vit. Agoul. Vol. II. 7 T
and preserve themselves for the future service of their country; remaining then alone with his fowrd in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the Macedonians, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart. Such was the glorious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when Alexander heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, While we are fighting Darius in Asia, there has been it seems, a battle of mice in Arcadia.

Aegus was succeeded by his son Eudamidas, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of consequence nothing of him on record, except certain instances of his good sense and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of Aegus had so much provoked the Lacedaemonians, that they were for carrying on a war against Macedon at all events, which Eudamidas opposed; and when a certain Spartan addressed him thus, Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because, answered the king, I would convince them of their mistake. Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the Persians, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against Macedon, You think, Sir, said Eudamidas, that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep and against fifty wolves. Coming into the school of Xenocrates the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession, and some body answering that he was a wife man who fought after virtue, Alas! said he, Is he seeking at these years? When then will he make use of it? When Alexander caused it to be proclaimed throughout Greece, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of Thebes, This is a hard case, O ye Thebans, said Eudamidas, but at the same time very honorable; for it is evident, that Alexander fears you only of all the Greeks. All these kings had for their colleagues Cleomenes the son of Cleombrotus, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus succeeded his father Eudamidas, as Aeus the son of Acrotatus did his grandfather Cleomenes, but not without some dispute; his uncle Cleonymus getting up to a title on the throne, though the people preferred the son of the elder brother to the younger. Cleonymus, however, retired to Pyrrhus, whom he brought with an army into his country to assist his cause, notwithstanding that the ephory and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he could have asked. The Spartans sent Dercyllidas to meet him on the frontiers, and to expostulate with him on the injustice of his invasion; but Pyrrhus by one of his couriers bid him carry this message to Sparta, that they should receive their king Cleonymus, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. Sir, answered Dercyllidas, If your majesty is a god we do not fear him, because we have done no wrong; and if he is a man who do not fear him, because we are as good as he. This expedition had well nigh accomplished the ruin of Sparta, occasioning much more loss thereto than either of the attempts of Epaminondas. It is our duty therefore to enter into a distinct detail thereof. Pyrrhus had with him twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. Aeus was at this time in Crete, and the city was chiefly intrusted to the care of his son Acrotatus, whose amours had in a great measure occasioned this war; for he had debauched Cheilidès the wife of Cleonymus his uncle, which was one great reason of his flying to Pyrrhus, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Sparta, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themselves that their embassadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was so meanly provided, and the people so much amazed, that without question it would fall almost without trouble into his hands; when this news came it was almost evening, yet Cleonymus pressed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkenss would afford an opportunity to the soldiers of poffefling themselves of all the riches of Sparta, refused to attack it till day-light; a thing so little expected even by the Spartans themselves, that in Cleonymus's house the Helots were busy in providing a supper, not doubting, but Pyrrhus would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his soldiers had pitched their camp

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camp near the walls, the senate assembled to consider if any thing could be done for their preservation; and the first resolution they came to was, to fend the women immediately over into Crete, which resolution some way taking wind, the Spartan ladies assembled together, and having deputed Archidamia to carry their sentiments to the senate, she entered the room with a sword in her hand, addressing the assembly in these words: Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the Spartan women, as to fancy that they will ever out-live Sparta; instead of considering whether we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country. Upon this it was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying wagons to their axle-trees crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the plications of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their shifts to assist the men in years who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to withstand the enemies charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench once settled, which, some tell us, were the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it and engaged to finish it by morning. When day began to break, and the troops of Pyrrhus were in motion, the Lacedaemonian ladies armed their men for the fight, representing to them, as they were buckling their armour and putting their spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the fight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for Oebilonias, she retired to her own house with a halter about her neck, to shew, that if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than live again with her husband. Pyrrhus saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo; however, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the Spartans, who, considering for what they fought, made a most desperate resistance; in the mean time Ptolomy the son of Pyrrhus drew off two thousand Gauls and other choice men from the attack, and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the wagons, which at first with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. Acrotatus was the first who perceived this desperate mischance, which he immediately sought to remedy; for running through the city with three hundred men, he palied round by the sides of the hills and charged Ptolomy's troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing else and being in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the wagons they had removed over the rest to the great joy of the Spartans; where Pyrrhus charged in person, the attack was sustained with greatest vigour, and one Phyllius a Spartan gave such a demonstration of invincible courage as is scarce any where to be recorded; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himself so exhausted through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to stand; when he called to the commanding officer, and having resigned to him his poll, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, so it ended therewith, and Pyrrhus being extremely fatigued retired to his tent, where he slept very soundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: He thought he saw himself throwing lightning on Sparta which set it all on fire, with the joy of which he awoke; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his vision; but Lycurgus his favourite did not understand the vision in the same light with the king; Thou knowest, Pyrrhus, said he, that with us places stricken with lightning are accounted sacred; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby signified to thee, that Sparta is as sacred and inviolable as a place stricken with lightning. Well, replied Pyrrhus, I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning these things; yet this remains certain still, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack. The assault was no less vigorous than the day before, nor did the Lacedaemonians defend themselves with less vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench supplying the soldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever else they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in case they were disabled; at

*Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh.*  
*Justin. lib. xxv. c. 4.*  
*Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh.*
at last, however, Pyrrhus prevailed in the very attempt his son had miscarried in the a
day before, and of a sudden appeared within the wagons charging at the head of a
great number of horse with mighty resolution. In vain the Lacedaemonians crowded from all fides to impede his passage; they were trodden down by his horse, and Pyrrhus was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow struck his steed to the heart; the beast, floundering in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his soldiers in the first confusion, not knowing whether he as well as his horse was not slain, gave back; upon which the Spartans prefixed on them so eagerly, and distributed their darts with such success, that when Pyrrhus was remounted he thought it best to retire, supposing that the third day would put an end to this contest, when after the heat of the action the Spartans had leisure to feel their wounds; nor would he b
in all probability have been mistaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but those whom he engaged before. The good fortune of Sparta prevented this; for one of Antigonus’s captains, having intelligence of their distresses and of the noble stand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to throw himself into the place, where he was scarce arrived before king Aretus himself entered with two thousand fresh men. Pyrrhus notwithstanding assaulted the place the third time, but with little success; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to Argos, and endeavoured to rid himself of this unlucky business as well as he could; yet here again he found himself distressed, for king Aretus being once come did not care to part with him so, but chose a body of horse to intercept his rear. The king, vexed at this insult, ordered his son Pleomeny with some squadrons under his command to march to the assistance of the troops attacked, where the young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, exposing himself too much was slain. Pyrrhus when he heard the news immediately jumped on horseback, and charging with unwonted fury on the Lacedaemonians slew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand; he afterwards quitted his horse and fought on foot, and when he had sated himself with despoiling numbers of the Spartans, he continued his march to Argos. Aretus is very much blamed for his conduct on this occasion: it is said, that when Pyrrhus was retired, pursuing him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but it seems the Spartan king was of opinion, that no safety could be hoped for till Pyrrhus was out of Greece; for this reason he posted away in perfon to Argos with a thousand choice foot, and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city, a gate of which having been perilously opened to Pyrrhus in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware; however, they fled to their arms, and while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, Aretus came to their aid; Pyrrhus at first perceiving that he fought under great disadvantages would have retreated; but he orders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who, standing on the top of him, struck and perceiving him about to pull his horse upon her son, charged a third time at his head, which struck him on the temple, took from him his lance, and before he could recover them an officer of Antigonus’s army struck off his head. Concerning this Aretus we know nothing of him farther than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of Greece, as the broken and disafflicted state of his country would give him leave; for when he understood, that Abdenos was in danger of being apprised by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, he generously armed in its defense, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of Corinth. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter to Onias the high priest, which we find recorded in the book of Maccabees. He was succeeded in his throne by his son Acrotatus, who had so valiantly defended Sparta when attacked by Pyrrhus.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus: Aretus king of the Lacedaemonians to Onias the high priest, greeting; It is found in writing, that the Lacedaemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham: Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your peace (69). This letter is actually in the Laconian file, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in Josephus, wherein Diodorus is named as ambassador from Sparta; the form of the letter is said to be square, and the common seal of

(69) 1 Maccab. xii. 202

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Chapter 19.

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Of the other house Archidamus the fourth of that name, the son of Eumidas, who governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true Spartan race, and to repressions, if it had been possible, the mighty power of the Macedonian kings, which like a torrent swept all before them; and though for a time they might be restrained from doing much mischief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elsewhere, yet, whenever they had leisure, they were sure to seek such an authority in Greece as suited not with her liberty. Archidamus had struggled against the stream when it was most rapid, that is, when Demetrios Poliorcetes after subduing Athens sought to make himself master of Sparta; twice Archidamus opposed him in the field, but was so unfortunate as to be as often defeated, nor could any thing have saved the virgin city of Sparta from the rage of the victor, if the declension of his affairs in Asia had not constrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of Greece. He was succeeded by his son, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

Eumidas the son of Archidamus was the colleague of Aratos, whom he married Agis, and Aratos the son of Aristas, by whom he had two sons, Agis and Archidamus. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in history: it is probable, that, being a man of small parts, the government reposed chiefly in Aratos, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour and many virtues. Aristas, who had made himself a prince of Megalopolis, was the capital enemy of the Lacedaemonians, feasting by all means to abate a nation who were always ready to take arms for liberality, and who also hated the oppression of tyrants themselves, or to free their neighbours oppressed by them. Aratos, at the head of the Lacedaemonian army, endeavoured to make head against this prince, who was grown formidable to all Peloponnesus; but, his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himself slain, leaving the kingdom to his young son Aratos, to whom Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was tutor or protector, and he dying after a very short reign, Leonidas stepped into the throne in his own right.

Leonidas had been bred up, or at least had long lived, in the court of Seleucus, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he saw there; at Sparta he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury; the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the Lycurgic maxims grown not only into diffudicite, but contempt: One Oxylus, being raised to a chair among the ephors, took occasion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice against his own fon, procured a law whereby all men were left at liberty to dispose of their lands by gift or sale, or by testament at the time of their decease. This subverted the very foundations of the state, for by degrees the lands were most of them transferred from the ancient Spartan families, so that though they were reduced now to about seven hundred, not above one hundred of these had any lands, but lived in


Lacedaemon is described as having represented theon en eagle holding a dragon; the learned prime of Ireland has been led into a great mistake by paying too much regard to this Jewish writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been sent to Oinias the third of that name high-priest of the Jews, who flourished when there were no kings at all in Sparta; this the learned prelate was so well aware of, that to get over these difficulties, he supplies one Aratos a nobleman of Sparta to have taken the title of king in the penning of this epistle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; Jonathan in his letter to the Lacedaemonians, speaking of the epistle before us, says it was written a long time ago, which no way quasses with the time in which Josephus and archbishop Usher place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to Oinias the son of Simon, but to Oinias the first, who was undeniably contemporary with this king Aratos, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. Prideaux (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reason to suspect a some alteration in this letter by Josephus, because when he comes to give us Jonathan's letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its address also, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to Josephus: Jonathan, high priest of the Jews, and the senate, and commonly of the Jews, to the ephors, senators, and people of the Lacedaemonians greeting (72). Whereas in the book of Maccabees the address is thus: Jonathan, the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedaemonians the brethren send greeting (73). Neither ephors or senate are mentioned here, they were probably put in by Josephus to make the letter look the better. The name of Demotes is also inferred in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of Maccabees. How the Spartans and the Jews came to be related, must be considered in another place.

The History of the Lacedaemonians. Book I.

in the city lazily, without employment and without wealth, their spirits linking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the Spartan state.

The colleague of Leonidas of the other house was Agis the son of Eudamidas; a young prince of great hopes; he shewed himself both just and obliging to all men, and in the gentleness of his disposition and sublimity of his virtues not only exceeded Leonidas who reigned with him, but all the kings of Sparta from king Agesilaus. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the wealthiest of the Lacedaemonians; yet, before the age of twenty, he so far overcame himself as to renounce effeminate pleasures. He was a very handsome person and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his diet, baths, and in all his exercises he chose to imitate the old Laconic frugality and temperance, and was often heard to say, He would not desire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to restore their ancient laws and discipline. This maxim of his governed his whole life; he endeavoured to associate himself with men of interest and capacity, sufficient to bring about the great design he had formed of thoroughly reforming the state. Agesilaus, his uncle by the mother's side, was one of his principal counsellors, a man of great eloquence but no great virtue; the part he took in this business being chiefly owing to his son's persuasions, whose name was Hymphalos, one of the worthiest men of his age. This Agesilaus brought over his father king Agis' mother to the sentiments of her son, notwithstanding her aver senfes to them at first; and in a short time brought over most of the ladies of Sparta, which was a thing of prodigious consequence, since they had always a mighty stroke in political affairs, and their husbands seldom took any step without their advice. On this occasion, as on many others, they shewed their great good sense and virtue; for when they had thoroughly considered the matter, and perceived that though these new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the same time it would restore the credit of Sparta and give her new luster in the world, they came into it unanimously, and endeavoured to engage their husbands to relish the proposal, which they found no difficult task to perform among the gossips of the people, who, partly because they saw the power of the state decline, and partly from their natural fondness for revolutions, were eager to see the thing accomplished. But the few in whose hands the wealth of Sparta was centered grew very uneasy; they applied themselves to Leonidas, telling him that, as he was an older and wiser man than this colleague, he ought to interpose, and not suffer the constitution to be destroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For these possefors of money called that the constitution by which their abundant gains were to be preferred, and trembled at the name of Lycurgus, as runaway slaves were wont to do if they hear that of their master. Leonidas was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he knew evidently inclined to favour his colleague and the scheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magistrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that Agis intended to establish an independent power in his own person by inclining the people to his interests; first by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal division of lands. The party he formed by these suggestions were very considerable; however, Agis persisted in his resolution; and, when his friend Lygander was chosen one of the ephors, actually presented his oration or decree to the senate; the chief articles of which were these: That every one should be free from his debts; all the lands to be divided into equal portions; these to lay between the valley of Pellone and mount Taygetus as far as the cities of Malia and Selasia into four thousand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thou; these left to be shared by some chosen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms; the first among the natural Spartans, admitting also strangers to supply their number, such as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All these to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two, with a diet and discipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus. The matter being hotly debated in the senate, Lygander began to doubt the event, and therefore, without laying to put the question, convoked a general assembly of the people; in this assembly both the ephors, which the kings, the ephors, and other considerable persons were heard, and by long cravings fought to shew the convenience or inconvenience of the scheme, according

as they were inclined or averse to it; at last, however, it was rejected in the senate, though but one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to Agis, while the richer citizens, and those especially who had placed their money out at interest, applied themselves to Leonidas. Lyfander, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way, he caused an accusation to be preferred against him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of Sparta to marry a stranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of these accusations and practising a little on the superstitious temper of the people, he so terrified Leonidas, that he fled to the temple of Minerva for shelter. Upon this Lyfander stirred up Cleombrotus, who was of the royal house and who had married the daughter of Leonidas, to pretend to the kingdom, of which when Leonidas had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who chose rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her husband. Cleombrotus, being raised to the regal dignity, concurred with Agis in all his designs, but the next year the ephori being chosen out of the opposite faction, they cited Lyfander and his friends to appear before them, and answer for what they had done during their administration; they in this distress had instantly recourse to the kings, beseeching them to protect those who were threatened for having performed their command; Lyfander at the same time suggested, that the ephori were created only to take care of the state in case any difference happened between the kings; but that while they agreed, these magistrates had no right to call in question any acts they thought fit to authorize. Agis and Cleombrotus being persuaded of this resolved to make Lyfander and his friends easy immediately; they therefore went directly to the place where the ephori were sitting, removed them from their seats, and placed others in their room, the fear of them being Agislaus. Such a transact as this could not well happen without a tumult, but, through the great care and steady integrity of Agis, no blood was spilled, nor did any ill accident happen. Agislaus indeed had projected the murder of Leonidas as he was on the road to Tegea; but king Agis having notice of it sent a considerable number of his own friends to escort him; things being in this situation, the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts and to the equal division of lands, had not Agislaus prevented it, by pretending that it would not be safe to attempt both at one time; but that first the debts should be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a division of lands; this he said, because he had himself a good estate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he sought to rid himself of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his possessions. The kings, and even Lyfander, were deceived by his sanguine pretences, so that they came readily into his schemes, causing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the division of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly displeased the people. Agis quickly perceived this, and therefore he sought to repair his error by immediately dividing the estates; but Agislaus still found means to put it off under one pretence or other, till Agis was obliged to go with a body of Spartan troops to the assistance of the Achaean. In his absence he left all bounds of modesty, and acted so tyrannically, that by the time Agis returned a conspiracy was formed for restoring Leonidas, which was accordingly effected; and upon this Agis fled to the temple of Minerva, and Cleombrotus to that of Neptune. Leonidas shewed more remonstrance against his son-in-law than against Agis, he went to his sanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter Cleonice, interceding and holding the two children she had in her arms, prevailed so far as to have his sentence changed into that of perpetual banishment; in which if the accompanied him, notwithstanding all the intracacies of her father; which extraordinary transact he hath drawn this reflection from Plutarch, that Cleombrotus was happier in being banished with such a wife, than he could be in the possession of a kingdom without her. 

\[T]\n
\[T\] The character of Cleonice, the wife of Cleombrotus, is one of the most noble and most laudable in the Spartan history; we cannot therefore blame for infringing her speech to her father, which she pronounced in a mourning habit and in a suppliant posture; thus: * This mourning veil, these dejected looks, and all those other tokens of unutterable woe, which cannot be concealed, are not worn for the sake of Cleombrotus, but were put on to condole with you in your banishment; and now you are reduced to your country and to your kingdom, must I still remain in grief and misery?*
Leonidas, once resettle on the throne, began to contrive all the methods possible to draw Agis out of his sanctuary; but all his attempts failed, at last he corrupted some of the king's friends, who were wont to visit him daily to console with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths and guard him back again. The names of these perfons, for it is but just that they should be always recorded, were Amphareus, Democles, and Archebionis. The first of these had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king Agis; therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he should acquire the possession of them; the other two were bribed by Leonidas; these men therefore took an opportunity, the very next day Agis was returning from the baths and relied entirely on their protection, to seize him; Amphareus caught him by the arm, Democles, being a strong man, threw a cloak over his head and muffled him up; then their associates coming in to their assistance, they dragged their sovereign away to the common prison, where the new ephori, constituted by Leonidas, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators were by; but they took care that they should be just as much as of their party. As soon as the king came in, they asked him how he durst attempt to alter the government; at which he smiled without affording them an answer, which provoked one of the ephori to tell him, That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him sensible of his presumption. Another asked him, Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by Agestilus and Lyander; to which the king with a composed countenance answered, I was constrained by no man, the design was mine, and my intent was to have restored the laws of Lycurgus and have governed by them. But do you not now, said one of his judges, repent of your rashness? No, replied the king, though I see my death is inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention. The ephori then ordered him to be haled away and strangled. The officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined to unworthy an action; whereupon Democles, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. Agis about to die, perceiving one of the sergeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, said, Weep not, friend, for me, who die innocently, but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than theirs. Then stretching out his neck, he submitted to death with a constancy worthy both of the royal dignity and his own great character. Immediately after Agis was dead, Amphareus went out of the prison gate, where he found Archibias, who calling herself at his feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same friendship as formerly. He assured her she need not fear any further violence should be offered against her son; and that, if she pleaded, she might go in and see him; she begged her mother might also have the favour of being admitted, and he replied no body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and the grand mother to be first introduced; she was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of widows and virtue. As soon as Amphareus thought she was dispatched, he told Archibias, he might now go in if she pleaded; she entered, where beholding her son's body stretched on the ground and her mother hanging by the neck, she stood at first astonished at so horrid a spectacle; but after a while recollecting her spirits, the first thing she did was to lift the soldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, she laid it by her son's, where embracing and kissing his cheeks; O my son, said she, it is thy too great mercy and goodness which has brought thee and us to this unluckiness. Amphareus, who stood watching behind the door, hearing this, rushed in hastily, and, with a furious tone and countenance, said to her, since you approve so well

"miserly? Or would you have me attire in my "festival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, "when you have killed within my arms the man "to whom you gave me for a wife? Either Chrem- "bratus must appease you by mine and my chil- "ren's tears, or he must suffer a punishment greater "than his faults have deserved: He shall infallibly "see me die before him, whom he so tenderly "loves. To what end should I live, or how shall "I appear among the Spartans ladies, when it shall "so manifestly be seen that I have not been able to "move composition, either in my husband for the "false of my father, or in my father for the fake "of my husband? I was born, it seems, to be dif- "honoured and disgraced both as a wife and a "daughter, in that relation which it nearest me to "be in each capacity. As for Chrembratus, I suffici- "ently disowned his cause, when I forsook you to "follow you; but now you yourself will judgibly "in-law, and be regarded as a daughter" (79).

a all of your son’s actions, it is fit you should partake in his reward. She, rising up to meet her destiny, only uttered these few words; I pray the gods that all this may be done to the brother of Agis. Archidamus, the brother of Agis saved himself by flight, but was constrained to leave his wife, who had just lain in, behind him; her, because she was the heiress of a great estate, Leonidas compelled by force to marry his own son Cleomenes; to this the young lady was very averse, yet in the end she was forced to comply. Cleomenes behaved towards her with so much tenderness and humanity, that she became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. Cleomenes was too young to confirmate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tendernefs for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the story of Agis’ murder, at which he wept, and by degrees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own disposition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of Agis. He was constrained, however, to budge his desires till after the death of his father, he well knowing, that both the king and the nobles were too much diffus’d in luxury and cafe ever to incline to, or so much as bear with, the execution of his design. On the death of Leonidas, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himself obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. Aratus at the head of the Acbœans had formed a grand project of uniting all the Peloponnesians into that league; the youth of Cleomenes seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of trying the disposition of the Spartians, which he neglected not, but suddenly invaded the Arcadians their neighbours and their friends, who lived in a manner under their protection. The ephori, upon this ordered Cleomenes to seize on a pas into Laconia, which was then in the hands of the allies of the Acbœans, which he performed, and afterwards disappoointed Aratus in a scheme he had formed for seizing Tegea and Orchomenium. Upon which the young king sent a message full of fire to Aratus; the old flate man deriding his youth alludes Demosthenes, a Spartan exile who lived with him, What sort of a person this Cleomenes was? Why, my friend, replied the Spartan, I will answer you in few words; if you have anything to do against the Lacedaemonians, let me advise you to begin before this young eagle’s talons are grown. In the subsequent course of the war, Aratus by his great skill obtained some advantages over the Spartans; but Cleomenes gave therein such shining instances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himself apprehensive, and the people of Sparta seemed to take new spirit from their king. The ephori, however, were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of Cleomenes, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, saw clearly, that without reducing the power of the ephori, he should have nothing more left him than the title of the king, with this further mortification, that he should see the power of Sparta sink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of redding himself of the ephori at once; this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it from the fame generous desire of restoring the glory of their country. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of Archidamus the brother of Agis, who on his approach to Sparta was murdered by his brother’s enemies, not without some suspicion that Cleomenes confected thereto; but this seems to agree little with his character, and Plutarch, who reports this fuggition, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto. When it appeared a point out of dispute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed upon the ephori to engage in a war and to give him the command. His mother Craigeicles, a woman of great spirit, perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party, and at the fame time engaged to give up her own fortune, perusing her husband also to come to the fame terms, whenever a division of goods and of lands should be made. Cleomenes, carrying such as he suspected most into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a Spartan prince; but withal he took care so to harass his army with quick and almost continual marches, that many defied to be left behind in Arcadia; with the rest he advanced slowly towards Lacedaemon.

\[\text{Vol. II.} \]
When he drew near the place, he sent a small party headed by some of his confidants, who surprized the ephori at supper, killed four of them upon the spot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counteracted himself dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came to the next day without being injured. On the morrow Cleomenes came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one which he reserved for himself; then he made a most artful apology to the people for what he had done (U); he shewed them the necessity of restoring the Lycurgic constitution, and assured them, that though the situation of things had obliged him to make use of violence in effecting this resolution, yet for the future he would pay a strict regard to the laws, though for his own safety he proscribed at this time fourscore citizens. He was the first who delivered up his whole substance to the public stock, whereby he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In assigning the lands, he gave shares to all whom he had banished, promising to recall them as soon as was consistent with the public safety; immediately after he reformed the old Lacedaemonian way of educating youth, of eating in public, and of doing their excursions together; he also raised a considerable body of troops, and disciplined, and armed them in a new manner; to shew his dislike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all these things by his own authority, he associated his brother Eucleidas in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there should be always two kings at Sparta as there were in times past, and that he would not erect a monarchy in order to transplant it to his posterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others served to establish most the power and the character of Cleomenes, was the course of his own life, which was in nothing more stately or more expensive than that of the meanest citizen. There were in his house no people furniture, no canopies or cloths of state, no superb chairs or couches for indulging the table, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him: When any offered petitions, he stepped forward to receive them, talking gravely to every body, retributed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himself; yet had his virtue nothing in it of austerity or astringency; he was naturally of a pleasant temper, which he indulged. When strangers dined with him he had plenty of wine, which was set down in a brass vessel, with silver cups near it, according to the number of the guests, every man being permitted to drink.

(U) It is from Plutarch that we learn the purport of the king’s speech on this occasion, which it is necessary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the present thread of our history, but because we have referred ourselves to it elsewhere, as containing several curious particulars relating to the Spartan policy. Cleomenes then in this harangue alleged, “That the government, as it was framed by Lycurgus, was composed of the kings and the senate; and that that model of government had continued a long time, and needed no other fort of magistrates to give it perfection. But afterwards in the long war with the Messenians, when the kings being to command the armies had no time to attend civil cares, they chose some of their friends, and left them to determine the fates of their citizens in their stead. These were called ephori, and at first behav’d themselves as servants to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they appropriated the power to themselves, and erected a different sort of magistracy. An evidence of the truth of this may be taken from the usual behaviour of the kings, who upon the first and second melfage of the ephori refuse to go, but upon the third readily attended them: And after, when the melfage was raised, the power of the ephori was not Ephors but Lycurgus till many years after their secession; and therefore, whilst they modestly contain’d themselves within their own proper sphere, it was better to bear with them than to make a disturbance. But that an upstart introduced power should so far destroy the old model of government, as to banish some kings, murder others, without hearing their defence, and distrain those who desired to see the best and most divine constitution restored in Sparta, was unanswerable. Therefore if it had been possible for him without bloodshed to have freed Lacedaemon from the foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and slavery; and from those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, he should have thought himself the happiest in the world; having, like an expert physician, cured the diseases of his country with out pain. But now in this necessity, Lycurgus’ example favoured his proceedings; who being neither king nor magistrate, but a private man, and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, in muchmuck, that king Cleombros fled for fear to the altar: But he, being a good man and a lover of his country, readily consented to Lycurgus’ project, and admitted an alteration in the state. Thus by his own actions Lycurgus showed, that it was difficult to convert the government without force and fear; in which, if he said he would be so moderate as never to drive their affiance; but either to terrify or win the enemies of Sparta’s happiness and safety. He shewed, that it was difficult to conquer the land, and all the inhabitants of the city with their arms; and that they might no longer see Lacedaemon, for want of a sufficient number to secure it, waited by the Lacedaemonians.”
The History of the Lacedaemonians.

Chap. 19.

Drink what he pleased, being neither desired nor forced to drink more; being informed that Aratus and the Achaeans intended to give him some disturbance, from an apprehension that after these alterations he durst not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the course of the war, he gained such advantages over Aratus, as made that great statesman and captain decline being chosen captain general of the Achaeans next year as he was wont; yet did not Cleomenes make any ill use of his victories, or attempt to oppress the cities which fell into his power, but restored them to their liberty, and, where they had been expelled, recalled their ancient inhabitants. The Achaeans were so much frightened with this unexpected run of ill success, that they were ready to listen to any terms which Cleomenes should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he sought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the Greeks, and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. Lerm was appointed for the place of treaty, the Achaeans being willing to accept of the king’s terms; but Cleomenes, marching thither swiftly, hated himself very much by the way, and, drinking in the midst of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himself into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech; he ordered, however, the principal captives of the Achaeans to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and Greece; for Aratus, who till this time had approved himself a most worthy Grecian commander, now suffered envy, jealousy, and self-conceit to triumph over his virtue and love for his country; and he, who, in his youth had expelled the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that Cleomenes, the most worthy of the Spartan kings, should be raised to that dignity which he so highly deserved. When Cleomenes was recovered, he advanced towards Argos, where the Achaeans held their assembly; but when he drew near, Aratus cauned deputies to be sent him, to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place; to which Cleomenes answered, That he was unjustly dealt with, for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and now, when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy and deny him admittance. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the Achaeans was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt and break the union; because on the one side the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands and a dilcharge of their debts; and on the other the nobility grew weary of Aratus’s power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes invaded Achaia, where he first took Pellone by surprize and beat out the Achaian garrison; afterwards he made himself master of Pheneon and Ponteion. Not long after he surprized Argos, and in a very small space of time raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than the he had ever held in Greece. In this space he would very gladly have treated with Aratus, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship; but he was immovable in his resolution of destroying the Spartan greatnecs; with this view he procured the cattle of Corinth, which was the key of Peloponnesus, to be delivered up to Antigonus, who suddenly came to his assistance with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of Peloponnesus till Argos was betrayed; even there he did great things, and, when over-powered by numbers, he could do no more, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from Sparta the news of his wife’s death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for tho’ the Spartans were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet Cleomenes was distinguished for his fondness even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero and like a king; he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp resumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without sufferings his private concerns to interfere with public affairs. Ptolemy at this time offered him his friendship in case he would fend him his mother and his son as hostages. This demand troubled Cleomenes; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at last, when it broke out, Cratisileus buried a
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burt out a laughing; Well, said he, was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do
you not put me on his board, and send this care about where it may be serviceable to Sparta,
before age rots it unprofitably here? When she was going on board, the withdrew
her son into the temple of Neptune, where having wept and embraced each other,
the king of Sparta, said he, let us dry our tears, that no signs of grief may appear
when we go out, nor any token of weakness appear unworthy your dignity or the honour
of our country, since our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly
to providence. She wrote afterwards to him from Egypt: King of Sparta, do what is
worthy of your country and may redeem to its profit; nor, for the sake of an old woman
and a little child, stand in fear of what Ptolemy may do. Cleomenes acted in this unequal
war with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the most excellent cap-
tain among the Greeks. He had to do with a numerous army composed of veterans,
well armed, and well disciplined, and well paid; his own troops were most of them
new-railed, many of them half armed, and nothing but what he could get to sub-

Yet he kept the war out of Laconia, took the city of Megalopolis,
which was bigger than Sparta, in the midst of king Antigonus's armies; and when
he had taken it generously offered to restore it untouched to its citizens, but they,
rejecting his offer, abandoned it to the plunder of his soldiers. After this he haras-
inflicted the territory of Argos, and raised mighty contributions, though Antigonus
and the Macedonian forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was cited
as a mark of greatness, arrogance, and a vain-glorious show of short-lived success; and it is owing
to Polybius, that posterity considers it in a different light; for he tells us, that tho'
the generals was to have acted from a desperate temerity, yet men
of the best discernment and understanding agreed, that he behaved with great pru-
dence and judgment. The true fate of the cafe is this: Cleomenes saw, that tho'
at present he could make head against his enemies, yet in a short time he should
be destroyed without fighting; he therefore sought to provoke Antigonus to fight,
where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again Antig-

When the battle was over, Cleomenes retired to Sparta, where, however, he knew
it was impossible for him to stay, nor indeed did he rest there above a few hours; for,
after having given a few directions, he went to his own house, where, without
leaving the scene, he cleared himself, in his armour as he was, against a pillar,
and considering what he should do, he at length determined to retire to Egypt; which
resolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to Cythera,
there embarked on board a few ships, and passed over to Ptolemy Euergetes, who en-
terred him honourably while he lived; but his son growing fond of him confined
him, which Cleomenes at length relenting, he with twelve friends forced the place
where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to escape, they flew
each other. Ptolemy Philopator in revenge of this cauited the body of Cleomenes to be
exposed on a crofs, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants.
Miscreable end of so great a man, who fought only to make his country free and his

Footnotes:
9 Plut. in vit. Arat. & Philopom.
A countrymen virtuous! In him ended the *Horæan race* of Spartan kings, if we except the short reign of *Agis*; for which we shall presently mention *(X)*.

*(X)* In this note we shall vindicate our history of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confess to be very little consistent with the account given us by *Polybius*, though we acknowledge that he is generally thought without a mistake, and *Lycurgus* left it, and had great opportunities of knowing the true state of things at the time of which we are speaking: and yet we affirm, that he has not spoken of *Cleomenes* things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a just right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and established reputation. Two things therefore we shall endeavour to demonstrate in this note: *First*, That *Polybius* hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his history; and, *Secondly*, That the causes of his misrepresentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be ascribed. *First*, then, *Polybius*, opening to his reader the causts of the *Cleomenes* war, writes thus: When this war was kindled, and Cleomenes had ruined the republic of Lacedaemon, and converted a lawful authority into tyrannical power, *Aratus*, who saw that this prince made war quite to the detriment of the state, and being at the same time afraid of what might be attempted by the Boeotians, thought it necessary to counterwork their projects *(71)*. In this passage *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant, and unoasbly he was so in the opinion of all the *Athenians*; and the inhabitants of those times dealt as freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no scruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the first tyrant of Lacedaemon *(72)*. *Polybius* is yet more outrageous; he says, that *Cleomenes*, following the example of *Lycurgus*, made himself the mighty ruler of the state of *Plataea*, affected tyranny, and therefore diguished the *Lacedaemonians* so much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after *(73)*. Yet all these great men are most certainly in the wrong; nay, *Polybius* and *Polybius* are for of their own sharpening. For the fairest way every admits, that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wisdom and mildness, as well as intrepidly valiant and of a lofty spirit. The reason for which we assert this is his conduct to the *Ephors* from the foregoing passage, because he altered that condition of the republic in which it stood when he ascended the throne. It is confessed he did so, but that he would not change the condition in which he was born, we will prove from *Polybius* himself. In another part of his writings, decrying like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words: *Lycurgus*, in populating by his laws for the harmony of his citizens, for the security of his polity, and the maintenance of liberty, hath done so well, that his inimitate seem rather to be divine than human. An equality of possessions with a simple and in expensive course of life could not but render men honest and sociable in private, and quiet and peaceable in public concerns; finally, continual exercise and a readiness to undertake any kind of labour could not fail of making them both industrious and indefatigable *(74)*. He adds further, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant he commends the *Lacedaemonians*, for having from a state of perfect freedom sunk by degrees into that of absolute slavery under *Nabopolassar*, by a continual declaration from the *Lacedaemonians* initiates. Now, if the history of the *Lacedaemonians* and their ruin arose from their departure from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and of the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their enlisting an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein *Lycurgus* left it? Nay, if he did it, it will be said he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephors, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephors were not established by *Lycurgus*, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had destroyed the constitution by introducing the sale of lands, they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign, and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* says, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny, from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its ancient lustre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, who have proved, and consequently we have shown, that *Livy* was in an error when he filled him the first of the *Lacedaemonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falsehood of *Pausanias* account, he says, that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*, and *Polybius* intimates the same thing, but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius* history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had no such right of; he was not马克 in the mighty office of the *Plataeans*, and whenever he had them contently rejected them. He brought his paternal estate into the public flocke when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he restored all the cities he took to their ancient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions; and chose to have allies where he might have subdued; with reason therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pausanias* censure, that the *Spartans* for hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically opposite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that after his flight into *Egypt* he was received without kings, because they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wished and expected his return. These are his words, and he afterwards tells us, that as soon as they knew that *Cleomenes* was dead, they resolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the second part of what we proposed, the causes of *Polybius* misrepresentations, and they were no other than those which have been and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. Polybius lived in these times: He was by birth of the city of *Megapolis* which *Cleomenes* destroyed; he was an *Achean* flatamian, a professed and zealous friend of *Aristus*, the capital enemy of this prince whom he so much detests. *Aristus* fought to bring all the *Peloponnesian* states into the *Athenian* league, and why? that they might be thereby safe against the *Macedonian* power; *Cleomenes* opposed this, because it was contrary to the interest of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become incomparable. *Aristus* endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his scheme by force, on a supposition, that *Cleomenes* being a young man might have been easily deposed. For all, when *Cleomenes* in his own defence had humbled the *Athenians*, he did not make a pretext of *Lycurgus*, and of *Pausanias*, but offered to join with them to support the
The History of the Lacedaemonians. Book I.

After the fatal battle of Sellasia, Sparta fell into the hands of king Antigonus, who, out of regard to the merit of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time very quietly, and, submitting to the present situation of things, acted in such a manner as might give least umbrage to Aratus and the Acheans, who were the king’s friends; as long as Cleomenes lived, though an exile and at last a prisoner in Egypt, the Spartans lived as well as they could under the government of the ephors and senate; but as soon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly ascertained it was true, new fires arose, in which Adamas, one of the ephors, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his colleagues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them, how little their behaviour corresponded with the circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in their present unsettled condition in a new war with the Macedonians, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever since treated them well. The people of Sparta, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason as soon as they began to understand it, which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about Adamas and flabbed him; which once done, they did as they pleased. Soon after this Philip the son of Antigonus arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the Spartans sent deputies to make their submission, which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, after representing the Lacedaemonians as a turbulent and factious people, declared, that the king ought to treat them as heretofore Alexander had done the Thbians, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe punishment. But the king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them; he said, the sedition of the Spartans turned to their own hurt, that on his appearance they had offered to submit themselves and become his subjects; and that to put their principal men to death and mal-treat the rest would be unworthy of a prince; he therefore contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the Spartans for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet; after which he dismissed them.

The Aetolians, making new disturbances in Greece, were very desirous to engage the Lacedaemonians in their interest; to this end they sent Macabtes ambassador to Sparta; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the Aetolians; but those magistrates, liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for Macabtes. This party after his departure found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that at a solemn festival they murdered them at the temple of Pallas, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first Agesipolis a boy, the grandson of Cleombrotus who Leonidas banished, and appointed Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus and the child’s uncle, his tutor. For the other king they set up Lycurus, a man, no-way allied to the royal family, or at least never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a piece to the ephori, they declared him of the Hellenic race and the lawful king of Sparta. He after some time drove Agesipolis into banishment, and involved his country in several wars, which he waged with various success. At last Chilo confounded against him; this man conceived he had some right to the Spartan throne, and having engaged about two hundred persons to abet his scheme, he fell upon the ephori suddenly and murdered them; after which he surrounded the house of Lycurus, who, by the fidelity of some of his retainers,


and Agesipolis elected kings.

the liberty of Greece against the Macedonian kings; but Aratus, revolting to have all things his own way, called in the ephor Macedonians, delivered up to them Agesipolis, destroyed the Lacedaemonian kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himself poisoned by Philip king of Macedon, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. Phocion, milled by Aratus’s notions, paints Cleomenes as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preserve Greece free, and Greece left her freedom because he failed in his design; this has appeared since, and Plutarch, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that justice to Cleomenes which Phocion denied him (75).
The History of the Lacedaemonians.

a. varis, made his escape. Chilo, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of Lacoon, and retired to the Macedonians whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. When things were a little settled, Lycurgus was recalled, and reigned in Sparta many years. When king Philip came into Pelopennesus for the second time, and began to transact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion of Aratus, Lycurgus and the Lacedaemonians began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of Macedonia, notwithstanding all the mischief they had fulfilled; neither were they frightened from this purpose, when they were informed, that the king was become friends again with Aratus and his son; wherefore, as soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded Mesolongia, which

b. immediately drew Philip that way, upon which Lycurgus retired, that he might put his country into a condition to frustrate the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king Philip took all the precautions possible to hinder his design from being penetrated. He advanced with his army as far as Amyclae, from whence he spoiled all the country round about: In the mean time the Messenians invaded Lacoon on the other side, resolving to march through it and join the Macedonians; but while their commander, who greatly concerned the Spartans in their present distressful condition, encamped carelessly and without throwing up any intrenchments, Lycurgus suddenly attacked them with such success, that he took the greatest part of their horses and baggage, and returned with much honour to Sparta.

c. As soon as he returned, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. In the first place, he recovered the poits which the Macedonians hadखेड़ on the mountains, and then cauing the waters of the Eurotas to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; so that the Macedonians, not being able to march that way, would be oblied to coaf the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the infuls of Lycurgus and his Lacedaemonians. Philip perceiving this resolved, first of all to dispoist Lycurgus of his poists in the mountains, which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed; however, he retired with his forces at last into the city, which he preferred from any infuls; and thus this great king of

d. Macedonia, after having plundered and ravaged Lacoon, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the ephori, having, or pretending to have, information, that Lycurgus intended to make himself absolute, they attempted to surprize and murder him in his house; but he, having previous notice of their design, withdrew into Aetia, and the inquir of the ephori being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the sword, in possession of the regal authority, or not; neither can we say what steps were taken by the Spartans when they lost this king of their own election: If we take him for the laft of their princes, or, according to others, we look upon Cleomenes in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lama reign fulfilled; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which, according to the constitution of Sparta, could not but be lame, and under them all the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

Macbontidas was the successor of Lycurgus, but when he attained the sovereignty is very uncertain; the year in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin, by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a person of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the ephori, as not caring to have any either equal or greater than himself in Sparta; abroad he made all Peloponnese tremble, which in all probability he would have subdued and brought under his own power, if Philopomen the chief of the Achaeans had not opposed him. He engaged all the cities in that league to furnish troops for reducing the power of Machonidas within bounds, which, as he plainly shewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exercising them for some time in flight skirmishes, he marched towards Mantinea, in order of battle. Thither also came Macbontidas at the head of a very powerful army, composed not only of Spartans, but of mercenaries; an engagement quickly

2 Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Philop.
quickly followed which was very obstinate, in which at first Machanidas had the better; but he pursuing this advantage too far, Philopomen attacked him in the rear; however, the Lacedemonians fought desperately for a time, expecting that Machanidas would come to their relief, which accordingly they did; but Philopomen foreseeing that he would take the shortest way, and knowing that there was a ditch there of which Machanidas was ignorant, he left Polybius the Megalopolitan to pull the enemy that were still fighting, and with a small party of horse advanced to the ditch to meet Machanidas, whom he pretently distinguished by his purple robe. The tyrant, who with two or three friends had out-rode the rest of his troops, seeing that Philopomen and his company were but few, resolved to pass the ditch; in order to this he pushed his horse directly against Philopomen, who turning aside was picked up, but as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his spear to bear directly against his breast as his horse leaped, so that, just as he passed the ditch, Machanidas fell down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as soon as his death was known his army fled: The Acheans waited all the provinces which had been subject to him, the Spartans, who left four thousand men in this engagement, having neither spirited nor strength to oppose them.

Not long after the death of Machanidas, we find Sparta under a new and yet fewer bondage under one Nabis, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epistles of gracious and merciful to Phalaris and Dionysus on a comparison of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps in many ways of plaguing and punishing their subjects; but Nabis had not only all, but invented and practised such acts of cruelty as were never heard of before, and have sunk into oblivion since. To all who were honest, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy, such as he could lay his hands on he murthered, such as were not immediately in his power he banished: But did he stop there? no. He sent some of his Cretan affinities after them where ever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home he reigned with a dissembling, which some called wildom. He kept up the state of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and lycophants, and struck terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. Polybius tells us, that he had a painted image which resembled his wife, and this being clad in royal robes he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any Lacedemonian out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain secret springs, it caught any who were nearest in its arms, and forced them to say anything the tyrant pleased. The detrestre and dejected state of all Greece, which was now mighty divided, weak in its councils, and weaker still in the execution of them, and with all this mighty over-awed by the power of the Macedonian kings and the Roman republic, gave vast opportunities to the tyrant to increase his dominions and to exalt his power. He in the midst of these confusions feiz'd, under pretence of afflicting some of the exiled citizens, on Argos, into which he put a garion under the command of Pythogoras his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the supporter of his tyranny. The Acheans immediately applied to the Romans, for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. Titus Quinius the Roman general arriving in Greece, they quickly made him fable of the mischief that would follow, if Nabis was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of Peloponnesus under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes as threatened disturbance even to the Romans themselves. Quinius marched immediately into the neighbourhood of Argos, and had some thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a rising was attempted, which in the destruction of those who were defrous to be free. After this he marched towards Lacedemon itself, at which Nabis was exceedingly troubled; he ordered, however, a general assemblage of the people to be held without the city, whether as soon as they were come, he surrounded them with his troops; then he made a short speech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themselves and their private concerns the interest of their country; he then...
then magnified the great pains he had taken in securing all the pofts and avenues of Sparta, concluded, that since without speaking he had done so much for their service, they ought not now he did speak to grudge doing somewhat for him, the rather, because what he sought concerned likewise their own safety; some there were amongst them, he faid, who had given him just cause to fluke their conduct; these therefore he was determined to fetize and imprison, till, the present danger being over, he might, which he greatly wished, refotre them again to liberty confident with his own and the publick safety: Having made this goody harangue, he caufed fourfore perfons of worth and honour to be arrested, the unarm'd multitude looking on with amaze-
ment, and that fame night he caufed them all to be murdered in prifon; a little afterwards, growing jealous of the Helotes, he feized a great number of them, caufed them to be bisoucred in the streets, till the kennels were discolored with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the Romans about to besiege him, he resolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king Antio-
chus was meditating new flirs, and from thence concluded, that Quin.tius would be g.1 to come to some agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that
great man, having nothing so much in view as the interest of Rome, readily agreed to meet him and hear his proposals: Nabis at this interview made a long and well-compofed oration, to which Quin.tius made him but an indifferent return, yet promised to fend him certain articles in writing; and thus this conference ended.

The allies laboured hard to engage Quin.tius not to treat any more, king Eumenes, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpose, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him; Ageopolis king of Sparta, who with many other ill-fated exiles waited on Quin.tius, inflit, that it would be unworthy of the Roman name to enter into treaty with fo execrable a perfon; the Acheans were of the fame sentiments, yet Quin.tius remained firm to his own; he faw clearly that they regarded their own interefts, and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but thofe of Rome; acting therefore on this motive, he fent Nabis, as he had promised, an account of the terms wherein he would grant him peace, and thofe terms were thofe: That he should withdraw all his garrisons from Argos and its terri-
tories: that he should deliver up all the fhips of war he had taken, and of all his fleet should retain no more than two galliots: That he should deliver up fuch as had fled to him from the Roman allies, and make reftitution to the Mefopotamians for plundering their territories: That he should refotre to the Lacedemonians exiles their wives and children: That he should build neither castle nor city in his own territories nor in thofe of his neighbours: That he should give five fuch hostages as the general would chufe, and among them his own fon: That he should pay down a hundred talents, and that he should continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. Nabis disliked these conditions, and found means to make all the Lacedemonians dilike them, fo that they determined to make an obfinate defence;

Quin.tius, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thoufand men, resolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did feveral times, but was as often repulfed. At laft he penetrated into the city, and his foldiers beginning to take poft in the first long street, Nabis thought of nothing but making his ecape; yet Pythagoras delivered him from this danger, by fering the ftreet on fire at each end, and engaging the Lacedemonians, who were yet fighting in front, to supply the rifing flames with fjual. The Roman foldiers were forced again to withdraw, but Nabis was fo thoroughly frightened, that with much ado he procured peace on the terms before specified, which was hardly concluded before advice came, that the Argives had delivered themselves by expelling his garrisons. When Nabis was free from the neighbourhood of the Roman army, he began to cafh about in his mind how he might extricate himfelf from the mischiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of lofing at once thofe dominions, which he had been fo long and with fo much pains acquiring. He was efi-
dually irritated at beholding himfelf without a Sea-port, and little fet by amongst his neighbours; he therefore began to treat privately with Antiochus and the Eiolians for creating new diffurbances in Peleponnefus, and having received from them great promises, he began to act offefively againft the Acheans and their allies. Gymnas

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pomen, though he could not hinder the taking of Gymthum, yet resolved to terrify the tyrant by marching directly towards Lacedaemon, which had the consequence he expected and desired, since Nabis drew his forces together, and led them with the utmost dilference to the relief of his capital; by this forced march he fronted the Achaean army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant feizing on this occasion a very strong camp, where Philopomen intended to have lain that night. This great general, perceiving that his first design was rendered abortive, immediately formed a second, and, since he could not spoil Sparta, resolved to content himself with destroying an army every way superior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the Acheans and Lacedaemonians were to fetch water; but it was considerably nearer to the former than to the latter. Philopomen therefore sent a great detachment to take it privately in a copse which bordered on the river; when the troops of Nabis came to water their horses and to fill their vessehs for the camp, this detachment suddenly attacked them and cut many of the light-armed soldiers in pieces. About the same time he sent one of his auxiliary soldiers as a defterer to Nabis, with instructions to give him information, that the Acheans designed to move in the night, in order to get between him and Lacedaemon. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as soon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp which Philopomen could never have forced, and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his intrenchments, marched with all the troops he could towards Sparta. Philopomen foreseing this attacked his camp as soon as he was out of it, and to harry his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that Nabis found himself constrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. Philopomen in this space recalling his light-armed forces, he left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were still fresh, marched with great secrecy, and fezed the paffes which ledd to Lacedaemon, not doubting, but at the approach of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had fezed the avenues the forces of Nabis were in a manner at his mercy, and he used his advantage so well, that the tyrant with a very small part of his army got into the city, covered with disgrace, and unable to hinder Philopomen from spoiling the country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving Nabis much dejected and with small forces to continue the war. His recovery of Gymthum furnished him at present with little comfort, for the enemy being master of all the country, he could scarcely hold any correspondence therewith; besides, his navy was very inconsiderable, and he had every day repeated advice that the Romans intended suddenly to send a new army into Greece. The Lacedaemonians themselves appeared disjuncted, which made him afraid to lead his soldiers without the city, and went up within it they were scarce of any use. In the midst of these distresses and disjunctions, he placed all his hopes in the Aetolians, who had indeed done a great deal of mischief in Greece, and had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into this war. To these he dispatched courier after courier, not with the haughty command of a tyrant, but with the humble supplications of a distressed ally; he reminded them, that for their sakes only he had so precipitately entered this war, at a time when none else cared to own them for allies; he themed them truly the nature of his distresses, hoping that it would make their relief the quicker and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the Aetolians being fit confederates for such a tyrant. As soon as they had given audience to his meiiengers, they dispatched them with large assurances of ready affilance, while in the mean time they consulted what for their interest would be fittest to be done; the refult of their consultations was, that in the days of his prosperity, and when he had a strong army of mercenaries at his command, Nabis was their good ally, and deferred all possible regard; but in the present situation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he scarce able to maintain himself in Sparta, 'twould better serve their purposes to remove him out of the way and take the city to themselves. This coucil taken and approved, a thousand foot and thirty horse were chosen to march to Lacedaemon under the command of Alexaneus. When they were ready to depart, the horsemen were sent for into the great council, where they received the following short and pithy instructions, that they were not sent to affiht Nabis to make war upon the Acheans, or for any other purpose whatsoever, than to obey Alexaneus, and to do what he directed let it be what it would. Thus diffnihted, they marched under the command of that general to Sparta, where they found Nabis very little satisfied with

A lexamenus did all he could to encourage him, he told him, the Aetolians by sending him intended no more than to give him a specimen of their good will, instructing him also to inform him, that if his necessities required it, they would, whenever he requested it, march with the utmost forces they could raise to his relief; he likewise informed him, that Antiochus was resolved to make war on the Romans, and intended to cover Greece with his armies and the sea with his ships; that many of the Greek states were inclined to his party, and that the Aetolians were about to muster all their troops before the king's commissioners shortly, which was the reason why they sent so few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by these confidant speeches, began, by the advice of Alexamenus, to exercise his forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage and the Athenians apprehensions. At these exercises the Aetolian general failed not to affright; his guard of horse keeping, according to his order, aloof, and he sometimes riding up to them as if it were to give them orders. These growing at last into daily practices, the Lacedaemonians sinking again into a timorous obedience, Nabis entertained fresh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of reengraving himself upon the Romans for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The Spartan guards, which Alexamenus looked upon as the best corps in the tyrant's army, he advised to be posted, phalanx-wise, beyond the rest, offering such plausible reasons, that Nabis readily yielded to it, which was the only step wanting to his ruin. When the day came when Alexamenus resolved to execute his great and desperate design, he behaved towards Nabis with more than ordinary complaisance; he commended the appearance and discipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promised him the supremacy in Peloponnesus, and perceiving that his complaisance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant testifying by his looks and gestures the highest satisfaction, Alexamenus suddenly wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of Aetolians, bid them remember the instructions they had received when they were first chosen for this service. Having said this, he turned the head of his horse, and rode with a full career against Nabis whom he overthrew, and his Aetolians, riding immediately after him, one after another buried their spears in the bosom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of what passed till he was dead, and then, not knowing for whom he fought, they bore fighting at all. The rest of the Lacedaemonians looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had so long and so cruelly oppressed them, terror at beholding so strange an accident; the reasons of which they knew not, and of its consequences were therefore afraid. Alexamenus and his Aetolians, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace and riding all his treasures; the soldiers shortly after followed his example, so that in a short time the Lacedaemonians looked on the murder of Nabis as their misfortune; but considering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous Sparta to look on and see their riches carried away by foreigners, they without much ado took a child whose name was Lacoicus, and who on account of his being descended from the royal family was bred up by Nabis; him they set on horsecap, and gathering about him, they surrounded many of the Aetolians and put them to the sword; after a while they broke into the palace, where they flew Alexamenus and those who were with him; they forced likewise a temple of Diana to which many of the Aetolians were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the sword. When they were in the midst of this confusion, of which none had projected any share, Philopomen arrived, some friends of his having posted to him with the account of the death of Nabis; the forces he had been few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of seizing the city; on the contrary he did what Alexamenus ought to have done, that is, he convinced the Lacedaemonians of the madness of their proceedings, and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their freedom, to unite themselves to the Aetolians, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the Aetolians expected from their treachery.

It may indeed seem strange, that the Spartans, who had entertained such generous notions of liberty, submitted patiently for so long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawless tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great measure taken off, if we consider two things. First, That the manners of the Lacedaemonians were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very basis of slavery; there can be no such thing as bending the necks of virtuous people; but when once men are abandoned to their vices and become slaves to their passions, they readily stoop to those who can
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can gratify them; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of Sparta at this time. Secondly, those amongst them who were distinguished by their merit and their morals were on this very account proscribed by the tyrants and hated by their creatures; so that they were forced to forfake their country and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flatteried themselves with the hopes of seeing better times, and even in these confided themselves with the thought, that Sparta yet retained her independence, and was not subjected to any other state (Y).


(Y) There is a point or two in the Lacedæmonian history, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be considered more largely. Aratus undoubtedly intended the preservation of the Grecian liberty, especially from the Macedonian power, but at the same time he as certainly intended to engage all the Peloponnesian states in the Achaean league, which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this account it was that he hated and made war upon all the little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he filled tyrants and perfected as such, as the Acheans continued ever after to do. If Sparta had acceded to the Achaean league, it is very possible, that Greece might have vindicated its freedom, for some time at least, against both the Macedonians and the Romans; but Sparta had been too long at the head of Peloponnesus to think of changing her government at the first motion of Aratus and the Acheans, and therefore gladly accepted the proposal of Cleomenes to restore her ancient form of government, and with it her ancient llure (75.) Aratus, seeing that this would entirely overturn his scheme, immediately called Cleomenes tyrant, and as such would have pulled him down. While the Spartans, and those who sided with the Spartans, acknowledged him the vindicator of the ancient Grecian liberty, one who desired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preserve kingling government in Sparta. It is true, that Machanidas and Nabir pretended to carry on the same design, the latter actually dividing the lands as Cleomenes had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing of themselves and their families, and the supporting of a dominion unlawfully maintained, which was far from being his case (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly flated these matters, will clearly appear from the following history of the Acheans, wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the Lacedæmonians, till their manners were wholly changed and the Lycurgus institutions rooted out by force. Now whether such proceedings as these of raising a constitution that did not suit with their league, or Cleomenes's schemes for supporting every state in its pristine form, ought with greatest justice to be filled a defence of bollowing liberty on Grecius, the reader must determine.


C H A P.
The History of the several states of Greece, from the beginning of the Achean league to its dissolution, and thence succintly to the present time.

S E C T. I.

The History of Achaia.

All Greece, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. Achaia, Aetolia, and Abens. There were, 'tis true, at this time several other republics in Greece; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are to interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately would be only dwelling the work with needles repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of Achaia, by far the most considerable republic of Greece in its declining times; after having premised, that the name of Achaia was used by the ancients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call Greece; that is, Attica, Megaris, Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, the territory of Thebes, Aetolia, and Doris. In after-ages it was confined to that country in Peloponnesus which was possessed by the Acheans, and extended along the bay of Corinth and the Ionian sea, from the confines of Sicyn to the territory of Elis. In the Roman times the name of Achaia comprised not only all Peloponnesus, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the Achean league; upon the dissolution of which all Greece was by a decree of the Roman senate divided into two provinces, viz. that of Macedon, containing Macedonia and Thessaly, and that of Achaia, which took in all the other states of Greece. We have already described the country, and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the Greek cities to their ancient freedom.

Achaia, a state originally of small account, rose by degrees to such a height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival and even eclipse the most powerful states of Greece. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws and happy constitution. For the Acheans, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which, obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their small republic, united them into one body, and at the same time left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the Acheans were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures, the same magistrates, council, and judges, and in short every thing so uniform, that all Achaia seemed but one city. This invited many of the Peloponnesians to embrace their form of government and accede to the Achean alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the same of their wife laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, but even reached

* Universal History, Vol. II. p 414, 41; Vol. II. 8 A
reached the Greek colonies in Italy, where the Crotoniates, the Sybarites, and the Caenianites, agreed to adopt the Achaean laws and govern their states conformably. The Achaean and Theban had such an esteem of their impartial justice and equity, that they chose them after the famous battle of Leuctra to compose some differences that were still subsisting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author observes, to refer their differences to the arbitration of the Achaean, by any argument of their greatness or power, there being no state at that time in all Greece that was not superior to them in both these respects, but merely in consideration of their justice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

This form of government continued from the expulsion of Gyges the last king of Achaia to the time of Alexander the Great, upon whose death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, each city purging their private interest to the prejudice and destruction of their neighbours. As these dissensions and emulations were artificially sown and carefully fomented by the Macedonian princes, so they failed not to take advantage of them; for Demetrius, Cassander, and Antigonus Gonatus, feinting on some of their cities, obliged them to receive the Macedonian yoke. In this unhappy situation they changed masters as often as Macedonia did sovereigns, and were moreover enslaved by tyrants of their own, who as they espoused the Macedonian interest, so they were supported with the whole strength of that kingdom.

The Achaean league reformed.

The inhabitants of Mycenae and Dyrrachium gave the first example of this happy change. Five years after the death of Leuctra, having driven out the Macedonian garrison, ascended to the alliance. The inhabitants of Bura followed their example, having first killed their prince or tyrant; and soon after those of Ceranias incorporated their city into the same Achaean body, Yeas their tyrant resigning the dominion, upon promise of indemnity for what was passed.

The cities we have mentioned were the first that revived the ancient association, continuing for the space of twenty-five years to maintain the same form of government without being joined by any others. But at last the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a fine sense for justice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew several neighbouring cities to join them. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner, being induced thereby to Aratus (B) the Sicyonian, who at the age of twenty

(A) Polybius tells (1) us, that great disturbances arising among the Greek cities in that part of Italy which was called Magna Graecia, embassadors were dispatched to them from all parts of Greece; but that the council only of the Achaean was chosen to cure those great evils and compose the dissensions, which they did with such success, that all those cities by common consent agreed to imitate them, and to form themselves according to the example of the Achaean republic. Whereupon uniting in one body they built a temple to Jupiter Hammarus, appointing that place for the congress of their general assemblies.

(1) Polybius, lib. ii.

(A) Polybius, lib. ii.

(Pausan.) in Achaia. b Polyb. lib. iib. c Polybius & Pausan. ubi supra.

(Polybius, lib. ii.)
twenty years rescued his country from tyranny and restored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his countrymen in the Achaean league, he took by surprise Acro-Corinth (C), and also the city of Magara,

excellent qualities which he began already to display on several occasions. The Stygian exiles, discovering in him an early avarice to tyrants, began to call their eyes upon him, as a person defined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For Aratus had scarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant of Styx at that time, and pushed his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that, notwithstanding the vigilance of the king’s eye on his conduct, he scaled the walls of Styx and entered the city by night, before Nicocles had any notice or even suspicion of his design. However, he had the good luck to make his escape, leaving Aratus in possession of the city. The next morning the people being assembl’d in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald procliiming, with loud voice, that Aratus the son of Clinias invited the citizens to reform their ancient liberty. The news were no sooner heard, the whole multitude, with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, floated to the tyrant’s palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was Styx delivered from its tyrants without the loss of one single man, and on either side Aratus commanded his followers to abstain from slaughter, saying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumstance gave him both joy and the title of savior.

Sicyon then began to recover its ancient splendor; but Aratus was not yet quite eafe from his inquietude and perplexity. Antigonus king of Macedon had supported and protected Nicocles, and was ready to lay hold of the first opportunity to make himself master of the city, or to establish in it some other tyrant: seeds of sedition were artfully sown among the citizens by his partizans and emissaries; and Aratus was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the safest and most prudent conduct in so delicate a juncture would be to unite Sicyon in the Achaean league, which, which, by its connection with the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himself among the cavalry for the service of that state (C).

(C) The idylmus of Corinthus unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus. The citadel of Corinthus, known by the name of Acro-Corinth, was situated on a high mountain between those two continents, which is there divided by a very narrow neck of land; so that this forrest cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the isthmus, and can awe, if well garnished, all Greece; for which reason Philip of Macedon used to call it the fortress of Greece.

This forrest Antigonus had taken by surprize, with a design to enslave all Peloponnesus; but Aratus wrested it out of his hand by an action equal, in the opinion of Plutarch, to the chiefest enterprizes of the ancient heroes of Greece. After he had been long meditating with himself by what means he might gain that important place, he was by advice furnished with an opportunity of accomplishing his design. One Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinthus, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of Sicyon, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened one day to be the subject of their conversation, Erginus told his friend, that in going to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to a cave of that part of the hill where the wall of the fortres was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, asked his friend with a smile, whether he and his brother were deferent to make the attempt. Erginus undertook him, and promised to find his brother, by name Diones, on that head. A few days after he returned to Sicyon, and engaged with the banker to conduct him to the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high, adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprise. Aratus promised on his part to reward them with sixty talents if the affair should succeed; but as he was not master of such a sum, and the borrowing it might create suspicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife’s jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised reward. Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and furnished them with scaling-ladders, and led them to the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a steep rock within the fortres, so that they scaled the walls without being observed. Erginus having, with the assistance of his brother and some others that were gained over by him, killed the centurions that were the first to meet their forays. They then marching in great silence through the city, they met with a small guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who, making his escape alarmed the city. But Aratus, not thinking the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the forresf flood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But mistaking the path that was wick out of the rock, by reason of a thick fog which rode from the sea, the forresf at their first entering the city, Aratus was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the streets, and even the pompas, blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets sounded arms on all fides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog all on a sudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to shine with the same brightness as before, discovered the intricate windings of the track which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldest men, and arrived with much ado at the fortres which had been des cribed to him. But he found the garrison, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately dispatched Erginus to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While these were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a close body, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, appeared at the head of a considerable band with a design to mount the hill and attack Aratus in the rear. The two troops met in the forresf by ditt Sicyonians at his approach concealed themselves among the rocks; but he was no sooner past them than he flared out, and fell upon him with such resolution, that he was soon put to the rout. This action was scarce over when Erginus arrived, and acquainted them, that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate assistance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by Erginus, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their
The History of Achaia.

Book I.

Megara, from the Macedonians, uniting them both to the Achaean. The cities of Trœzen, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, were likewise prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary renunciation of the authority they had usurped over their fellow-citizens. * The tyrants of the Argives, of the Hermioneans, and the Phliusians, following their example, were likewise received into the alliance.

As these glorious successes raised the reputation of the Achaean league, so they created no small jealousy in the neighbouring states. But before we proceed to the wars which they were soon involved in by their jealous and refluxes neighbours, we shall give a succinct account of their happy constitution. All the cities subject to the Achaean league were governed by the great council or general assembly of the whole nation. To this assembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so confused as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn; but seldom out of these stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, dispelled of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquiesce in the determinations and ordinances of the diet, c or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called by the Greeks Strategus, and by the Latins Praetor, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the praetor's province to preside in the diet and command the army. They chose at first two praetors, but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone was Marcus the Carian, who succeeded by the famous Aratus. The praetor and other magistrates were appointed in the general assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The former was vested with great power, especially in time of war; but at the same time liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punishe without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanor or any other crime. The demiurges were next in power to the praetor, and therefore filled by Polybus and Lyg the supreme magistrates of the Achaean. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league for prudent, equity, and experience. It was their office to act with their advice the praetor, who was to lay nothing before the assembly but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the demiurges. In the praetor's absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and in some extraordinary cases they were even empowered to summon the general assembly out of the usual times.

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the ancients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiously observed while the republic continued in a flourishing condition. 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign embassadors, unless they first notified in writing to the praetor and demiurges the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city subject to the league should send any embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept of presents from foreign princes under any pretence what.

* Polyb. ibid. Plut. in Aret.

their approach with loud shouts to animate their friends, and strike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their shouts, doubled by the echoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight silence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint resistance from the wall, and left Aratus absolute master of the citadel. In the mean time the rest of the troops arriving from Sicyon were not only received with open arms, but assisted by the Corinthians in seizing all the Macedonians that were in the city. Aratus having secured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having assembled the people in the theatre appointed them in a long discourse in the theatre acquainted them with the particulars of the Achaean league, and with the sacrifices of the Achaean have been received to peace. They unanimously agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon Aratus then had never been in their power since the time of Philip the father of Alexander (2).

(2) Plut. in Aret.
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a whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state, or city should be admitted into the league without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days. These laws have been explained at length and illustrated with many useful observations by a modern writer of no mean character, to whom we refer the reader and resume the thread of our history.

The Aetolians, conceiving no small jealousy at the growing power and extraordinary success of the Achaean, began to inflit the same into the neighbouring states, with a view of breaking the union of those cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The sense of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendship of the Achaean, during their war with Antigonus, with-held them from openly declaring war against their benefactors. However, they left no stone unturned to stir up the Lacedaemonians, and engage their king Clemens in a war against the Achaean; wherein they succeeded to their wish; for Clemens at their instigation having built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans called Abbeanum, the Achaean interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general assembly, that the Lacedaemonians should be reputed enemies. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the Cleonemian war (C).

This declaration of the Achaean confederacy was no sooner heard at Sparta, but the Ephori commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of Clemens, who, coming up with the Achaean near Pallantium, offered them battle. But Aratus, declaring against an engagement, Arislaemachus the Achaean general made a retreat, which drew severe reproaches upon Aratus, both from his own countrymen and from the enemy, whose army did not amount to five thousand men in the whole; whereas that of the Achaean consisted of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse. Not long after the two armies met again, when the Achaean were defeated; but Aratus, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched straight to Mantinea, and, before the enemy could have any further possession of his design, made himself master of that important place. This advantage was soon counter-balanced by the loss of another battle, wherein great numbers of the Achaean were slain with Lysades their general, while they were purifying with too much eagerness and in disorder the Lacedaemonians, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory Clemens advanced into the territories of Megalopolis, where his troops committed great devastations, and got a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and plays to be exhibited in the sight of the enemy, not that he had any satisfaction in such shows and diversions, but only with a view to convince the Achaean, that he entirely despised them, and was sure of victory, having to deal with so contemptible a foe.

The Achaean, now reduced to the last extremity and under apprehension of being enflaved by the Lacedaemonians, especially if they should be joined by the Aetolians, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But Aratus, dreading the consequence of a treaty set on foot between his dispirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it, and at the same time had recourse to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage Antigonus king of Macedon in this war against the Lacedaemonians, which opened a way to the Macedonians into Greece.

Aratus

* Martini Shuckil, Replub. Achaeor. & Veient. 6 Idem, ibid. 6 Pult. in Clem. 6 Pult. ibid. (C) Plutarch (2) relates the occasion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that Clemens, not being able to break the authority of the Ephori, who arrogated all the power to themselves, leaving him only the empty title of King, resolved to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of his design would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achaean, who luckily for his purpose had given Sparta some occasions of complaint; for Aratus, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the Arcadians, who had espoused the party of the Lacedaemonians, to abandon them and enter into the Achaean league, entered their territories in a hostile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity Clemens laid hold of, and taking the field treated the Achaean as they had done the Arcadians. According to this account the Achaean, and not the Lacedaemonians, were the aggressors.

(2) Plut. in Clem.
Aretus knew, that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was likewise sensible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but measure amities and enmities by the rules of interest. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that Cleomenes and the Aetolians would oppose it, and that the Acheans themselves would have reason to despair, if they should see their general applying to their enemy. He therefore resolved to prosecute his purpose with such caution as to leave no room for suspicion, and to carry on his measures so as to keep them undiscovered. He was not ignorant, that the Megalopolitans, by their neighbourhood to the Lacedaemonians, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemies, and consequently, as they were greatly inclined to the house of Macedon, for the many favours they had received at the hand of Philip of Amyntas, they would reform for succour to Antigonus and the Macedonians. Having therefore gained over to his scheme Nicophon and Cercidas, two principal citizens of Megalopolis and well qualified for conducting the enterprise, by their means he brought it so about, that the Megalopolitans decreed to send embassadors to the assembly of the Acheans, begging leave to solicit succours from Antigonus. Nicophon and Cercidas were themselves sent to the Acheans with orders to proceed to Antigonus if they approved the proposition. The general assembly, having given audience to the embassadors, and reflecting, that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual succours by reason of their own great straits, referred to their propoloi, and granted them leave to pursue their orders. When they received audience of Antigonus, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, pursuant to the instructions of Aretus, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was then talked of between the Aetolians and Cleomenes, take place. They represented to him, that, if the united forces of those two states should gain over the Acheans the advantages they expected, the ambition of Cleomenes and the Aetolians would never be satisfied with the single conquest of Peloponnesus, but would aspire to the empire of all Greece, which they could not compacts without first destroying the Macedonian monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take; whether to succour the Acheans in opposition to Cleomenes and defeat his ambitious designs, or, by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great people, become liable at last to sustain a war in Thessaly for the empire of Macedonia, not only with the Lacedaemonians and Aetolians, but with the Acheans themselves. To these remonstrances they added, that, if the Aetolians continued their neutrality, the Acheans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces; but, if the other hand the Aetolians should join the enemy, they must then interpose to prevent with timely succors the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might be attended with final confinements to himself. They likewise took care to intimate, that Aretus would give such security for his fair proceeding and sincere intentions as should be pleasing to both parties, and that he himself would take upon him to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and with great pleasure laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of Greece. He likewise wrote an obliging letter to the Megalopolitans, assuring them of his affiance whenever the Acheans should think fit to call for it. The embassadors having acquainted Antigonus with the good disposition wherein they found Antigonus towards the Acheans, he was not a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished indeed to have had no occasion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet, to shun the blame that might redound upon the authors of such measures, he took care they should appear as concerted by the Acheans without his privity. The Megalopolitans having acquainted the Acheans with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of Macedon, and sent the letter of Antigonus to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into Peloponnesus without further delay. But Aretus standing up made a long speech, exhorting them to try first, whether they could support themselves with their own forces; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune should declare against them, it would then be time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice
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a advice was approved by the whole assembly, and it was then concluded, that the 

Antigonus should employ their own forces only in the prosecution of the war. 1

b The war proved very unsuccessful for the Achaean, who, being often工作 by 

Cleomenes, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their strongholds. 

Neither were they able to stop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign 

took the cities of Capyles, Pellene, Phenoe, Phlius, Cleone, Epidaurus, Hermione, 

and Corinthus itself. These successes allowed the Achaean no further time to delibe- 
rate, and accordingly, Aratus, at their entreaties, dispatched his son to Antigonus, 

inviting that prince to come with all speed to their assistance, and affurting him that, 

on his arrival, Acoro-Corinth should be put into his hands. Antigonus immediately 

began his march towards Peloponnese, at the head of twenty-thousand foot and four-

teen hundred horse, and arriving at the isthmus encamped just opposite to Cleomenes, 

who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between Acoro-Corinth 

and the Oinian hills. As Antigonus did not think it advisable, nor even practicable, 

to force his way through, and on the other hand had not a sufficient quantity of pro-

visions to subsist his army till the Achaean joined him, he was preparing to decamp, 

and transport his troops by sea to Sicyon. But in the mean time a messenger arriving 
at the camp acquainted Aratus, who was come to meet Antigonus, that the inhabitants 
of Argos had revolted from Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Where-

upon Aratus, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to sea, and 

arriving at Epidaurus marched from thence to Argos, and made himself master both of 

the city and cattle, after having defeated in a skirmish the partizans of Cleomenes, 

and killed Megistones, who had been detached from the army to their relief. 2 This 
success proved of great consequence to the Achaean, and first of all gave rise to the 

propensity of the allies, for Cleomenes, hearing that Argos was taken, and being 

apprehensive that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines and retired 

with great precipitation, first to Argos, and then to Mantinea. He appeared before Argos 

quite unexpectedly, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the 

citadel being in the hands of Aratus, and Antigonus pursuiving him close with all his 

forces.

d Antigonus, having thus entered Peloponnese without the loss of one single man, 

advanced to Corinth, which immediately surrendered, and thence to Tegea, Mantinea, 

Orchomenos, Hecera, and Telphalosa; all which places, terrified at the approach of the 

Macedonians, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. And now 

winter drawing near, he sent home his troops, and went himself to Aegium to affix 

at the general assembly of the Achaean, where, after having acquainted them with 

the motives of his coming among them, he was chosen general of the confederate army, 

and the important office of Acoro-Corinth was, by a decree of the council, made over 

to him.

In the mean time Cleomenes, receiving intelligence that Antigonus had sent home 
his army while he himself continued at Aegium, formed a design of surprizing the city 
of Megalopolis, very considerable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and ex-
tent to Sparta itself. As the garrison was not very strong at that time, nor the guards 

very strict in their duty, since Antigonus was near at hand and the enemy weakened with 

frequent looses, Cleomenes imagined he might easily get into the town in the night, pro-

vided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest; and accordingly ap-
plied himself to certain Meleagriani, who, having been banished from their country, had taken 

sanction in Megalopolis. Being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, 

seized the walls, and made himself master of the place without the least opposition. 

Most of the inhabitants retired to Meleagriani, whither Cleomenes sent a herald to acquaint 

them, that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would 

renounce the Achaean league and join the Macedonians. But they chose rather to be 

themselves diverted of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the 

fidelity they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopomeni, whom we shall have 

frequently occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to 

this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged Cleomenes, who immediately 
gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to Sparta, demolish-

ed the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left 

not so much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place. 3

Antigonus having sent his troops, as we have already observed, into winter quarters in Macedonia, Cleomenes assembled his early in the spring with a design to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the result of temerity and defpair, but according to Polybios, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As the Macedonians were dispersed in their winter quarters, and Antigonus enjoying himself with his friends at Argos without any other forces but a few mercenaries, Cleomenes taking the field made an irruption into the territories of Argos, laying waste the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he proposed in this enterprise was, to bring Antigonus to hazard an engagement, which in all probability would have loft; or, if he declined it, to let his reputation among the Achaean, and raise complaints against him, chiefly in the city of Argos. This project succeeded according to his expectation; for the Argians, seeing their country ravaged and laid waste under the king's eyes while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats pressed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign the command of their troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But Antigonus was deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances, and, in spite of the many reflections that were publicly cast upon him on that occasion, kept within the walls of the city, and turned the enemy inflicting him at the very gates. Thus Cleomenes, having frightened the enemy and inspired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to Sparta. In the beginning of the summer, Antigonus, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly loft among the Achaean, took the field with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and advanced into Laconia.

Cleomenes, not doubting, but the enemy would soon visit him, took care to guard all the passes with strong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricading the roads with large trees laid across. He marched himself with a body of twenty thousand men, and encamped at a certain place called Seleia, having reason to suspect that the enemy proposed to pass that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This pass was formed by two mountains, the one called Eusa the other Olympus; between these runs the river Oenus, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount Eusa under the command of his brother Eukidas, while he himself encamped on mount Olympus with the Spartan troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river sustained by a body of mercenary foot. When Antigonus arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that Cleomenes had made, and observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it advisable to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the banks of the Gorgulis, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days, the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts and the disposition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but finding every post well guarded, and Cleomenes warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemy's camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having fought thus to their defence some days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at last agreed on a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to such a resolution; he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from Sparta, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of Lacedaemon? Polybios indeed seems to infer the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us, that Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had promised to affix him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus and the Achaean. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.
Both armies being drawn up and the signals given, Antigonus detached a body of Ilyrians against Euclidas, who was posted on mount Eua; but while they were ascending the hill some light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while Euclidas, who was posted on the top of the hill, prefled them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. Philopomen, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the Ilyrians were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not heartening to him, as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of Megalopolitans his countrymen, the enemy's horse, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on the Ilyrians rear, to hasten to the relief of the cavalry; for Cleomenes had posted them at first near the cavalry on purpose to support and cover them. By this means the Ilyrians being disengaged resolutely marched up the hill against Euclidas, who, instead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the shock which the defeat of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was first posted. The Ilyrians, having gained the top of the hill without any opposition, now advanced against Euclidas on even ground, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was soon defeated and most of his men cut in pieces. This success against Euclidas was entirely owing to Philopomen, as Antigonus himself acknowledged, for, after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse how he came to fall upon them before the signal, and the officer excusing himself by saying, that a young man of Megalopolis had done it without his direction, the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw soldier.

During this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewise engaged on the plain by the river. The Achaeans behaved with uncommon bravery, being enabled, that this battle would decide their liberties. Philopomen distinguished himself above the rest, for his horse being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemy, till he was with a javelin struck through both thighs at one stroke.

But the sharpest encounter was on mount Olympus, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, consisting of about five thousand on each side. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man strove to signalize himself and perform something worthy of such spectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either side; but at last Cleomenes, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehensive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it advisable to level all the entrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having sounded the signal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both sides with equal animosity; but the Lacedemonian phalanx, not being able to sustain the shock of the double Macedonian phalanx, gave ground, and soon fell into the utmost confusion. The overthrow then became general; the Lacedemonians were everywhere cut in pieces, and those who found means to make their escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes with a small party of horse retreated to Sparta, whence he departed the night following to Gythium, where he embarked on a vessel, that attended him there according to his directions, and failed to Alexandria, accompanied by a small number only of his intimate friends. Plutarch affirms us, that most of the foreign troops in both armies were slain in this engagement, and that of five thousand Lacedemonians two hundred only outlived that action.

Cleomenes had scarce set sail when Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of it without resistance; for Cleomenes had advised the citizens to receive Antigonus, affording them at the same time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had disarmed his
resentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory so glorious in future ages as to have it said, that Sparta had been preferred by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addressed the citizens, he declared them free and restored them to the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges. He shewed an inclination to continue some time among them, but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occasioned by the intelligence he received that the Illyrians had invaded Macedon, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If Cleomenes had repented giving battle three days only, or had fortified himself in Sparta and held out for a short space of time, he would have preferred his dominions. From Sparta Againstus marched to Tegesa, which city he likewise declared free, and from thence to Argos, where the general assembly of the Achaean confederacy was then sitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the Achaean league, and by a decree of the council declared the protector of Achaia. From Argos he proceeded by long journeys to Macedon, where he gained a signal victory over the Illyrians; but on that occasion training his voice to animate his men, he burst a vein, and having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill state of health, which soon after took him out of the world.

Thus ended the Cleomenic war, leaving all Greece in a profound tranquillity. But the Aetolians were soon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honestly and abstain from plunder and rapine which they used to subflect on, leading much the same life on land as pirates do at sea; they had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all thoes as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of Antigonus, the fear they were under left he should fall upon them kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the Messenians, and carrying off their cattle and whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magistrates of such proceedings; but they seemed rather inclined to encourage than restrain such robberies, being sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders was one Dorimachus of Trichonidia, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him, every way and Aetolian, who being sent to Pyligalia, a city in Peloponnesus, but of the Aetolian confederacy, to be a spy upon the Achaean, encouraged the loose rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the Messenians had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquility. Dorimachus told their deputies, that he would come himself to Messene, and there hear their complaints and see all their grievances redressed. He went to Messene accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, whilst he still remained in the city, a band of Aetolian robbers from Pyligalia attacked in the night a certain country-house called Chyron, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the Messenians, having cited Dorimachus to appear before their assembly, arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison, till he promised, in the most solemn manner, that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he prevailed upon the Aetolians to revenge the treatment he had met with at Messene, by declaring war against the Messenians, which being proclaimed, the Aetolian pirates began to infest the neighbouring seas, taking all the ships they met with; they even made prize of a ship belonging to the king of Macedon, and carrying her to Cythera sold both there both the ship and her company. In short, they plundered all the coast of Epirus, made an attempt on Thyrea a city of Aca-rnania, and, conveying some troops privately into Peloponnesus, surprized and kept possession of a strong hold called Clarium in the Megalopolitan territory, making both of it to lodge and secure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very heart of Peloponnesus, they began their march towards Messene, plundering the cities of Patra and Pharos, which were of the Achaean alliance, and laying waste all the

* Polyb. lib. ii.  * Polyb. lib. iv
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The Achaeans in the mean time assembling according to custom at Aegium, the complaints of the Patræans and Phœbæans were heard, and the deputies of the Messenians tent to implore the affiance of the Achæans against the common enemy. After the assembly had deliberated on these matters, it was agreed, that the state had been afflicted by this inolent proceeding of the Aitolians, who had presumed to enter Achaia in a hostile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace. Whereupon, justly provoked by these infractions, they resolved to send succours to the Messenians, and that, as soon as the praetor should have raised them, they would then proceed further to execute what should be thought expedient by the assembly. Timæonas, who was then praetor of the Achæans, was not at all pleased with the decree of the assembly; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the Achæan soldiery. But Aratus, provoked at the indignities they had suffered by the audacious Aitolians, loth no time in putting the Achæans under arms, being determined to come speedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he dispatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day, when all their young men fit for the service should assemble at Megalopolis. All the Achæan youth being drawn together pursuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he sent a messenger to the Aitolians, requiring them to depart the territories of Messenia, and not to march into Achaia on peril of being treated as enemies. The Aitolians, not being at that time in a condition to make head against the army of the Achæans, complied with his demand. Whereupon Aratus dismissed the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, who had joined him, marching only with three thousand foot and three hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he observed, that they were marching off with an immense booty, which so provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last the Achæans, having the disadvantage of the ground and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The Aitolians purified them close with great shouts and acclamations, and made such a slaughter of the fugitives, that piety left by Aratus. Year of the Aratus, joined Aritos, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other use than to bury those whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the Aitolians, having gained 221. a complete victory contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite across the Peloponnesus, made an unsuccessful attempt on Pelée, plundered the territory of Sicyr, and encamped on the Ilissus.

In the mean time, the Achæans having called their general assembly, complaints were made against Aratus by all the allies, as the cause of the loss and dishonour which they had sustained. And indeed there was no dispute, but Aratus had greatly erred in having, we may say, usurped the magistracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had succeeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his past services they would not confine him with more rigour than humanity. His submission on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers, who, privately withdrawing, left Aratus in greater esteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the assembly gave themselves entirely up to his counsel and conduct, and re-invited him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Aitolians often gave him opportunities to difbref them, he made no advantage.
advantage of them, but suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole a
country; (D).

The Acheans were therefore forced to address Macedonia again, and call in Philip, in hopes that the affection he bore to Aetatus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to lend them speedy succours. For Antigonus on his death-bed had above all things entreated Philip to join with Aetatus, and follow his counsell in all things relating to Greece; he had also sent him when very young into Peloponnese, to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. Philip, having given audience to the Achean deputies, and understood by their speech the injuries they had suffered from the Aetolians, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of Antigonus, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly soon after set out for Greece and arrived at Corinth. Upon his arrival the embassadors of the confederates, who were already met at Corinth, began to concert with him what measures they should take with relation to the Aetolians. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in Peloponnese against them, and war unanimously declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly, with the concurrence and approbation of Philip, that all those who had been sufferers by the Aetolians, since the death of Demetrius father to Philip, should be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or state had been annexed into an alliance with the Aetolians, and paid them tribute, they should be forthwith set at liberty, the securicty of their respective governments committed to their own hands, and all garrisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, to the end, that it being every where received and ratified by the suffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different states proclaim war against the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the confederate war. The Aetolians on the other side prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one Scopas, who had been the chief author of all the violence they had committed. Philip, having concerted with the Acheans the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into Macedon, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He won over SCERDIUSIS and THERIOTES to the Achean league. He was a petty king of Illyria, and had engaged in an alliance with the Aetolians, but was at that time highly incensed against them for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils which been got at the taking of Cyzica. This breach of articles so disfigured him, that he was easily prevailed upon by Philip to enter into the common alliance, and furnish a fleet of thirty ships, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents. The Acheans likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The Acsaronians without any hesitation declared war against the Aetolians, though they were most exposed to the enemy’s inlets, as lying nearest the Aetolian territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themselves. Our author bestows the highest encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the Greeks with which friendship may be more safely contracted, there being none that profess more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other considerations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greatest dangers. The Epirots refused to declare war, till Philip should first proclaim it. The Messenians, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unlefs Phigalia, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the Aetolian league. The Laconians had declared at first for the Acheans, but, the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the Aetolians. Thus all

3 POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Aet. 305, 306. 4 POLYB. ibid. p. 294. 299. 6 Idem, ibid. p

(D) Aetatus was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected; secondly, he was blamed for having dismissed the Achean troops, while the Aetolians were still in the heart of Peloponnese, notwithstanding he had before been well afforded, that they did all they could to engage Peloponnese in a war. Third article against him was, his venturing to join battle with so few troops, when it might have made with great ease a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforce his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that, after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one foldier lie deep in the whole conduct of the action.
all things falling out to the wifh of the Αἰτωλίας, they entered on the war with great hopes of succes, while the Αἰκεανικ Αἰκεανικικικ had but a melancholy prospect of their affairs. For Φίλιππος, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the Επιρώται were in their preparations, and the Μεσσηνιαί continued neuter, while the Αἰτωλίας, affliated by the Αἰεαni and Λακεδαιμονίας, attacked them on all sides and gained very considerable advantages. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to Φίλιππος, who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, and crossing Θήβαι arrived in Επιρός. Here he was prevailed upon by the Επιρώται to lay siege to Αμφρανία, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare against his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into Αἰτωλία, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While Φίλιππος was employed at Αμφρανία, Σκοπις, at the head of a numerous body of Αἰτωλίας, took his march through Θήβαι, and entering Μακεδονία ravaged the country without the least opposition, returning home in a short time with an immense booty. However, this did not hinder Φίλιππος from pursuing the siege of Αμφρανία, and, after the surrender of that city, entering Αἰτωλία and feasting on a great many important places. He would have soon reduced all Αἰτωλία, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the Δαρδανικαί were upon the point of invading. At his departure he affurled the embassadors of the Αἰκεανικικ, that if he should be able to compose his affairs at home, he would return into Ελλάς and affist them to the utmost of his power. His unexpected arrival so terrifed the Λακεδαιμονίες, that they dismiffed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of Μακεδονία, and retired home. Whereupon Φίλιππος returning to Θήβαι spent there the remaining part of the summer in the city of Λαρίσα.

In the mean time Νερουκακς, whom the Αἰτωλίας had just before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops led them into the upper Επιρός, laying waste the whole country, not so much in prospect of profit to himself, as out of malice to the Επιρώται. He did not even spare the temple of Δοδώνα, but laid it in ashes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that stately edifice.

Φίλιππος having notice of these ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left Λαρίσα, and taking with him three thousand ἀμβελαία and sickles, so called from their carrying brazen shields, two thousand buckler-men, three hundred Κανδίκες, and about four hundred horse, marched through Θήβαι and Εὐβοια to Κορίνθος, where he arrived without any one's having the least notice of his march. On his arrival he sent for Αρατός, and dispatched letters to his son, who bore the same name, and was that year prætor and commander in chief of the Αἰκεανικικ forces, requiring him to assemble the troops affo in as possible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. Καρπῆς was the place agreed on, whither while Φίλιππος was marching, he met with a detachment of two thousand Αἰεαξ, who, under the command of Εὐριπίδας, were advancing to plunder the territory of Σικυών, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of Φίλιππος's return, he took about twelve hundred of them, and cut the rest in pieces. Three days after he arrived at Καρπῆς, where he halted two days to refresh his troops, and then together with Αρατός the younger, who had there drawn together ten thousand Αἰεανικικ, he advanced to Φίλιππος, with a design to besiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable, both on account of its natural situation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and besides was furnished with a strong garrison commanded by Εὐριπίδας, who had escaped from the late defeat. Φίλιππος encamped on an eminence at a small distance from the town, and, after viewing the fortifications and situation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he should attempt it or not; but at length, reflecting on the great importance of such a fortres, he resolved at all adventures to begin the siege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and be in a readiness which enabled itself into the Εὔσμανθιτι; on the north it was defended by an eminence very strong by nature and greatly imployed by art, which served for a citadel, and besides, the walls and works about the town were very considerable, both for their height and thickness.
nests under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and pass the bridge over the Erymanthus; which they did without opposition, the garions not suspecting they would venture on such a dangerous enterprise. Having crossed the river they approached the town, and lodged themselves at the very foot of the wall. This struck Euripidas and the garions with great terror; for they never imagined, that the enemy would be so bold as to make an essay of their strength against a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege by reason of the winter and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that Philip might become master of the place by intelligence. But when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the Aitolians mounting the walls, while the Elean mercenaries made a站立 by a gate in the upper part of the town in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time the king, having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised by men defined for that particular service against each place, with a strong guard of Macedonians to support them; then commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault on all quarters of the town. The garions for some time made a brave resistance, overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the Macedonians bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, they defected at length their posts, and betook themselves to flight to the citadel, leaving the Macedonians possessed of the walls. At the same time the Candidians, who had engaged the party that had made the sally, beat them back, and in the pursuit entered pell-mell with them into the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants with their wives and children took sanctuary in the citadel, as did Euripidas and such as had time to provide for their safety. Euripidas, foreseeing what must inevitably befall him, capitulated with Philip and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both townsmen and strangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode there for some days, he assembled all the Acheans that were with him, and after showing them of what importance the city of Psophis was to them in the war they had on their hands, generously gave it up to their deputies, assuring them at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation and zeal for their interest.

From Psophis the king led his army to Laphon, which he found abandoned both by the Elean garions and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the Acheans, as he did the city of Stratus to the Telphusians, whom the Eleans had driven out. From Stratus he continued his march to Olympia, where after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the Eleans, sending detachments abroad to plunder and lay waste the country, while he encamped with the main body of the army in the neighbourhood of Artemision. This territory had been formerly accounted sacred in regard of the Olympic games, which were solemnized there every fourth year; and all the nations of Greece had agreed never to turn their arms against it. But the Eleans had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of Greece, and adhering to one party against another. As the territory of the Eleans was the best peopled and the most fruitful of all Peloponnesus, and the inhabitants so fond of country life that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here a great booty that they could scarce carry it off, the soldiers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houses, besides the many prisoners and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embarrassed them in their march. Philip therefore found it necessary to retire out of the Elean territory and reencamp at Olympia, taking on his march the foot-troops of Thessaliain, whither many of the Eleans had conveyed their most valuable effects.

While Philip was thus employing his arms in defence of the Achean liberties, one of his couriers formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by Antigonus to king Philip, who came a child to the crown, Apelles held the chief rank, and had preferred a powerful influence over the young prince. This minister took it into his head to reduce the Acheans to the same condition in which the Thessaliains were at that time; that is, to subject them to the caprice of the ministers of Macedon, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which

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2 Polyb. ibid. p. 356. 3 Idem, ibid.
which was the cafe of the Thessalians. To compass this design, his first essay was on the patience of the Achean soldiery, whom the Macedonians by his orders often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themselves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard usage, he caused them to be put under arrest, and severely punished by the common executioner, imagining, that by this sort of usage he should be able by degrees to bring the Acheans to bear any burden, the king should think fit to lay upon them. But Atratus, complaining to the king of this injurious treatment and imparting to him the project of Apelles, that prince affurmed him, that care should be taken for the future to prevent any such injuries. And accordingly he ordered Apelles never to lay any commands on the Acheans without the concurrence of their pretor or chief officer. The Acheans, overjoyed at the favour the king showed them and the orders he had given for their peace and security, were ever bestowing the highest encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was possesed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aspect heightened by a majestic air, which bepossest theettoes of his mind, but his brightest virtues were the sweetness of his temper, his affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government. How he forfeited this great character our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

The king, having thus settled matters between the Macedonians and Acheans, decamped from Olympia, and, having caused a bridge to be laid over the Alpheus, entered the territory of the Tripalians (F), reduced the city of Alipera (G), and in a few days brought all that country under subjection. The rapidity of his conquests struck such terror into all the neighbouring states, that most of them voluntarily submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the Eetolian confederacy, he returned loaded with spoils and glory to Argos, where he pafted the remainder of the winter.

Apelles had not yet given over his project as to be without hopes of bringing Apelles en- by degrees the Acheans to a servile subjection. But he well knew, that both the Acheans to tis's, father and son, withstood his design, and that the king held them in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he repose the greatest confidence. He therefore resolved to attack them both, and by fraud and address put them, if possible, in disgrace with the king. With this view he sent for all those who were of the opposite faction among the Acheans and enemies to Atratus, and having instructed himself in their several interests and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendship, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that if he continued to treat Atratus with so much deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the Acheans further than was flipulated by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleased to countenance those he should recommend, he might soon compass whatever he defired, and dispoze of all matters in Peloponnesus at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these reflections and improved on the arguments of Apelles. As the time of electing a new praetor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be present at the Achean assembly, and to employ all his interest in favour of one Euphrates a declared enemy to Atratus, who was accordingly elected in preference to Timozenes, whom Atratus had set up. Thus Philipp, notwithstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime minister; what then

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(F) This country, which took its name from an Arcadian youth, lies on the sea-coast of Peloponnesus between the Eleus and Methenia, on the north-west skirts of Achaia. Its towns were Sagra, Lepreon, Hyponea, Tuponoe, Pyrgai, Apollonion, Bala, Syllon, and Phrasca. All these places the Eleus had lately reduced to their obedience, together with Alipra, a town of Arcadia, and Megalopolis itself, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) Alipera was seated on the top of a high and steep hill, which was defended by a strong fortres. In this fortres, to be seen a brazen statue of Minerva, famous for its size and the excellence of the workmanship. The inhabitants themselves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whose charge. It was the work of Heliodorus and Syllauus, and generally esteemed the most beautiful and finished piece they ever performed (4).

(4) Idem. ibid. p. 343.
then can be expected from a weak prince that devotes himself to the will of a crafty intrigueing Apelles? And now Apelles began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprise, having obtained an Achaean praetor of his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of Aratus with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new credentials. Amphidamas chief of the Eleans, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would be no difficult matter to procure him the friendship of his countrymen, and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, empowering him to affright the Eleans, that, on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garisons and tribute. But the Eleans would not listen to any conditions how advantageous ever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their ancient allies. This unreasonable refusal of Apelles ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by Aratus, telling the king, that he had kept Amphidamas from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of Elis, and that, on Amphidamas's departure from Olympia towards Elis, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded that it would be no-ways for the interest of Peloponnesus that Philip should acquire any power over the Eleans. The king immediately sent for Aratus, and inquired upon Apelles's charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had maligned himself so unworthy of his kindred and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the Achaean, and the king in the mean time return with his army into Macedon. This was what he wanted, not doubting, but he should get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. Aratus beseeched the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, Flewling, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king, more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given Apelles the information, and that in short nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought Aratus's request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after Amphidamas, being suspected by the Eleans to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country and retire to Dynes, whether the king was come to settle some affairs. Aratus laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himself would examine Amphidamas, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. He complied with his request, and upon a strict examination found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence. As Philip began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the Achaean magistrates, by means of Aratus, to convene a general assembly at Sicyon, where, on the report he made of the state of his exchequer and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that the infant his troops should rest out on their march, thirty talents should be advanced to the king with ten thousand measures of wheat, and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, he should receive fifteen talents a month. This renewed his esteem for Aratus, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of Apelles, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever.

And now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemies.

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While Philip was thus employed in training up his Macedonians for naval expeditions, Apelles, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor suffer that the counsels of Aratus should be followed and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. He agreed with Leontius and Megaleas, two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at Chalcis, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies, so that he should be obliged, for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him by the ill posture of his affairs to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his own part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions that were sending to the king, he reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

Philip, thinking his Macedonians now sufficiently instructed in the use of the oar, embarked with fix thousand of them and twelve hundred mercenaries, fleering his course towards Patre, where he arrived the next day. From Patre he dispatched messengers to the Epirots, Messenians, Achaeanans, and Scæridaites, requiring them to hasten with their ships and join him at Cephalonia. He then left Patre, and came to Paleis a strong city in the island of Cephalonia. Here, finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he disembarked and set down before the place, drawing his vessels ashore and securing them with a good ditch and palisadoes. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty desirous to become master of it before their arrival. It was of great use to the Achaeanans, who from thence made all their defents in Peloponnesus and plundered the coasts of Epirus and Achaeanans. Philip therefore, having viewed the situation of the town, caused the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his Macedonians to undermine the walls. They went cheerfully to work, and in a very short time undermined great part of the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender, which the garion refusing to do, fire was set to the posts that upheld the walls, and a breach made fix hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall. But he, mindful of his agreement with Apelles, having corrupted some of the chief officers that served under him, attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with great loss, when he had the fairest opportunity that could be wished for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raise the siege, though he was joined by the Epirots, Achaeanans, Messenians, and by fifteen vessels sent him by Scæridaites 1.

While Philip was thus employed at the siege of Paleis, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian marched at the head of a numerous army into the territories of Messenia, and Dorimachus the Aetolian with a strong detachment into Thessaly, both with the same design of obliging the king by this double diversion to break up the siege. Whereupon embassadors were dispatched to him from the Achaeanans and Messenians, the former advising him to make an inroad into Aetolia, and thereby oblige Dorimachus to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter entreating him to fall directly to Messenia, where he might eaily surprize Lycurgus, who was not under any apprehension of being attacked. Leontius strongly seconded this advice, foreseeing, that if the king followed it he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the Aetolian would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in Thessaly and Epirus; for during the seafon of the Etrician winds, which continued most part of the summer, it was impossible to return back, as they were not in those days very expert mariners. Aratus therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, shewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the Aetolian, while their country was unfortified with troops, and adding, that the opportunity of making descents was not to be neglected now, that Dorimachus with the Aetolian troops was employed

employed elsewhere. The king, who, ever since the cowardly behaviour of Leontius at Palaeis, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of Aratus, and having wrote to Eperatus the Achaean praetor to assemble his troops and march to the relief of the Melfians, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at Lemna. There he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of Dioryctis, he passed into the gulf of Ambraeccia, which runs far up into Aetolia, and came before day-break to Lemnea. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march without any baggage but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from Lemnea, Aristophantos the Acarnanian general came to join him with all his forces; for that people, having been great sufferers by the Aetolians, greedy embraced the opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and on this occasion not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted, in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The Eperus incited by the like motives were not long forward, though, by reason of the extent of their country and the sudden arrival of king Philip, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from Lemnea in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river Aebelus, intending to surprize the important town of Thermes. Leontius, foreseeing that this enterprise would be attended in all likelihood with successes, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the Aebelus, and allow the army some rest after the fatiguing a night's march, being willing that the Aetolians should have some time to Bethink themselves and provide for their defence. But Aratus, being now sensible that Leontius opposed all promising desigins, pressed Philip by no means to content to any delay, nor upon any reason whatsoever repulse his march, the success whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and setting out that instant marched directly to Thermes, through a very rugged and almost impracticable road, cut between two steep rocks and exceeding narrow. Thermes was the capital of Aetolia, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the Aetolians had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So great therefore was their surprize when they saw Philip all on a sudden appear before it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates or make the least resistance. The Macedonians and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all sorts of provisos, military stores, and valuable moveables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chusing out of the booty what was most valuable and easy to be carried away, they made a heap of the rest and burnt it before the camp. They likewise faved the best arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them with such of their own as were less serviceable, and burning the rest to the number of fifteen thousand rifs.

The Macedonians did not stop here; but calling to mind what the Aetolians had done at Dium and Dodona, they let fire to the poricoes of the temple, and levelled that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and at that time greatly esteemed even in Greece. They respected, however, such as were known, either by their form or the inscription, to represent any of the gods. The defolation was such as to strike the king himself and those about him with a kind of terror, though at the same time they believed, that they had not over-acted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the Aetolians at Dium.

Philip having plundered the town marched back the same way he came; the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the Acarnanians and mercenaries were posted in the rear, and the king himself with a body of light-armed Macedonians ready to face the enemy in what part forever they should appear; for he was extremely solicitous to pass the traits before the Aetolians could draw together a body of troops to oppose his passage. But he scarce begun his march when three thousand Aetolians, headed by Alexander the Trichonian, fell on his rear and put them in great confusion. This Philip had foreseen, and accordingly placed a detachment of Illyrians in ambush behind a rising ground. These, unexpectedly appearing,
pearing, fell on the enemy who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many prisoners, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near Stratus, but having repulsed the enemy with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe and un molested at Leucius, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the same time to express his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. Leontius and Megalæus were present, but every one soon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their master. During the whole entertainment they could no help throwing out against Aratus the most injurious and shocking railing. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, they pursued him with stones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the Acheans, but the Macedonians themselves, running from all quarters to his assistance. The noise soon reached the king's ears, who, after a strict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned Megalæus, for Leontius abjured, in a fine of twenty talents and put him under arrest. The next day he sent for Aratus, and after expressing his fœlence of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new assurances of his protection. Leontius, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with Megalæus, came boldly with a crowd of soldiers to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into some apprehension, and awe him into another resolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, Who has been so bold, says he, as to lay hands on Megalæus? It was I, replied the king in a majestic tone, and whatever has been done is by my express command. This resolution in the king so frightened Leontius, that he immediately retired from his presence. He no sooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alleged against Leontius, Megalæus, and their accomplices. Aratus charged them with all those criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and discovered the whole conspiracy of Aëtolas. As he urged nothing against them but was vouched by competent witnesses, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unfeigned clemency, pardoned them, and even let Megalæus at liberty, Leontius binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him.

During Philip's expedition into Aëtolia, Lycurgus king of Sparta made an inroad into the territories of the Messenians, but did nothing worth recording. Dorimachus, his wife, had led a considerable body of Aëtolians into Theffaly, with a design to lay waste the country and thereby oblige the king to raise the siege of Pelaes, returned without compa fying either, having found the Theffalians ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains, till he heard that the Macedonians had invaded Aëtolia, when he left Theffaly and hastened to the relief of his own country. But before he arrived the king was retired.

In the mean time Philip, having embarked his troops at Leucius and plundered the coast of Hyamps in his way, arrived at Corinth, where landing his forces and ordering the vessels to be carried over to Læcæum, he dispatched messengers to the confederate towns of Peloponæus, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at Tegæa. He then marched from Corinth, and came the next day to Tegæa, whence he proceeded with such of the Achean horde as were there ready, holding his route over the mountains, with a design to fall by surprise on the Lacedaemonian territories. After four days march through a defair country, he gained the top of those hills that command the city of Sparta, and thence advanced to Amyclae, a town distant from Sparta about four miles. The Spartans, who had heard of the success he met with at Thermae, were strangely alarmed, when they saw the young monarch appear so suddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several skirmishes were fought, in which Philip was always victorious; but we shall omit the particulars, which would swell the history to an undue length, and only say, that this expedition proved no less glorious to the king's arms than that of Aëtolia; for he laid wate the enemy's country far and near, took and destroyed several towns, beat Lycurgus, who with a body of two thousand Lacedaemonians had attempted to cut off his retreat, and returned with an immense booty to Corinth.

Here he found embassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer their mediation and incline both parties to a peace. The king, dissembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the Aetolians on reasonable terms, and charged them on their return to dispose his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a descent on the territories of the Phocians, and executing there an enterprise of great importance. Having therefore disimposed the embassadors, he hastened to Leontium, proposing to embarque his troops there.

But he was scarce gone, when Leontius, Megalaeas, and Ptolemy, who was also one of Philip's chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at Corinthus, to draw off their affections from his prince, and win them over to their own interest. They represented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops and the king's guards, that they, who were the first in all hazards and secured the rest of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that, instead of being distinguished by any particular reward for their service, they had been even deprived of the bootie which they had taken, notwithstanding the confiant custom in like cases to the contrary. The foldiers, especially the youth, were so inflamed by these tedious discourses, that affembling in parties they plundered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to Corinthus, and affembling the Macedonians made them fenible of their fault, in a long harangue intermixed with gentleness and severity. The tumult being appeased, some advised the king to seize on the authors of the sedition and punish them with the utmost severity; others thought it more advisable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being still young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the present, stifling his resentment and pretending to be very well satisfied, he returned to Leochares, after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing against the Phocians, who had drawn together their forces and were prepared to receive him.

In the mean time, Leontius being well apprized, that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent his just resentment upon him, had recourse to Apelles, giving a hint of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave Chalcedon and hasten to court. Philip had been informed by Aretas of the whole conduct of Apelles, but had kept his thoughts so close, that no body could discover from his behaviour any change in him with respect to his prime minister, who continued to govern at Chalcedon more like a sovereign prince than a subject. He therefore no sooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left Chalcedon, not doubting, but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleasure. As he drew near to Corinthus, Leontius, Megalaeas, and Ptolemy, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet him, and attend by way of guard into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace and had received orders to that effect, stopped him, and told him that he must wait, for the king was not then at leisure. Apelles was thunder-struck at this unexpected reception, and after having waited some time in silence retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domestics, all the rest having already deserted him. Megalaeas, seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, fallen into disgrace, made his escape to Athens, leaving Leontius, who was his forcy for the sum of twenty talents, to shift for himself. Hereupon

(H) Apelles, during his residence at Chalcedon, governed all things with an arbitrary sway, as if he, and not Philip, had been invested with the sovereign power. Wherefore the magistrates, and such as had charge of the affairs in Macedon and Peraia, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the Greek towns had occasion to publish new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferences, there was scarce ever any mention made of the king, but of Apelles (5).

(1) Behold the uncertain fate of mortal greatness, says our author; in one and the same moment men are raised to the highest preferences and sunk to the lowest ebb of fortune, and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where like counters, their value rises and falls according to the place they are set in; for those who follow the court are great and little at the pleasure of their master, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

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a upon the king having sent the buckler-men, whose chief officer was Leontius, to Triphilia under the command of Taurion, pretending to have some extraordinary occasion for their service, caused Leontius to be arrested, giving out that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to found the disposition of the foederary. The troops which he commanded no sooner received notice of his arrest, but they sent a petition to the king, importing, that if the commitment of Leontius was on any other account than that of his being surety for Megalas, the king would be pleased not to determine any thing against him during their absence; and that they should interpret any sentence in his pre-judice as an injury done to them and resent it accordingly; but in case Leontius was under arrest to secure the payment of the money due on account of Megalas, they would readily contribute towards satisfying the debt. But their affection shewn to Leontius proved unseemly, and was taken by the king so ill, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected.

During this interval, the embassadors returned from Aetolia, bringing with them proposals for a truce of thirty days; they assured the king, that the Aetolians were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general assembly to meet at Rhium, where they prayed the king to be present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. Philip accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective deputies to Patra, to negotiate a peace with the Aetolians. He himself immediately set out from Lecheum in order to attain it, and arrived the next day at Patra. There letters were delivered to him directed by Megalas to the Aetolians, encouraging them to pursue the war against Philip and the Achæans, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurious expressions on the king, which slewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of Apelles sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken up custody, together with his son and a youth his favourite, and so sent to Corinth. At the same time he enjoined the magistrates of Thebes to prosecute Megalas, who had retired thither from Achæa, but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himself. Not long after Leontius received sentence of death, and likewise Apelles with his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the avaricious which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with the utmost difficulty, that Aratus roused the king from his irresolution and servitude, and prevailed upon him at last to exert himself, after he had been so long deaf to the repeated complaints of his subjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite minister. As to the Aetolians, they were fain to disperse to peace, being grown weary of a war, in all which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected.

They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, Philip not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprising leader, and well qualified both for counsel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops and the conspiracy of Apelles, hoping these troubles would begat distractions at court, they postponed their meeting at Rhium. Philip and the confederates, who had a hopeful prospect of the issue of the war, and wished for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furnished them with, and accordingly animated each other to the prosecution of the war. As winter was drawing near, Philip, after engaging the allies to meet him with their forces early in the spring, weighed anchor and returned to Corinth. There he gave the Macedonians leave to return to their winter quarters in their own country; while he coasting Attica went to Demetrias in Thessaly, where Ptolemy, the only conspirator that remained, was sentenced to die and executed accordingly.

By this time Euphrates, who had been chosen prætor of the Achæans by the influence of Apelles, as we have related above, was become universally despised, as being no ways qualified for that trust, which is commonly the care in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and the country being open and defenceless,
lefs, great havock was made in it by Pyrrbias, at the head of three thousand Eleans and Aetolians. The Achaean troops, being in arrear of their pay, refused to obey the praetor’s orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and defected in great numbers. All this was owing to the insufficiency of Epeartus; but, happily for the Achaean, his authority was almost expired, and early in the summer Aratus appointed to succeed him. The new praetor found the Achaean mercenaries corrupted by an universal fever of military discipline, and the cities no ways disposed to contribute towards the carrying on of the war. In the general assembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the prosecution of the war, he wrested from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thousand mercenary foot and five hundred horse, besides three thousand foot and three hundred horse which were to be raised at home. By the same decree the Megalopolitans were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horse, and the Argians the like number.

While the Achaean were thus preparing for the prosecution of the war, Lycurgus and Pyrrbias, praetor of the Eleans, taking the field, made an inroad into the territories of the Messenians, but were soon forced to retire by Aratus, who advanced with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of Messene, Megalopolis, Tegae, and Argos, which were most exposed to the inflicts of the Lacedaemonians. Not long after Lycurgus, whose Aratus had appointed to command the troops while he afflicted at the general assembly, gained a considerable victory over the Eleans, who, under the conduct of Euripidas their new praetor, had advanced as far as Pharae, plundering and laying waste the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occasion produced a great sum of money; so that the troops took better heart in prospect of better pay, and the people conceived hopes that they should now be exempt from taxes and contributions towards the war.

In the mean time, Philip, having ordered such stores and provisions as he had provided during the winter to be brought from Larissa, set out on his march towards Greece, with a design to begin the campaign with the siege of Thebes called Pbitioi, (1) whence the Aetolians used to make continual inroads into the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he invested the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults and other engines for casting of stones, began to batter the walls night and day without intermission. The inhabitants at first made a vigorous resistance; but great numbers of them being killed by the many darts and stones that had been cast into the town, and the rest quite tiring out by incessant attacks which kept them continually in action, their resolution began to fail, and the Macedonians advancing their mines, and now preparing to give the assault, they thought fit to surrender at discretion. Philip plundered the town, sold the inhabitants, and, re-peopling it with a colony of Macedonians, changed the name of Thebes into that of Philippopolis.

Not long after the town had surrendered, new embassadors came to him from Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and from Ptolemy king of Egypt, to propose the concluding of a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the Aetolians, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in restoring Greece to its former tranquility. Philip was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he only told the embassadors, that in the mean time he was determined to pursue his enterprises.

He afterwards set out with his friends and favourites for Argos, to be present at the Nemean games. While he was one day afflicting at one of these public sports, he was interrupted by an express sent him from Macedon, with advice, that the Romans had left a great battle in Tuscany near the lake Trasymenus, and that Hannibal was master of all the open country. This news Philip imparted to none but Demetrios of Pharsus, enjoining him all possible secrecy. Demetrios, glad of this opportunity, advised him to put a period to the Aetolian war with what expedition he could, in order

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(1) This city was situated near the sea about eight and thirty miles distance from Larissa; and was on the frontiers of Magnesia and Teges, its territory bordering on Magnesia towards Demetrias, and on Thessaly towards that tract which was inhabited by the Pharsalians and Phasians.
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a order to invade Illyricum (M), and afterwards cross over into Italy. He added, that such a design would gain him the affections of the whole Greek nation, that the Achaeans would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the Boetians through fear, after the calamities they had suffered in the present war; that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself; and that the present disaffection of the Romans offered him a favourable opportunity of executing so mighty a project. Such council as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

However, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in Philip incli- to conclude a peace.

b so young a prince, he did not shew that strong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only dispatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to send their deputies to the assembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to Laos, and, after taking a small fortress which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to pooleff himself of Elea. Both parties were grown so tired of the war, that his summons was received everywhere with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts hastened to Naupactus which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious issue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and encamping within less than a league of the place attended there the result of their conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Boetians, by the embassadors of the confederate cities, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests; which article being agreed upon, the rest met with no difficulty, so that the treaty was soon concluded and ratified by Philip and the Achaeans on one side, and the Boetians, Lacedaemonians, and Eleans on the other.

At the first opening of the assembly, Agesilus of Naupactus made a speech before the king and the confederates, which decides a place here, since Polybius has thought Agesilus of Naupactus, at the opening of the assembly.

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To the Greeks ought to be given above all things to flum all occasions of war among themselves, and render thanks to the gods, that, becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like those who ford a river, they had a prospect of uniting in a mutual defence of themselves and their cities against the barbarians, whose designs they had so much cause to apprehend. That, though they could not give perpetuity to the present union, it behoved them, at least in that juncture, to agree as one man in the preservation of their liberties, since none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little skilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy or Sicily, but extend their conquest further, even to Greece itself. Wherefore he exhorted them, especially Philip, to keep a watchful eye on the dangerous that threatened them; saying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, instead of impairing the strength of the Greeks, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an easier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole Greek nation as if Greece were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him and concur in all his measures. That, if his mind was bent on great enterprises and he thirsted after glory, he should extend his prospect towards the west, and keep an eye on the war which had set all Italy in a flame; that he should watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generously aspire to the dominion of the world. That if he had any disputes with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of them to another faction; for if he once suffered the former, that was gathering in the west, to reach Greece, it might justly be feared, that it would:

(M) Sceclidus, a petty king of Illyria, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himself ill treated by Philip, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him, according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a squadron, with orders to take by reprisal what was due by agreement. This squadron being admitted into the port of Laconia, the Sceclidus was in alliance with the Achaeans, joined there some Macedonian vessels, and sent them together with the Macedo-
would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage their affairs as they pleased.

This speech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to Greece, inspired both the confederates and Philip with an eager desire of peace. And this is the first time that the affairs of Italy influenced those of Greece. For after this neither Philip nor the other powers of Greece regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on Italy, as the only object of their attention. The Atheans and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after, having no more recourse in their disputes to Antiochus or Ptolemy, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending emissaries, some to the Carthaginians, others to the Romans. In like manner the Romans, awakened by the growing power and enterprising genius of Philip, dispatched emissaries into Greece, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history.

As soon as the peace was ratified, the Atheans raised Timoxenus to the praetorship, and then returned to their ancient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, restablished their worship, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had sustained during the war.

But this happy state of tranquility was soon disturbed by that very prince who had procured it. Philip, having concluded an alliance with Hannibal, began to change his conduct, and thinking it necessary to bring all Greece to an absolute subjection, before he made any attempts upon Italy, he began with the Meffensians, who had been lately admitted into the Athean confederacy. The city of Meffene was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to humble the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in Philip and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to Meffene, with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival he found Aratus employing his best endeavours to compose their differences, in a manner that no ways suited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him, but held private conferences with such of the Meffensians as referred to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a quite different style in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for suffering themselves, being so many, to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's affluence, thought it advisable to exact themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of some orators, who stirred up, said they, the people to sedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. This was what Philip had proposed from the very beginning, being well apprized, that if one party were destroyed, it would be no hard task for him to get the better of the other. Neither did Aratus the younger forbear reproaching him with it, in very bitter and offensive terms. But the king, who on such occasions had a marvellous command of his temper, smothered his resentment, and taking Aratus the elder by the hand, he asked him, whether he would not attend him up to the castle of Itome where he intended to sacrifice. This caused the city of Meffene, and kept the further parts of Peloponnesus in awe, as Acre-Corinthus, which he was already possessed of, did the hither. Itome was held by some of the popular faction, who, looking upon Philip as their deliverer, admitted him without the least jealousy. While the sacrifice was performing, the entails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he threw them to Aratus, and with a smile asked him, whether they prognosticated, that, being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own use. Aratus made no reply, but Demetrius Phalaeus, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: If you are a footlayer your must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king you must not let slip to fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns; alluding thereby to Itome and Acre-Corinthus, which were

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were called the two horns of Peloponnese. The king, however, would have Aratus by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by feizing of Ithome he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more advisable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice Philip followed for the present, but ever after maintained a private grudge against Aratus, which he perceiving retired from court, and led a private life at Sicily, where he had leisure to repent his ever calling the Macedonians into Peloponnese. Philip, having now got rid of so troublesome a censur, marched his forces into Epirus, where he feized on the town of Oricum, and laid siege to Apollonia, which he was soon forced to raise in a most shameful manner, his camp being surprized by the Roman prætor Læcius, and he forced to make his escape half naked. After this disappointment he returned to Peloponnese, not having yet laid aside the thoughts of subjugating the Messenians. But they, being now on their guard, refused to admit him into their city; whereupon calling them his enemies, he laid waste the whole country, and retired without being able to reduce the city, the Achæans, who were his confederates, refusing to lend him any help for such an enterprise; for Messenians, as we have observed above, was at that time a member of the Achæan body. This backwarkdness of his confederates he acribered to Aratus, and therefore, as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous crimes, he resolved to sacrifice both the father and son to his resentment. He dared not employ open force and violence, in regard of their great reputation and the respect which was universally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged Taurion, one of his officers, to dispatch first the elder Aratus, secretly during his absence. Taurion obeyed the wicked command, though not without some reluctance; he infamously himself to Aratus's friendship and often invited him to dinner, which gave him an opportunity of poisoning him with a poison, which was sure, but slow in its operation. Aratus was not ignorant of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only stir up the Achæans against him and create new discontents, he bore it patiently, as it had been a common and natural disease. One day only happening to spit blood before one Cephalus, who was his bosom friend and seemed somewhat surprized, he said, Behold, my dear Cephalus, the effect of friendship with kings. This brought him to his end in Ægium, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and prætor of the Achæans the seventeenth time. The Achæans were for burying him in the place where he died; but the Sicolumians claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to Sicily, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmost pomp and solemnity in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called Aratium. The Achæans decreed, that divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose. Pindar tells us, that in his time two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually; the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this sacrifice was called Soteria, the other on his birth day. During the sacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar, fingering odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the senate, crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the procession. To this they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of Apollo. Aratus was without all doubt one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be styled one of the founders of the Achæan republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, his talent lay more in contriving a warlike stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprises, than in executing them. In his administration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of Macedon to the assistance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve of, and was the more unhonorable in him as he was prompt to it out of jealousy to Cleomenes king of Sparta. For that prince, after having reduced the Achæans to the last extremity, was willing to relieve them their prisoners and all the places they had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of Achæia. The Achæans were inclined to accept of a peace on those terms: But Aratus, thinking it would
would be very dishonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief sway in the republic, to be thus supplanted by a young man, use his utmost efforts to dethrone the Acheans from yielding to the conditions propounded by Cleomenes; and because they could no longer hold out against that warlike prince with their own strength, he had recourse to Antigonus king of Macedon, put him in possession of Acro-Corinth, and thereby enabled him and his successors to manage the affairs of Greece at their pleasure. But for this he averted, both with his own death and with that of his son, which was more deplorable; for Philip, growing completely wicked, as Plutarch expresses it, commanded a kind of poison to be given him, which deprived him of his understanding, and prompted him to commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately and while he was in his senses; infomuch, that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greatest blessing that could befal himself and his family.

These inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in Philip highly incensed the Acheans against him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleased. At present they were not in a condition to support themselves without him, the Aetolians, their irreconcilable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the Romans against the king and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies, but the booty and slaves to the Romans. Their calling in thus the Barbarians, for so the Greeks styled all nations except their own, provoked them more against the Aetolians, than all the mischief Philip had done them. Wherefore they resolved in their general assembly to join the king against the Aetolians and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in Greece, between Philip and the Acheans on one side, and the Romans, Aetolians, Lacedaemonians, Eleans, king Attalus, and Serrhalidas on the other. The Aetolians immediately began hostilities, invading and laying waste the Achean territories. Whereasupon the Achean dispatched deputies to Philip, who was then in Thrace, imploring his assistance. Philip readily complied with their request; but the Aetolians, being joined by some Romans and the forces which Attalus had brought with him out of Asia, marched out to meet him before his junction with the Acheans. Both armies met near Lamia a city of Thessaly. The Aetolians were commanded by Pyrrhus, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king Attalus. Philip offered him battle, and he thinking it would be discrepable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some worthy action before the end of the campaign: But Philip attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to thrust themselves up in Lamia. This double overthrow so disheartened the Aetolians, that they sent embassadors to treat of a peace with Philip and the Acheans; for the Romans, after having put the Aetolians in motion, were returned to Corcyra, fully persuaded, that the king had so much business upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of Italy or Hannibal. Philip put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the Acheans, and in the mean time granted the Aetolians a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the Aetolian embassadors being introduced made such unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon Philip and the Acheans, being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king, leaving four thousand men with the Acheans to defend their country went to assist at the Roman games in the city of Argos, and from thence returning into Achaia marched, in conjunction with Cycliades the Achean pretor, against the city of Elis, which had received an Aetolian garrison. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the Aetolians to an engagement. Accordingly they fell out, when Philip was greatly surprized to find, that the garrison partly confided of Romans. For Sulpitius, having left Naupactus with fifteen galleys and landed four thousand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the combat Damophantes,

[Plut. in Cleom. & Arat
[Plut. ibid.}
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a phantes, general of the Elean horse, spying Philopomen, who commanded that of the Acheans, advanced against him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without flinching from his post, and having unhorsed him at the first encounter, fell upon the enemy’s cavalry with such resolution, that they quickly betook themselves to flight. But the Romans charging the Macedonians with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which Philip oberving spurred on his horse, and rushed headlong into the midst of the Romans, where his horse being wounded threw him. The Macedonians then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party signalizing themselves in a very extraordinary manner, the Romans with a view to take the king prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king was carried off in spite of the utmost efforts of the Romans, and the Macedonians obliged to retire at a greater distance from the town. The next day Philip invested and took a strong hold of the Eleus, where he found a great body consisting of twenty thousand head of cattle, besides four thousand Eleans whom he sold for slaves. This made amends for his disappointment at Elis: But in the mean time news was brought him, that the Danians had made an incursion into Macedon; whereupon, he immediately set out to defend his own country, leaving with the Acheans a body of two thousand five hundred men. At the same time Sulpisius failed back with his fleet to Aegina, where he joined king Attalus and passed the winter. During the king’s absence, the Acheans gained a considerable victory over the Aetolians and Eleus in the city of Megane.

c EARLY in the spring Sulpisius and Attalus, quitting their winter quarters, failed with their fleets to Lemnos, and thence advanced to Oreum in 1, which was treacherously delivered up to them by Plator the Macedonian commander. Attalus laid siege to the city of Opus in Aetolia, which Philip having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day. The city had surrendered a little before his arrival, but at Before Christ 7506. the instant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ships. While Philip was thus employed against Attalus and the Romans, Machanidas, who had succeeded Lysurgus tyrant of Lacedaemon, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of Aetolia, with a design to lay waste the country, and by that means oblige Philip to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have chose a more improper occasion for such an expedition; for Philopomen had been that year appointed for the first time commander in chief of the Achean forces. An appointed his character. year devoted often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all those honours, that were afterwards heaped upon him by the Achean republic. He was born in Megalopolis a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus, and from his very infancy discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly educated by Caesander of Montinea, a man of great probity and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Lacconia, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting and fishing manly exercises. Thus he spent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signified himself no less some time after in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a complete victory over Cleomenes. Antigonus, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest. But he rejected them with scorn, having an utter aversion to a court life, which he compared to that of a flave, saying, that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and inactive, he went over to the isle of Cretce, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were in those days accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace amongst themselves. Philopomen, having served some years among the troops of that island, returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horse, in

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in which command he behaved so well, that the Achaean horse, heretofore of no reputation, became in a short time famous all over Greece. He was soon after appointed general of all the Achaean forces, when he applied himself in good earnest to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. Aratus indeed was the first that raised the Achaean state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived. But the success of his enterprises was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of foreign princes and their powerful succours, he neglected the military discipline at home. But the infant Philopomen was created praetor and commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he roused the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them in a condition to defend themselves without the assistance of, or dependence on, foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the discipline, changing the manner of their exercise and likewise their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus for the space of eight months exercised his troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions, and accustoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was brought him, that Mactanidas was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade Achaia. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his discipline, and accordingly taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of Mantinea. Mactanidas had brought into the field a vast quantity of military engines, to call g the Achaean during the engagement and disordered their ranks. To prevent this danger, Philopomen ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before the rest of the army, which Mactanidas observing, thought proper to send his light-armed foot to make head against them and observe their motions. Thus the battle began, and each general sending new supplies, the mercenary foot came to a close engagement, being so far advanced before the main bodies of their respective armies, that they could know only by the dust they raised which party advanced, and which gave ground. By this means the engines, which Mactanidas chiefly relied upon, were hindered from doing execution by the interposition of his own men. The first onset was very furious, and the success a long time doubtful, but at last the mercenaries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers and the skill they had acquired, by being so long inured to a military life, giving them the superiority. The Illyrians in Philopomen's army being but lately come, and not yet well exercised in the use of their arms, could not withstand so furious an onset, and were therefore entirely broke, and obliged to save themselves with the utmost precipitation under the walls of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle. Philopomen was so far from being discouraged at the ill success of the first attack, that turning to those who were about him, The flight of our mercenaries, said he, will give us a complete victory. He observed, that Mactanidas, instead of making use of this disadvantage and falling that infat on the main body, suffered himself to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, in pursuit of those who were flying. He was no sooner out of flight, but Philopomen advanced against the Lacedemonians that were drawn up before him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time and therefore easily passable, especially by the foot. The Lacedemonians, elated with the success of their mercenaries and despising the Achaean, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but as that put them in some disorder, Philopomen, taking advantage of their confusion, charged them with such vigour, that they were drove into the ditch again; which so disordered their ranks, that not being able to make head against the Achaean, who pursued them clofe and in good order, they betook themselves to flight. Philopomen, who knew better how to use his victory than Mactanidas had done, suffered only part of his army to pursue the flying enemy; a strong body he kept with himself to guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that Mactanidas must return that way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly dispirited when he found that the enemies were masters of it, and his own army driven out of the field. However, with a strong body of horse he attempted to make his way through and join the rest of his army; but he met with so warm a reception from Philopomen, that his horse were at the first onset put to the rout. Mactanidas himself, attended only by two horsemen, rode along the ditch, looking for a convenient place to get over. He was cally known by his purple mantle and the costly trappings of his horse. Philopomen, therefore appointing another to command the bridge,
bridge in his room, followed Mabanidas at a small distance, waiting till he should attempt to cross the ditch, which he no sooner did, than Philopomen, impurring on his horse attacked him in the ditch, and there flew him with his own hand. His head he struck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious Achaeans, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter and incredible ardor to the city of Teges, which they entered together with the fugitives. The Lacedaemonians loth on this occasion above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the Achaeans was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries.

The Achaeans, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing to the conduct of their general, cast a brazen statue, representing Philopomen in the same attitude in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

This victory over the Lacedaemonians, and the many advantages gained by Philip over the Aetolians, inclined the Aetolian faction to sue for a peace in good earnest. King Attalus was returned home to defend his own kingdom, against Pyrrhus king of Bythinia, who had invaded it. The Romans had so muchbufuine on their hands at home, Aesropal being ready to enter Italy and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of Greece, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves. The Aetolians therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their most powerful allies, concluded a peace with Philip and the Achaeans upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarsus was the peace agreed on when P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five galleys, to succour the Aetolians. When he heard how affairs went in Greece, he was very much offended at the Aetolians, for concluding a peace without the consent of the Roman Senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and in the name of his republic strike up a peace with Philip and his allies. For the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the Epirots and Acarnanians, that the Romans and Philip should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. Philip cau ed the king of Bythinia, the Achaeans, the Boeotians, the Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in the treaty; the Romans on their side named king Attalus, Pleuratus a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the Romans, that they might carry on the war against the Cilicianians with more vigor.

The peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. Philip, having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Cilicianians his friends in the west declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the east. Accordingly he invaded at the same time the Rhodians, the Athenians, and king Attalus, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared against him by the Romans, and Sulpius the consul appointed to carry it on. The Achaeans and Lacedaemonians joined with Philip; the former he gained over to his interest by joint Philip restoring to them the cities of Orchomenos, Heraclea, and Triphylia, which he had formerly appropriated to himself. He likewise put the Megalopolitans in possession of the city of Alipobetes, to which they laid claim, and by these means kept them for some time in his alliance. The Romans watched all opportunities of engaging so powerful a people in their interest, and at last found a very favourable one. When the Roman consul Sulpius arrived first in Greece, one Cyclades was prae tor of the Achaeans, a man entirely devoted to the Macedonian party, being supported in his tyrannical government by the protection of Philip. The Achaeans, supposing that he aimed at an absolute power, and wasconcerting measures with the Macedonians to bring their republic under subjection, as Nabis had lately done at Sparta, expel him, and put the government into the hands of Arianthes, who, on all occasions, had given signal proofs of his affection to the Romans. This opportunity the consul laid hold of to bring Achaia into an alliance with Rome, but left the execution of the design to his brother Quintus, who immediately sent a deputation to the Achaeans, offering to put them in possession of Corinth, which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the Romans. This was a powerful attractive. However, as Philip had done them.

"Liv. I. xxvi. n. 12."
"Liv. I. xxiii. n. 5."
them many important services, they were unwilling to disoblige him. Besides, they were under no small apprehension of Nabos tyrant of Lacedemon, who had openly declared for Philip. At the same time they were afraid of the Romans, who seemed to be an over-match for the Macedonians. These were the dispositions of the Acheans, when they assembled at Syracuse to hear the Roman envoys, who came attended with deputies from king Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, on purpose to dispel their fears, and make the strongest impressions on the minds of so wary a people. Philip likewise sent an ambassador to the assembly, named Cleomenes, who intrigues the Romans had reason to fear, he being a man of great interest in Achaia. The envoys being introduced, L. Calpurnius, who spoke for the Romans, was first heard; after him the deputies from Attalus and the Rhodians; and then Cleomenes. What the latter said was heard with great attention; but the Athenians, who spoke the last, affected in a great measure the prejudices which Cleomenes had raised. All these different speeches divided the Acheans more than ever; insomuch, that they broke up the session, which had lasted the whole day, without coming to any resolution.

The next day the assembly met again, the deputies only of the Achean cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to some final resolution. An herald, as was the custom, invited those to speak who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep silence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in so perplexed an affair. At last Arifenes, president of the assembly, broke silence, and addressed the deputies in this manner: What is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute at your banquets, sometimes contending for Philip against the Romans, and sometimes for the Romans against Philip? You were then decisive, and now in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and reasons on both sides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party loose your tongues? especial as you know that it will be too late to speak after the resolution shall be once taken.

These reproaches, however reasonable and just, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an universal silence in the assembly, till Arifenes resumed the discourse, and in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the Romans, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had condoned to request. But his discourse did not bring the Acheans to an agreement among themselves. The disputers grew warm, some appealing what Arifenes had said, and others opposing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the Romans. The other five protested against it, declaring, that it was against law to decree any thing in the assembly with relation to their alliance with Philip. And indeed that prince had caunted a clause to be inserted in his treaty with the Acheans to this effect, that the affair of his alliance should no more be canvassed in the general assembly. The assembly was to sit but one day longer, and even this short time was spent in warm disputes, the father disagreeing with the son, and the deputies of one and the same city being ready to fall upon one another. Memnon of Pellene was ready for Philip; and his father, whose name was Rhiactus, no less famous for Rome. The father conjured him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country; but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly protested, that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made so deep an impression in the mind of Memnon, that he immediately came over to the party of Rome. At last the majority were for the Romans; but before the decree was passed, the deputies of Dyne, and Megalepolis, and some of the Argians withdrew from the assembly; which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to Philip. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians, but deferred the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till the return of the envoys they went to Rome to obtain the ratification from the senate.

z Liv. i. xxxii. n. 22. a Liv. ibid.
But in the mean time the Achaeans sent assistance to the Romans to reduce Corinth. The city was attacked on the side of Cenchrea by Quintus, at the gate of Styra by the Achaeans, and on the side of the port by Labienus by Attius. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. But Andreaenus, who commanded in the place for Philip, had gained the affections of the Coritanians, and been supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many Roman Defterari, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, they at last sent the besiegers to drop the enterprise.

They were no sooner retired than Philoctetes, one of king Philip's generals, marched his troops into the heart of Achaia, which had formerly joined the Romans, and drew near the city of Argos. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the Macedonian party; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the Argians to invoke Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of Macedon. But after the Achaeans had entered into an alliance with the Romans, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit Philip's name. This omission displeased the Argians, who loudly demanded, that the king's name should be joined into the invocation of the tutelary gods of their country. Philoctetes therefore, depending on this affection for his master, advanced his troops near Argos, and in the night posted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a strong garrison, which the Achaeans had placed there under the command of one Aeugedonius, who was greatly attached to the Roman interest. To him therefore Philoctetes sent a messenger, summoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend against the Macedonians without and the citizens within the walls; which he declared to be equal to all the forces in the world. To this summons the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the Macedonians, though his garrison consisted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little surprised, when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. Aeugedonius well knew it was a rash and fruitless attempt to oppose the multitude with such an handful of men; he had also compunction for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they should march out un molested, continued himself in the city with a small number of his friends and clients. Philoctetes, surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, went to ask him, Why was he remained in the city, and what he intended to do? To which the brave Achaeans answered, To die in the place committed to my care; whereupon Philoctetes ordered his Thracians to discharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly; and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achaeans had concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

It was of the utmost importance for Philip to preserve the city of Argos; but the difficulty was how to continue master of a place in the heart of Achaia, and at the same time, have a great distance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous Nabis, who had usurped the sovereignty of Lacedaemon, and had in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it, were, that he should possess it as his own, if Philip left his life in the war, but restore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate Argians, who foreseen what must befall them, refused to admit the Lacedaemonians within their walls. But Nabis, by the help of Philoctetes, was brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware, had posted himself of all the advantageous posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult, and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then, knowing that no body was able to oppose him, let no bounds to his oppressions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches. He assembled the magistrates, and at their first meeting notified them to two decrees, which he obliged them to pass; by the first, he cancelled...
celled all old debts; and by the second ordered a new division to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame.

Nabis was sensible he could not keep Argos without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, embassadors were sent to Flamininus and Attalus inviting them to an interview. The proconsul and Attalus accepted of the invitation, without examining over-nicely into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near Argos was appointed for their conferences. In the interview Flamininus inflamed upon two conditions: first, that Nabis should put an end to the war in Achaia; and secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against Philip. The tyrant agreed to the second article, but b would allow only a four months truce with the Acheans. The treaty, however, was concluded, and Nabis, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the Romans, which reflected no small dishonour on their general.

The Acheans continued steady in the Roman interest during the whole course of this war, and their praetor Nicostratus signalled himself on the following occasion. Philip had left one Androboues with a body of six thousand men in Corinth, to protect that city and its districts, from the inroads of the Acheans and other Greeks of the Roman faction. Androboues, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the Corinthian territory, marched out at the head of his little army, and over-run great part of Achaia. Nicostratus the Achean praetor had but two thousand men under his command, and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the Macedonian, who advanced to the very walls of Sicyon, to infill the praetor there in garison. As Androboues was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army scarce ever in one place. This gave Nicostratus hopes of being able to surpise him. And accordingly he sent orders to the garrisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called Apelaureum in Argolis. His orders were obeyed, and the praetor set out from thence at the head of five thousand and seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The horde he detached to observe the enemies motions, and by them received advice that they were encamped on the river Nemea (N), between Corinth and Sicyon, and that the Macedonian, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of Sicyon, another into that of Pellone (O), and the third towards Phlius (P). Upon this advice Nicostratus placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the Macedonians were to pass in their return to Corinth; while he led the rest in two bodies to attack Androboues in his camp. The Macedonians were greatly surprised when they saw the Acheans making directly to their camp. Androboues, ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the banks of the river. But, the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged Nicostratus to fall upon the Macedonians that were laying waste the territory of Sicyon; there few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about Pellone and Phlius, they were either murder'd by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed Achaia from all fear of the Macedonians, and doubled Philip's concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of Cynocephalae.

These

iv. ibid. c. 28. v Liv. ubi supra. Polyb. i. xiii. sub finem. Plut. in Flamin. · Liv. ibid.

(N) The river Nemea watered part of Peloponnese, and discharged itself into the gulph of Corinth. It is now called the Largos.
(O) Pellone, called by Stephanus Pellina, was a city of Achaia Propria, and bordered upon the territory of Sicyon. Genus calls it Cerobon, and Le Noir gives it the name of Larnaca. The natives now call it Disopon. It is about sixty furlongs distant from the gulph of Corinth.
(P) This city Livy calls Pelopon (7). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in Argolis. The Phlius here spoken of was in Achaia.

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These repeated lofes obliged Philip at length to accept of a peace, on such conditions as Rome and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article relating to Greece was, that Philip should evacuate all the places he possessed in Greece, and withdraw his garrisons before the celebration of the Ilissian games. Puruant to this article, ten commissioners were sent from Rome, to settle the affairs of Greece and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All Greece received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The Aetolians alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the Romans, because among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of Corinth, Chaless, Eretria, and Demetrias, which were all in the hands of the Romans.

b The Ilissian games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there kept everybody in suspense. The decree of the Romans was not yet divulged, and the future fate of Greece was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped well; most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the Romans would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconsul Flaminius, attended by the ten commissioners, took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words; but the Greeks, to their great surprise, heard him pronounce the following words: The senate and people of Rome, and Quintus Flaminius proconsul, after having overcome Philip and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Thebans, all the Locris, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perrhebians, the Achaens, and Phocioties, free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws. In this vaft assembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reason of the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was an universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation. And now, the trumpet sounded again, and the herald, with a more diffent and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the Greeks without exception.

c The Romans received the good news with universal joy. The news was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now, being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined. They all crowded round Flaminius, calling him the deliverer of Greece, and prefixing to his name the word of joy. The crowd was so great, that they threw to one another the many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which so glorious a day raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the spectators could look at nothing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the Romans in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in particular.

(R) Plutarch tells us, that the air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and shouts of so numerous a body of people, that some of the horses which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the arena.

Polyaenus, exccep. Legat, p. 785. 800. Plut. in Flam.
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Demetrius, Chalais, and Corintus, and there declared, that he would evacuate Demetrius, Chalais, and Acro-Corinth, which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to Rome. The Greeks, with tears in their eyes, affurled him, that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, they fought for all the Romans that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of Greece, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by Hannibal in Italy and sold to the Greeks. The Achaean alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconful, after having withdrawn the Roman forces from Acro-Corinth, Demetrius, and Chalais, embarked at Oricum on his return to Italy, leaving Greece to enjoy the happiness which he had procured it.

The only thing that reflected some dishonour on Flaminius and stained his reputation was, his leaving the usurer Nabis in possession of Lacedemon, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy Agespols, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the Roman standard. Plutarch accounts for this strange proceeding, and tells us, that Flaminius proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to Rome, because the reputation of Philopomen began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp and in the same confederacy, and the soldiers in their difcourses often compared them together, always preferring the Greek general to the Roman. They imputed the proconful's success to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that Philopomen's victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than Philopomen how to draw up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack fearlessly, or judge of the critical time for a retreat.

Flaminius on the other side, though inferior to the Achaean in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a Greek, in that character which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the Greeks, who were for purifying Nabis to the last extremities, knowing, that Greece would never enjoy a lasting peace, so long as Nabis enjoyed the crown of Lacedemon. What they foresaw was soon brought to pass: For, not long after the departure of the Romans, Nabis began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were Garrisoned by the Achaean, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to Gythium, an important maritime city, which Flaminius had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the Achaean to have recourse to the Romans, who sent the great Flaminius again into Greece to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival he found Nabis yet engaged in the siege of Gythium, and the Achaean assembled at their general diet which was held at Sicyon: They had immediately recourse to him and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately and invading the Lacedemonian territories; but Flaminius advised them to wait till the Roman fleet arrived, which the pretor Babius was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men were divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of Flaminius, others for falling on the Lacedemonians without loss of time; they only waited for the decision of Philopomen, who was then pretor and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: It is a wise inclination of ours, said he, that our pretors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace. These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to

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2 Plut. in Flam. 1 Liv. I. xxxiv. c. 4. Plut. in Flamia. 2 Plut. in Flamin. & Philopom. 3 Plut. in Flam.
The brave Achean, being invested with this power, was at first in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the Roman fleet, according to the advice of Flaminius; on the other side he judged it might be dangerous to suffer Nabiss to pursue the siege of Gythium, and expel the Achean garrison to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the Achean ships with a design to give the besieged some relief, and suspend the attacks of the enemy, at least towards the sea. But this design required a man of some experience in maritime affairs, whereas Philopomen, tho' not inferior to any land-officer whatsoever, had never been on board a ship, but in order to go over to Crete as a passenger. However, he took upon him the command of Philopomen the Achean fleet, imagining that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land. But he found to his cost, how useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabiss, sea who had fitted out a few ships filled with rowers and soldiers used to sea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very first onset dispers’d his fleet, took some of his ships, and sunk others. Philopomen himself was very near being taken, but, as he had the caution to go on board a light vessel before the engagement, he made his escape, and, though pursued close by the enemy, got safe into the port of Patraes. The fame of this ill-concerted expedition did not discourage the brave Philopomen; but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. Nautic, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any succours in Gythium, and therefore turning the siege into a blockade, kept only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the rest guarded the passes through which succours might be brought to the besieged city, especially a port called Platae. In this camp Philopomen resolved to attack the Lacedemonians; and accordingly having gathered together some boats, and manned them with Achaeans, he ordered them to advance towards Platae, while he himself marched along the shore to the same place. Both the boats and Philopomen with his army arrived at Platae in the dead of the night, and found the enemy fast asleep without any watch, as thinking themselves in a secure place. Upon the first signal firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the Achean general at the same time surrounded the camp to fall on those who made their escape. As the Lacedemonians were not furnished with tents, they had made barricades of branches of trees, which taking fire obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the Achaeans, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few got safe to the camp before Gythium. Philopomen having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been somewhat leaffed by his maritime expedition, assemb’d the Achaeans, in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of Gythium. It was resolved in the assembly, that he should advance to Lacedemon, as if he designed to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diversion, and force Nabiss to raise the siege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the Achean army appeared before Lacedemon. Nabiss therefore, without loss of time, hastened to Lacedemon, and found the Achaeans marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. Philopomen was not a little surprized at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern. However, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible. He posted his Achaeans in the front line, and behind them the Creten auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the side of a brook for the convenience of watering their horses. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. Philopomen in the night-time posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first; the Achean cavalry was commanded by Lycortas, the father of Polybius the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal. But Lycortas, according to the orders

1 Plut. in Philop. Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 29. 2 Plut. & Liv. ibid.
he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and, retiring in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; and then facing about attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the Lacedemonian cavalry took themselves to a precipitous flight, and most of them would have been cut to pieces, had not the Achaean general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, founded a retreat. Nabis, suspecting that Philopomen despaired to seize the passes leading to Lacedemon and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. This report Philopomen had caused to be spread in the Lacedemonian camp, by one of his own men who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly took his advantage of it. For Nabis was no sooner gone, but he attacked his son-in-law Pythagoras who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches poissified himself of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemies camp, and with the rest of the army pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The Lacedemonians being now entirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of Lacedemon, being well apprised, that by the favour of the night such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the Lacedemonians were either cut in pieces of taken prisoners, as they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops, and Philopomen, after having laid waste great part of Laceda, returned home loaded with spoils and glory.

But what most of all raised the fame and reputation of Philopomen was, his joining the powerful city of Lacedemon to the Achaean commonwealth, by which means the Achaean came to eclipse all the other states of Greece. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which in our opinion reflects greater lustre on Philopomen than all his warlike exploits. The Lacedemonians, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of Nabis to be sold, and the sum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents, to be presented to Philopomen as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were appointed, who should carry the money and deprecate Philopomen in the name of the senate to accept of the present. And on this occasion it was says Plutarch, that the virtue of the generous Achaean appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the Spartans had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present. Struck with veneration and fear of disobliging him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged by a public decree one Timotheus, who had formerly been his guest, to go to Megalopolis, where Philopomen lived, and offer him the present. Timotheus with great reluctance set out for Megalopolis, where he was kindly received and entertained by Philopomen. Here he had an opportunity of observing the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which struck him with such awe, that he did not dare once to mention the present he was come to offer him; infomuch, that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the present. The Lacedemonians sent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himself now, than the first time, to mention the true cause of his journey. At last going a third time, he ventured with the utmost reluctance to acquaint Philopomen with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the Lacedemonians. Philopomen heard him with great calmness; but the instant he had done speaking he set out with him to Sparta, where, after expressing the greatest obligations to the Spartans, he advised them to lay out their money in corrupting and purchasing the wicked, and such as divided the citizens, and set them at variance with their mendacious discourses, to the end that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. For it is much more advisable, said he, to fly an enemy’s mouth than a friend’s; as for me, I shall always be your friend, and you shall reap the benefit of my friendship without expense. Such was the disinterestedness of this brave Achaean.

The Achaean republic was now become formidable; the addition of Lacedemon had greatly increased its power; but, at the same time divisions arising among the confederate

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* Plut. ibid. Liv. I. xxv. c. 29
* Plut. in Philop.
ch. 20.

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The confederate cities, the Romans began to let them know, that the republic of Achaia was in some degree subject to that of Rome. Messene and Elis, two cities of Achaia, had sided with Antiochus and refused to come to the Achaean diet. Whereupon Messene and Elis revolted from the Achaean.

Diophanes at that time praetor raised some troops, and advanced at the head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waste the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourse to Flamininus, who then re-sided at Chalcis, protesting, that they had rather surrender themselves up to the Romans, than live subject to the Acheans. Flamininus immediately left Chalcis, and hastening to Megalopolis sent orders from thence to Diophanes, enjoining him to desist from hostilities and meet him at Megalopolis. The praetor obeyed, and Flamininus, after having gently reproved him for disturbing the peace, advised him to disband his troops, affording him at the same time, that he would settle the affair of the Messenians and Eleians to the satisfaction of the Acheans. Accordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the Achean exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of Flamininus was greatly applauded by the Acheans, for the Messenians earnestly entreated him to put a Roman garrison into the city, protesting that they had rather be subject to Rome than to Achaia. But Flamininus in so doing had another point in view, which was to persuade the Acheans to deliver up to him the island of Zacynthus (S) which they had lately purchased. Diophanes could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon Flamininus ordered the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the Acheans, that the parting with an island which they had lately purchased would prove very advantageous to their republic. The speech he made on this occasion is entirely accompanied to the genius of the Greeks. "I look on Achaia, said he, "as a sort of tortoise which nature hath guarded with its shell. If it thrusts out its head or feet ever so little beyond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon and hurt. The frontier cities, which surround you, Acheans, are your shell and your national defence. But as to any acquisitions beyond the continent, those are parts of your state which are exposed to infults, and which you cannot secure without being at a greater charge than they are worth." This speech, which was founded on good sense, convinced the Acheans, that their new purchase would prove rather prejudicial than useful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimously voted, that it should be delivered up to the Romans.

It was not long ere new disputes arose among the Acheans, which gave the Romans a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies and those very nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the Acheans had been held time out of mind at Argos; but Philopomen, who was then praetor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages, which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the Achean league, and had named Argos for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of Argos opposed this regulation, and had recourse to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who, after having reduced the Aetolians and made himself master of Cephalenia, re-sided in that island to decide, as he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the Greek cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of Greece, and gave laws to the whole country. The island of Cephalenia being now in the hands of the Romans, a way was open for the legions into Peloponnesus, which was only divided from it by a small arm of the sea about twenty-four miles over. Fulvius therefore, upon the first notice of this dispute, crossed over into Peloponnesus, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of Argos; but seeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal."

(S) Zacynthus, now Zante, is a very considerable island in the Ionian Sea. It is said to be twenty-five miles in length, twenty in breadth, and fifty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to Philip of Macedon, who had given it up to Antiochus der king of the Achaemenes. This prince made the famous Philip of Megalopolis governor of it, and he transferred it to Hierothes of Sicily, who after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopyla sold it to the Acheans.

Vol. II.

1 Liv. I. xxxvi. c. 32.
The quarrel that arose between the Lacedemonians and Achaean was of more a consequence. Flamininus had given all the places on the coast of Laconia to the Achaean, who kept garisons in them, even after Lacedemon had acceded to the Achaean league. This some of the leading men among the Lacedemonians could not brook, and, therefore, to deliver themselves from this slavery, they attacked in the night a small city on the coast called Las (T), but were repulsed by the inhabitants of the Lacedemonian exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of Achaia. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the Achaean. Philopomen, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for opposing the tyrant, was then preceptor. He represented to the assembly the attempt upon Las as an insult offered to all Achaia, and caused a decree to be enacted, commanding the Lacedemonians to deliver up the authors of that enterprise, on pain of being treated as enemies. Embassadors were sent to Lacedemon to give them notice of this decree; but the affair only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the Achaean interest, dissolved their alliance with Achaia, and sent embassadors to Fulvia to entreat him to come and take possession of their city. But these proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were implored, did not deter Philopomen from declaring war against Lacedemon. However, as the season was far advanced, the Achaean contented themselves with plundering part of the Lacedemonian territory and harrying the inhabitants with frequent incursions.

At the return of the spring, both parties made preparations for war, and hostilities were carried to far, that they forced Fulvia to leave Cephalonia and come into Peloponnesus. On his arrival he ordered an assembly to be convened at Elis, to discuss the pretensions of Achaia over Lacedemon. But, after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed that he could not come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore advised them to send embassadors to Rome, and while the caesar was trying there to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately dispatched to Rome. The Achaean appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a very different character. These were Diophanes, a man of moderation, and of a tractable disposition, and Lycurgus the father of Fulvia, a man entirely addicted to Philopomen. Diophanes referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the Senate. Lycurgus maintained the decree of Philopomen, and urged, that it could not be reversed without making void the regulations of Flamininus, who had committed the care of the coast to the Achaean. The Senate was unwilling to disturb the Achaean, but at the same time thought the Lacedemonians worthy of compasion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The Achaean pretended, that it gave them full power to inflict on the Lacedemonians the punishment they desired. Whereupon Philopomen, who was continued in his pretorship, taking the field, marched to the very walls of Lacedemon, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon Las, promising that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise all those, whom Philopomen demanded by name, set out for the Achaean camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedemon, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp their most contented countrymen crowded round them, and with an insulting air began to vent the most injurious expressions against them. Nays, from words they came to blows, and the Achaean officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the Lacedemonian exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the Achaean soldiers in their quarrel, and all on a sudden fell upon the Lacedemonians with fierce fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot. Fifty-three were with the greatest difficulty rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. Philopomen did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it should be said that they had been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without further troubling them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed the Lacedemonians with fierce terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and Philopomen,
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a pomen, whose main point in view was to humble the Lacedaemonians, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the slaves whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the exiles, and lastly renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and for the future govern themselves only by those of Aechia.

The Lacedaemonians readily demolished their walls; for Lacedemon had long suffered without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were most averse to; but Philopomen and the Aechaeans were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-inflated in their ancient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the most fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wise Lycurgus, which, severe as they were, the Lacedaemonians had observed for the space of seven hundred years. Such was the fate of one of the most illustrious cities of Greece.

The Lacedaemonians sent embassadors to Rome to complain of this cruel treatment; and Lepidus, who was then consul, wrote a letter to the Aechaeans confederate, acquainting them, that the Senate did not at all approve of such inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the Aechaeans immediately dispatched Nicodimus of Elis to Rome to justify their conduct. Upon his arrival he acquainted the public, that Rome was not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death so many of the inhabitants; but at the same time did not annul the decrees which the assembly had enacted. Rome had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the discussion of this point to a more proper season.

The Aechaeans league was at this time in great repute all over the east, and the friendship of so powerful a state courted by all the princes of Asia. Ptolemy king of Egypt sent embassadors to renew his ancient alliance with the Aechaeans, and to offer the republic six thousand shields and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and Lycortas with two others deputed to thank him for the present and renew the alliance. King Eumenes also sent an embassador for the same purpose, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of the public council. Embassadors came likewise from Seleucus king of Syria, offering the republic in the name of their sovereign ten ships of war completely equipped, and desiring to have the ancient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly. All these embassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with Ptolemy and Seleucus renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ships which the latter offered. As for Eumenes, Apollonius of Styx, exhorting in a long speech the Aechaeans, not only to reject the present that was offered by his embassador, but to look upon him as an enemy, he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable assembly; which he would not have done, if he had not something in view prejudicial to their true interest. His speech was heard with great applause, and the renewing of the alliance postponed till a farther opportunity.

The Romans, having now got the better of all their enemies in the east, returned the caufe of the Lacedaemonians, with a design to humble the Aechaeans, whose great power began to ruffle no small jealousy at Rome. Three commissioners were therefore named, of which Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go first into Macedonia, and from thence into Achaia, to examine matters on the spot. These having finished the affairs of Macedonia, purgant to their commissation, hastened to Peloponnesus. Ari-" fenes, who was then praeator, hearing of their arrival, assembled all the chiefs of the republic at Argos, and invited Cecilius with his colleagues thither. Cecilius, being introduced to the council, began his speech by commending the zeal of the Aechaeans for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wisdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the Lacedaemonians was no way blameable; for most of them had been banished by Macelanian, Lycurgus, and Nicias, for attempting to place the throne of Sparta, to whom the kingdom of Sparta of right belonged. But all the other steps Philopomen took on this occasion betrayed a great deal of passion and a revengeful temper, which could not be justified by the utter destruction of his enemies.
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Book I.

The Lacedaemonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to some way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occasion. Aristeas, who acted under-hand in concert with Cæcilius, did not make any reply. Diophanes of Megalopolis, who was a professed enemy to Philopomen, made other complaints against him; but took no notice of his proceedings at Lacedaemon. Upon this Philopomen, Lycortas, and Archon spoke in their turns, and their speeches in defence of the late proceedings at Sparta made such an impression on the council, that when Cæcilius withdrew, they came to a resolution, that nothing should be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this answer should be given to the Roman commissioners. When Cæcilius heard it, he defined that the general assembly might be convened. But they replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, whereby the Acheans should be defined to meet. As Cæcilius had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble. This exasperated the Roman senate, that he left Achaia without making any further inquiries.

On his return to Rome, he acquainted the senate with what he had transacted in Peloponnæus. Whereupon Apollonidas, whom the Acheans had sent to plead their cause before the senate, was introduced. He endeavoured to justify the conduct of Philopomen and his countrymen, with respect to the Lacedaemonians, and told them for what reason they had refused to call, at the instance of Cæcilius, a general assembly. After the Achean embassador, those from Sparta were admitted. Philopomen, as we have observed above, restored the Spartan exiles; and those very exiles were the men, which since their return had most zealously contended for the recovery of the ancient splendor and liberty of their native country. Two of these, Areus and Alcibiades, were, on this occasion, appointed by the Lacedaemonians to implore the justice of the Roman senate. They represented, with great eloquence and in a very moving manner, the miserable condition to which Sparta, once mistress of Greece, was reduced; how its walls were demolished, and the citizens dragged into Achaia, and there sold for slaves; how the sacred laws of Lycurgus, to which Sparta owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely abolished.

The senate, after hearing and weighing the reasons on both sides, ordered Appius Claudius and two others, who were soon to set out for Macedonia, to put an end to this dispute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they should give on the spot in the assembly of the Acheans. In the mean time they required the Acheans to convene their general assembly whenever the Roman embassadors should desire it; since the Roman senate admitted them as often as they required an audience.

Sometime before the arrival of the Roman commissioners in Peloponnæus, Lycortas, at that time praetor, summoned the general assembly to examine the affair of the Lacedaemonians, that he might be ready to answer the questions which the commissioners should ask him, and at the same time know how his own countrymen stood affected. He represented to them such things as they might fear from the Romans, who seemed to favour the interest of Lacedaemon more than that of Achaia; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the Acheans, had yet been so base as to speak in the senate against them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his speech with these words: "But after all they are our subjects, and it is rebellion in them to bring a procès against their masters. What punishment then have they deserved?" At these words loud cries were heard from all parts of the assembly, defying the praetor to put the affair to the vote, and, nothing being listened to but passion, a decree passed, condemning Areus, Alcibiades, and all who attended them in their embassay, to be put to death. But in the mean time the Roman commissioners arrived, and the scene was changed. The assembly of the Acheans was then sitting at Chloris, a little city of Arcadia, and as soon as Appius appeared there he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began discovered his intentions, and made

* Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 833, 834.

(W) Philopomen ordered those slaves, who had been set free by the tyrants, to be fought out and sold; and with the money arising from the sale he rebuilt a portico, which the Lacedaemonians had destroyed at Megalopolis his native city.
made the Acheans fear the worst. He told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedemonians, and could not but disapprove of all the steps that had been taken on that occasion. He inveighed against the perfidiousness and cruelty of those who had massacred the envos from Lacedemon, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had been so much admired by all the nations in the world. Lycurtis the praetor, who was a friend to Philipomen on whom the accusation fell, undertook to defend the common cause of the republic and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His speech, for which we refer our readers to Livy1, was very apposite and well becoming the head of a nation: But Appius was little affected with it; without defending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments Lycurtis had produced to justify their conduct, he defined them to restore Lacedemon her ancient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest Rome should force them to it. These words drew flight from the whole assembly; but fear had got the better of their resentment. They defined the commissioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the Acheans to break their oath by annulling themselves the decree which they had swore to observe. This submiffion appeased the anger of Appius, who contented himself at present with only repealing the sentence that was just before pronounced against Aegus and Alcibiades. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the feisions, and leaving Greece returned to Italy.

The commissioners having made their report in the senate, it was decreed that those persons who had been condemned by the Acheans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences pronounced in the assembly of Achaia against Lacedemon should be repealed; and lastly, that for the future the Lacedemonians should be deemed members of the Achean body and treated accordingly. Paunfanius adds an article that is not mentioned by Livy, viz. that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt.2 Q. Marcius was appointed to go into Greece, and fee this sentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and sign the decree.

But this storm was scarce appeased, when a new one arose. The city of Missene had been a member of the Achean body ever since the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one Dinocrates, who had a particular enmity to Philipomen, drew it off from the league, and was arming the Missenians, his countrymen, in order to defend the city against Philipomen, who was then praetor the third time. The brave Achean no sooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haste he could to seize the city of Corone (X), before the rebe had made himself master of it. But as he was sick and actually kept his bed with a fever when the first news was brought him of the disturbances at Missene, Dinocrates got to Corone before him. Then the Achean general assembling the Megalopolitan youth, who had offered to follow him as volunteers, and making a counter-march, advanced towards Missene, with a design to fall upon the revolters, while Dinocrates was busy at Corone. But on his march he met with Dinocrates, attacked him, and put him to flight at the first onset. Philipomen marches against the rebels.

On this occasion forgot his sicknees and the fatigue of the day before; for he had marched from Argos to Megalopolis, which was above sixty miles, in twelve hours. While the Megalopolitans were pursuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom Dinocrates had had the precaution to leave in the open country about Missene to defend it, came and joined him. The Missenians, encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The Megalopolitans, though led on by Philipomen and Lycurtis, were too weak to make head against such a body of fresh men; Philipomen therefore made it his chief busines to retire in good order, which branch of the military art he understood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whether the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed Lycurtis and the Megalopolitans in the van, and brought up the rear himself, facing about from time to time, and


(X) Coron or Corone was a city of Missene, and is still in being in the province of Belvedere, and known by the same name. Philearch (9) instead of Corone puts Colonis or Colon, which was also a city in the territory of Missene, as appears from Polyb. 

(9) Plutarch in Philp.

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and keeping the enemy at some distance. As his troops retreated with too great a precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile and surrounded by the enemy. However, they durst not even then attack him, but keeping at a distance drove him with flowers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horse. Yet still he supported himself, though quite worn out with sickness, the rigours of his march, and old age, being then in his seventieth year. He spurred on his horse cross the rocks, and was very near regaining the main body of his small army, when his horse stumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay senseless, till the enemies thinking him dead began to strip him. He then opened his eyes and seemed to revive, when Dionocrates, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and in that condition carried him to Messenia. When the Messenians received the news of this victory, and heard that Philopomen was taken prisoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to see what they could do otherwise believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of those very Messenians who had taken him. But upon the sight of the hero of Greece, reduced to captivity more, by an accident than any want of valour, most of the spectators were so much touched with compassion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppressions of the tyrant Nabis. As many as had not been able to see him by reason of the crowd, they desired he might be carried to the theatre and there shewn to the multitude. But the magistrates, fearing left the esteem and love which the Messenians had formerly shewn him should revive, did not suffer the illustrious prisoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a sudden to a vault called the treasury, without doubt, because the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a subterraneous place, whether neither light nor air entered from without, and was flopped by a large stone raised up and let down by a crane. In this cavern Philopomen wounded, sick, and fatigued, spent a miserable night. Early in the morning the senate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their prisoners, and sending him back to his own country. But the senators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and consequently were afraid they should find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay led the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the prisoner to drink a dose of poison. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan saw him carrying a cup in his hand, he guessed what he was bringing him, and raising himself up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he asked the executioner with great tranquility, whether Lycurgus and the Megalopolitan youth had got into a place of safety. No, one of them is killed, answered the executioner, they have all made their escape. That is enough, replied Philopomen, I die content. He then took the cup of poison with great cheerfulness, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died one of the greatest heroes that Greece or any other country ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boasted heroes of Rome. Had Achaean been nearer to an equality with Rome, he would have preferred his country from the yoke which the Roman republic forced it to bear. Both the Greek and Roman writers put him upon the level with Hannibal and Scipio, who were his contemporaries and happened to die the same year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greatest commanders, but one of the greatest statesmen, of his age. To his valour and prudence Achaia owed all her glory, which upon his death began to decline. There being none after him in that republican able to oppose her enemies, with the like steadiness and prudence, whence Philopomen was called the last of the Greeks. Bruttus was afterwards filled the last of the Romans.

When the news of his death was spread among the cities of the Achaean league, the rage of the people against his assassins was as great as their grief for the loss of so great a man. The general assembly was immediately convened at Megalopolis, and Lycurgus, at that time the most famous general in Achaia, put in the room of the deceased. The new general without loss of time entered the Messenian territory at the head of an army which was soon raised, all the young men, that were fit to bear

Liv. i. xxix. c. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366, 368. Polyb. in legat. c. 34, 51.
bear arms, shewing a great eagerness to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its splendor. Lycurgus had been his particular friend, and therefore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his death to punishment. Thus both the general and soldiers breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of Megalopolis, after having laid waste the whole territory, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The people, in spite of the pretender and Messenian Senate, opened the gates to the Achaean troops, and put them in possession both of the city and castle. This submissive behaviour averted the wrath of Lycurgus, who did not think it advisable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt seemed to deserve. He only inflicted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and such as were any ways concerned in the death of Peloponnese. They readily complied with his request, and the assassins loaded with irons were brought before him; but Dinocrates, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himself; the rest were afterwards carried to Megalopolis, in order to be sacrificed at the tomb of the deceased hero.

And now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of Peloponnese, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken thence with great pomp, burnt according to custom on a funeral pile, and his ashes deposited in an urn adorned with festoons and fillets. Lycurgus, being now to leave the conquered city, did not disband his troops and send them to their respective homes as usual. They all marched out of the city in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched first crowned with laurel to show their victory, but shedding floods of tears for the deceased hero. Next came the urn carried by Polybius the historian, son of Lycurgus, surrounded by the prime nobility of Achaea, and the Messenian prisoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richest apparel and caparisons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the solemn procession; but it was visible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occasion. In this manner they advanced towards Megalopolis, Peloponnese's native city, and arriving there paid him the last honours, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The Messenian captives were floned at his tomb, and each city of Achaea gave some signal proof of the esteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loss of so great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in most cities of Greece with noble inscriptions. The magistrates of Megalopolis passed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb, during which sacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children sung hymns in his praise. (Y).

When news was brought to Rome, that the Achaean had restored the city of Megalopolis to the league, their embassadors there were addressed in quite different terms from those which had been used before. The senate told them, that they had been careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Megalopolis. This plainly shews the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to truth in their transactions with other nations. For when the Achaean demanded the succours which they were obliged to furnish according to the treaty, and defined, at least, that they would not suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy to Megalopolis, it was answered, that, when any city broke off from the Achaean league, the senate did not think themselves obliged to enter into those disputes, nor concern themselves with the claims and pretensions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achaean league to take up arms, and separate as they pleased from the alliance. But now they endeavour to placate the Achaean that they had prohibited the subjects of the republic from lending any kind of assistance to the Messenian rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The Achaean at this time were masters of all Peloponnesus. Philip king of Macedon was preparing a new for war, the Aitolians were disunited with Rome, and Antiochus

(Y) Several years after when Corinth was taken and destroyed by Hannibal, a Roman brought articles of impeachment against Peloponnese, in order to have the statues and monuments, erected all over Greece to the memory of this great man, thrown down and abolished. He accused him of having been an enemy to the Romans, and shown on all occasions his hatred to the republic. This was heard in council before Mummia, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and solidity by Polybius.

4 Liv. Plat. Polye, ubi supra. 5 Idem, ibid.
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Antiochus ready to pass over into Greece. No wonder then, that Rome was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in so critical a juncture.

We have observed above, that the Roman senate had decreed, among many other articles, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achaean league, and that Marcus had been sent into Greece to see this decree put in execution. However, the Achaean embassadors on their return from Rome acquainted the assembly, that the Lacedaemonian exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven away from the city without disobligeing the senate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by Diophanes, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to their former state of misery, they sent embassadors to Rome imploiring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of Achaia, desiring them to give the Lacedaemonian exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of Achaia, which returned no other answer, than that the matter should be considered after the arrival of the Achaean embassadors from Rome. Not long after the embassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their improprieties.

After the embassadors had been heard, Lycortas was of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote; but Hyperbates, who was then praetor, and Callistrates were of a different opinion. Lycortas, however, carried it, and it was resolved, that embassadors should be sent to acquaint the Roman senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. Callistrates, Lyphasus, and Aratus, were appointed embassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at Rome, Callistrates acted in direct opposition to his orders; for being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the Greeks paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for it, such a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indulgence. In our commonwealth, said he, "there are two parties, one of which maintains, that an implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders; the other party pretends, that the laws of the country should prevail over your will; and this suits best with the genius of the Acheans, and has a great influence over the populace. Hence such as blindly comply with your ordinances are hated by the people, while those who oppose them are honoured and applauded. We fee at this present time the first employments of our republic filled by men, whose only merit consists in a pretended zeal for the laws of their country, in contradiction to the express orders of this august assembly. If you continue to shew such an indifferencin on this head, all the chief men will certainly oppose you, this being a sure way to preferment. But if you shew favour to those only who elope your interests, the leading men in all the republics of Greece will declare for you, and the populace soon follow their example. What I have said is plainly confirmed by the present conduct of my countrymen. How long is it since you permitted them to recall the Achaean exiles? Nevertheless they are so far from complying with your request, that they have bound themselves by oaths never to restore them." Thus the Greeks began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men prostitute to their private interest that liberty which their ancestors had purchased and maintained at the expense of their lives. Callistrates was so transported with ambition, that he chose rather to betray and ruin his country, than suffer any other to have more authority in it than himself.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome could not but be very agreeable to the senate. As Callistrates had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they might easily weaken and crush the Greek republics, it was concluded, that they should exert themselves in heaping favours upon such as maintained the authority of Rome, and humbling those who presumed to oppose it. Our historian observes, that this was the first time the fatal revolution was taken of depreciating those,

Pol. in Legat. c. 54.

Pol. in Legat. c. 58.
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a those who in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking, and raising such as declared right or wrong for the Romans; a resolution which in all countries left them the number of the true friends of liberty. Henceforth it was a constant maxim of the Roman policy, to increase the power and authority of such as favoured their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and constitutions of their respective countries, and oppress by all possible methods those who were sincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their ancestors. This single maxim is sufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and moderation which the Romans discovered on some occasions.

From this period Rome began to treat the Achaean in a quite different manner. Peremptory orders were sent them to restore the Lacedaemonian exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the senate. Letters were at the same time directed to the Eotians, Bannians, Acarnanians, and other free states of Greece, enjoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their respective commonwealths men only of such noble sentiments as Callirrates. Thus the Romans required the eminent services which the Achaean had done them in their wars with Philip and Antiochus, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they had adhered to them, when they were despised by the other states of Greece (Z). Callirrates, on his return to Peloponnesus, spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prexor, in which employment he restored the Lacedamonian and Meffonian exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the Romans.

By these violent methods Rome got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and on the other side Perseus, who had succeeded Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were unsatisfied with the Romans. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the Romans had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the Greek cities and nations from their alliance with Rome. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among the nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a distant republic, he advanced towards Delphi under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in Greece. With this view he crossed mount Oeta, and surprised the Greeks with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into Aetia, and alarmed Eumenes in Pergamus. But Perseus after consulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, passing through Ptolemais and Taphaion, without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters, remonstrating, that they ought not to continue the hatred, they might have conceived against the father, to the son who courted their friendship. The Macedonian's chief attention was to gain over the Achaean republic, which had carried its hatred so far against the Macedonians, that they were not sufferers upon any pretence to enter Achaia. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make such a decree. For though Philip had greatly disoblige them, especially by putting the two Aratos to death, yet he had proved in many other respects very beneficial to them; whence they were with much ado prevailed upon to forfay him; and even after they had entered into an alliance with the Romans, some of their leading men still favoured their ancient ally. Wherefore it was thought necessary, for the preservation of concord among themselves, to use great circumspection, left by his agents he should foment divisions in the state. Besides, by hearkening to his messages they might give jealousy to their new allies. On these considerations the general assembly of Achaia had enacted a decree, forbidding any Macedonian, on what pretence soever,

b Liv. i. xii. c. 12.

(R) Polybius describes this violent proceeding of the Romans to the complexion which the Spartans exceeded in the breasts of the senators. The Romans, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to expedite the cause of the Lacedaemonian exiles. But we must remember, that this (in other respects impartial) historian wrote this in Rome, and under the eyes of the Romans, after they were absolute lords of Greece (10).

(10) Polyb. legat. c. 58.

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for ever, to enter into Achaia, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the state. This decree cut off all intercourse and means of reconciliation with the Macedonians, and thereby qualified once the Macedonian faction. But at the same time it proved very prejudicial both to the Achaeans and Macedonians; for the slaves on both sides used to fly to the enemies of their masters, where they found a sure asylum, knowing they should not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, Perseus made the first step towards a reconciliation, by sending back to the Achaeans such of their slaves as had taken sanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable present he sent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This was courting their friendship, and tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. One Xenarchus, who was then prector of Achaia, read the king's letter in a full assembly; it was heard with great applause, especially by those who had received their slaves, and most of the leading men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce with Macedon. But Calliocrates represented to them the bad consequences of repealing the decree in so critical a juncture; he told them, that the Romans desirous of making war upon Perseus, that Perseus had nothing else in view but sending back their slaves than to involve them and all Greece in this war, and that to enter into the least engagement with Perseus was to renounce their alliance with Rome, and draw all the weft upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuse the dangerous requests, live as utter strangers to Macedon, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

Xenarchus's brother spoke after Calliocrates, and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, since Perseus had renewed his alliance with the Romans, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their embassadors with great demonstrations of kindness; why then might not the Achaeans, as well as the Epirots, Aetolians, Thessalians, and the other nations of Greece, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood? Why might not the Achaeans, like the other free states, cease to be enemies to Perseus, without ceasing to be friends to Rome? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare against the Macedonians when they were come to an open rupture with Rome; but till then they had no reason to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themselves.

Xenarchus's discourse would have determined the assembly to comply with the request of Perseus, had not Calliocrates observed, that the king had not vouchsafed to treat with them otherwise than by a short letter. This want of respect, as Calliocrates fi1 led, being artfully represented, made the assembly postpone the determination, and refuse for the present the king's offer. As soon as Perseus was acquainted with what had passed at the diet, he sent embassadors to make the same offers. But the advocates of Rome found means to render all their negotiations fruitless.

Some years after, a war breaking out between the Romans and Perseus, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of Greece, some favouring the Macedonians, and others adhering to the Romans. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these disturbances; but Xenarchus wisely prevented the ill consequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of Achaia to espouse the cause of the Romans. Arcon was not, as we have seen above, greatly inclined to the Romans, but rather favoured in his heart the Macedonian faction; however, as he forebaw that Rome would at last prevail, he was no sooner chosen prector, but he got the diet to pass a decree, empowering him to raise what forces he pleased and march with them to join the Romans. In the same assembly it was resolved, that embassadors should be sent to Macedus the Roman consul, who had already penetrated into Thessaly, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know, when, and where, the Achaean army should join him. Polybius the historian being named for this embassy, he immediately set out for the Roman camp, in order to suppress the reports that were spread, as if Achaia intended to assist the Macedonians. When he arrived he was received by the consul with great demonstrations of kindness. The good will of a powerful nation, at a time when so many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindest terms, and

1 Liv. ubi supra c. 27.
2 Liv. ibid. c. 28.
and told them, that they might spare themselves the trouble and expense of marching their troops to join him, since in the present posture of affairs he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer Polybius sent back his colleagues, but remained himself in the Roman camp. In the mean time the Achaean acquainted Polybius, that Appius, who commanded the Roman troops in Epirus, had demanded of their republic five thousand men, which body they were ready to send into Epirus, if the confuls approved of it. But Marcus was so far from consenting that any succours should be sent to Appius, that he immediately dispatched Polybius home with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to Appius, nor his republic to be put to such useless expenses. It is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcus to act in this manner. Was he for having the Achaeans the trouble and charges of so long a march? or did he intend to put it out of Appius’s power to undertake anything, since he had not been able to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, Polybius readily complied with the inclinations of the confuls, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of Achaia, difficulties were started by Polybius’s friends and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the confuls, if he did not act agreeable to his charge, so on the other hand others given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to Appius, who really wanted them. In this case therefore they had recourse to a decree which had been lately published, in all the cities of Greece, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from Rome. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the Roman generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with Rome without an express order from the senate, and prohibiting the allies to submit to any exaction or even demands of the confuls, praetors, tribunes, &c. without such an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the Roman fleets and armies exercised over their most faithful allies, gave occasion to this decree. For want of an order from the senate, the meffenger sent by Appius was dismissed without the succours he demanded. Thus Polybius made his court to the confuls, and at the same time consulted the interest of his country.

The ensuing year Paulus Aemilius, who succeeded Marcus in the command of the army in Macedon, being informed, that Perseus was drawing together a mighty army with a design to come to a decisive battle, sent to solicit succours from the allies, especially the Achaean, who upon the first summons sent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the most experienced commanders they had. These distinguished themselves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of Pydna, which put an end to the Macedonian war, Perseus being entirely defeated, and soon after reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to deliver up himself and all his children to the conquerors. And now the Romans, having by this victory triumphed over their enemies in the east, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had used while they stood in need of their assistance. Ten commissioners were appointed to settle the affairs of Macedon and inspect those of Greece, that is to prosecute and punish, without any regard to justice and equity, all those who during the war had betrayed any inclination to the Macedonians. These haughty judges summoned all the heads of the Greek nations to appear before their tribunal at Amphipolis, in order to compose their differences, as they gave out, and restore Greece to its ancient tranquillity. The Aetolians appeared first, in mourning habits and making great lamentations. The subject of their complaints was, that two members of their assembly, Lyfichus and Typhius, whom the protection of the Romans, to whose interest they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Aetolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers lent them by Babius, who commanded in that country for the Romans, and put to death five hundred and fifty of the senators for no other crime, but because they were thought to favour Perseus. The commissioners after hearing their complaints confined their enquiries to this point alone, whether those who had been thus massacred were for the Romans or Perseus, and having found that they had spoken in the senate for Perseus, the council passed a decree, by which the murderers were acquitted, and those who had been put to death declared to have suffered justly. Babius alone was blamed, for employing the Roman soldiers in an execution which had no relation to military affairs.

1 Liv. ibid. Poet. legat. c. 77. 2 Liv. i. xiv. c. 28, 57.
This sentence spread great terror among those who had shown any affection for Perseus, and increased beyond measure the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The first, and without doubt the most numerous, adhered to the Macedonians; the second was devoted to the Romans, and the third in opposition to the other two were neither for the Macedonians nor the Romans. The latter, whole party was least numerous, as it consisted only of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party should prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preserve their country both from the Macedonian and Roman tyranny. These were in great esteem and beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all the measures they had taken. But this was not sufficient, as we shall see, to screen them from the vengeance of the Romans. The commissioners first wreaked their anger on those who had favoured Perseus, for the emissaries of Rome flocked to Amphipolis from all the countries of Greece to accuse them before the council. These treacherous men informed the commissioners, that, besides those who had openly espoused the cause of Perseus, there were many others, who were no less averse from the Romans in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly settled in Greece, till they had utterly destroyed both the favourers of Perseus and those who had affected to fland neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commissioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quash in all the Greek cities not only the Macedonian, but the neutral, party, and confer honours on those only who preferred the interest of Rome to all other regards whatsoever. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to treat all those as criminals who were not of the Roman party, and confer employments on such only as declared themselves their accusers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the so much boasted equity of the Romans. They were just and honest when they found their account in justice and honesty, but ever ready to sacrifice both to their boundless ambition.

The most fanatical of these informers were Callistrates and Andronidas, both Abolans, and greatly attached to the Roman party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themselves in them with the assistance of the Romans. With this view they informed against all those among their countrymen who were in a condition to dispute the highest posts with them; and their accusations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partisans of Perseus before his overthrow. Besides the Abolans, Callistrates accused a great many others, and gave in a long list of such as had either declared for the Macedonian, or stood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in Aenaria, Epirus, and Boeotia. All these were ordered by Paulus Aemilius to follow him to Rome, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the Abolans, the commissioners thought it advisable to judge them in their own country, and to send two of the chief members of the council into Achaia to try them there; and accordingly C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus were named and sent out for Achaia. Three reasons induced them to act in this manner: the first was, because they apprehended, that the Abolans, who were very powerful and no less jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders should they be commanded to justify themselves at Rome; the second, because they had not found any of their letters among Perseus's papers; and the third, because it was necessary to protect Callistrates and the other informers against the insults of their countrymen.

One of the two commissioners sent into Achaia, Paunianus does not say which, a man of a most vile character, complained in the assembly of the Abolans, that many of the chief men of the league had assailed Perseus against the Romans, and therefore defined that all those might be condemned to die, whom he should name after sentence given. After sentence given, cried out the whole assembly, What justice is that? Name them first, and let them answer for themselves; which if they cannot do we engage to condemn them. Since you promise to condemn them, replied the haughty Roman with an assuming air, all your praetors, all who have bore any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime. At these words Xenon, a person of great credit, and highly respected by the whole league, spake to this effect: I have commands! * Just. 1. xxxiv. c. 1. Paunian. in Achaic. p. 416.
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a commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome; and if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now filed, let him appear; I am ready to clear myself, either in the assembly of the Acheans, or before the Roman senate. The Roman took hold of this expression, and said, that since Xenon had named the senate, he and the rest could not appeal to a more impartial judge; then he began to name all those who had been accused by Callirrates, as more in the Macedonian than the Roman interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, and who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of Achaia. That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those who had shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under Philip and his son Alexander; for neither of these princes ever thought of charging those who opposed them to be sent into Macedon, but referred their trials to the council of the Amphictyons their natural judges. Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at Rome, they were banished into different towns of Italy, and kept there close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the Acheans. When news of these tyrannical proceedings was brought into Achaia, the assembly sent embassies after embassies to acquaint the senate, that their banished countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the Roman senate; they begged that they would give them a hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; the obstinately insinuated upon them having been found guilty in Achaia, and sent to Rome only to hear what punishment the senate pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the Acheans sent a solemn embassy to the senate, to protest that the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even heard, by their assembly. Eutocrates, who was at the head of this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the orders he had received, earnestly entreating the senate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. “It were to be wished, said he, that the Roman senate, that august and venerable assembly which has never been known to freservé its decisions from the strictest rules of equity, would take the cause of these unhappy men into their own hands; but if affairs of greater importance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter themselves, let them refer it to the assembly of the Acheans, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such as they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to their charge.” As this demand was very equitable, the senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not think it advisable to try the cause, as knowing that the accusation was groundless. On the other hand, to dismiss the exiles and suffer them to return to their own country was to disoblige their partisans in Greece, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in the ruin of those who had a better title to favour than themselves. After several consultations, the senate for want of a better answer returned this, “that they did not think it expedient for the welfare of Achaia that these men should return home.” Such tyrannical proceedings caused an universal consternation in Achaia, all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loss of their countrymen no otherwise than if they had been their dearest relations. Callirrates and Androclus became more than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never mentioned in the assemblies but with horror and detestation. Even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay the Acheans carried their rage so far, that when the two informers had one day gone into a public bath at Sicyon, no body would wash with them, or even after them, till the water was let out and the place purified. This general unclesiness made Achaia still the more suspected by the Roman senate, who kept the prisoners more closely confined than ever. There were the first seeds of a war, which we shall soon see break out between Rome and Achaia; the first sparks of that fire which consumed Corinth.

The Acheans, however, did not give over soliciting the senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies to beg their return as a favour, left in taking upon them their defence they should seem to oppose the will of the senate. The deputies appeared at Rome in the attire of suppliants, and took care not to say any thing, in the harangue.

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Harangue they made before the senate, that could give offence. Their speech was modest and extremely reserved; but the orators fared no more, declaring that they would not upon any account whatever alter the measures they had taken. The Achaeans on the other hand would not give over soliciting and importuning the senate in behalf of their countrymen. They sent several embassies at different times, and made what interest they could among their friends at Rome and elsewhere, to get their petition backed by persons who were better received than themselves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to suffer Polybius, who was one of the exiles and kept under close confinement at Rome, to appear before the senate and plead the common cause. This is the so much vaunted equity of the Romans; thee the civilized citizens of barbarous nations, the asserters of the rights and liberties of mankind.

Seventeen years were already past, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few who were still alive to return home. Polybius, as we have hinted above, was one of these unhappy Achaeans; but had been kept at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him and procured him that distinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wisdom, and learning, gained him the love and esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly dear to the two sons of Punicus Animus; the eldest of these had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, at the request of his friend solicited Cato to speak in the senate in favour of the Achaeans, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that assembly. Cato, out of complaisance to young Scipio, promised to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from Achaia to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates arose, as usual, among the senators, some few being for sending them home, and the others opposing it, when Cato rose up, and with great gravity said, “that to see the Roman senate dispute with great warmth, whether some poor old Greeks should be buried in Italy or in their own country, would make one think that they had nothing at all to do.” This pleasanter, coming from so grave a man as Cato, made the senators ashamed of so long a contest, and determined them at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnese. Polybius was for supposing the senate, that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to hear Cato’s opinion, who told him smiling, “Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some poor tatters you have left there.” Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number was much diminished; for of the thousand and upwards that came from Achaia, no more than three hundred returned thither. The rest had perished in Italy with hunger and grief, and some had suffered like criminals for attempting to make their escape. Such inhuman proceedings deserve no other name but that of the most wanton and oppressive tyranny. The republic of Achaia was not subject to, but upon a level with, that of Rome. Those brave Achaeans, who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the Roman standard, and greatly contributed to that very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

As for Polybius, he made no use of this permission, but remained in Rome, where that very virtue which had brought him into difficulties was not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than those he left. He attended Scipio Aemilianus in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of Rome, than he had formerly done in that of Achaia.

The exiles on their return found Achaia rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely estranged from the Romans. They only waited an opportunity to make Rome repent of the rigorous treatment she had shown to the Achaeans prisoners. This averred was artfully fomented by their chief magistrates and the leading men in the republic, who were for the most part professed enemies to the Romans. Such an universal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire destruction of Achaia and the dissolution of the Achaean league.
To trace this war back to its first origin: a certain dispute arising between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Oropus (A), the latter had recourse to the Acheon, Menalidas, by birth a Lacedaemonian, was then praetor of Achaia; to him the Oropians applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he prevailed, to siphon their cause and assist them with troops. The Lacedaemonian, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal, and, in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with Callistrates, if he could by his interpellation from the general assembly their content to send troops to the defence of Oropus, Callistrates, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of Oropus under their protection; and accordingly Menalidas was immediately dispatched, with a strong body of chosen troops, to make head against the Athenians who had already taken the field. But Menalidas came too late, the Athenians had already plundered Oropus and retired with an immense booty; however, the avaricious praetor demanded the ten talents, as if his affluence had been effectual, but could not prevail on himself to divide them with Callistrates: he first put him off with fair promises, and at last told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. Callistrates, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, as soon as he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the Roman senate to withdraw his country from the Acheon league. The proceed was carried on with such rigour, that Menalidas would have been sentenced to death, if he had not by a pretense of three talents prevailed upon Diex, who succeeded him in the praetorship, to acquit him in spite of all the evidences that were produced against him. This drew on Diex the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise were inclined to the Lacedaemonians. This was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold step. He maintained in the general assembly, that the Lacedaemonians were subject to the Acheon league even in criminal cases. Rome had decreed the contrary; but this screened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring Menalidas the Lacedaemonian. When news was brought to Lacedaemon, that Diex was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the Roman senate had in express terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private assemblies; they were for sending deputies to Rome, but Diex pretended, that only the general assembly of the whole nation had a right of sending embassadors thither.

These arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the Lacedaemonians; but, as they were no ways in a condition to make head against the whole strength of Achaia, they humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to Diex, who was advancing at the head of a considerable army, intreating him not to use force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. The praetor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the Lacedaemonians in general, but only with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of Lacedaemon assembled, when Aegisthenes, a man of great authority, moved, that those who had been named by Diex should of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been banished, and carry their complaints to Rome. The motion was applauded by the whole assembly, and the persons that had been named withdrew without delay from their native country. When the council of Lacedaemon heard that they were got out of Lacedaemon, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which allayed the anger of Diex and his Acheans. But when they heard that the exiles, together with Menalidas, were embawed for Italy to lay their complaints before the senate, Diex and Callistrates made what haste they could after them to plead the cause of the Acheans against the Lacedaemonians. But they did not both reach Rome; Callistrates, who had great interest in that city died at Rhodes, whither his affairs had called him. Diex therefore and Menalidas only appeared before the senate, and by their Greek eloquence dissuaded the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the spot.

(A) The ancient geographers mention three cities bearing this name, one, called by Aristides Groeca, f. 111, Agora, level in the island of Euboea; another, the native city of Seleucus Nicatur, belonged to Ionia; the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in Euboea near the borders of Attica, fifty-four miles north of Athens. It is now a village called by the natives Fupa.
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spot. But, as they were too dilatory in setting out, Menalcidæ and Diæus, arriving in Poloponæus long before them, put all the country in a flame, which on their arrival could not extinguish. Diæus assured the Achaean assembly, that every thing would be determined by the commissioners in their favour. On the other hand, Menalcidæ brought the Lacedæmonians word, that in a short time their city and territory would be separated from the Achaean league and declared an independent state. The Achaean hearing this resolved to take up arms and force the Lacedæmonians to change their language.

Metellus, who was then busy in settling the affairs of Macedonia, being informed of the troubles in Poloponæus, desir'd the embassadors, which Rome was sending into Asia, to take Corinth and Lacedæmon in their way, in order to persuade the Achaean to suspend all hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners, who had been nominated to compose their differences in an amicable manner. These embassadors arriving in Achaia found Democritus, who had succeeded Diæus in the office of praetor, in full march with a design to fall upon the Lacedæmonians. They exhorted him to disband his men and return home, but the praetor, despising their advice, advanced to the very walls of Lacedæmon, and there gained a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians, who, having loft a thousand of their men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if Democritus had warmly pursued them, he might have entered Lacedæmon with the fugitives. But he was over-hasty in founding a retreat, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained; which so displeased the general assembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, which fum he not being able to raise, he was obliged to lay down his office and save himself by flight out of the Achaean territories. Then Diæus, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to Lacedæmon, was again elected praetor. Metellus no sooner heard of his promotion, but he sent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners. Diæus complied with his request, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the Achaean by secret negotiations all the cities that bordered upon Laconia, and having fortified them, kept that city and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this distress the Lacedæmonians thinking no man so proper to extricate them out of these difficulties as Menalcidæ, who had governed the whole Achaean republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. Menalcidæ was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very first step he took. For, to give some reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and surprizing the city Japs, which was within the borders of Laconia but subject to the Achaean, plundered it, and divided the booty among his soldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the Achaean at the instance of Metellus, and drawing upon himself the resentment of the Romans. The Lacedæmonians themselves were well apprised, that such unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cause, and therefore would have punished their general with the utmost severity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himself.

Not long after the death of Menalcidæ, the Roman commissioners arrived in Poloponæus. As they were sent to put an end to a civil war which was kindled in the heart of Achaia, they landed at Corinth, which was looked upon as the capital of the Achaean league. There they summoned the assembly, which Aurelius Orofes, who was at the head of the commissioners, opened with a speech calculated rather to create than compose divisions. Polybius is of opinion, that he exceeded the instructions he had brought from Rome, and changed the menace of the senate into absolute orders; for he told them, that Rome had been long endeavouring to establish a happy union among the free cities of Greece, but was at last convinced, that such a union could never be effected so long as their present form of government subsisted. "Flamininus, he said, let your cities at liberty, a blessing which they might have enjoyed separately; but you chose to form a league among yourselves, a league which should depend on a general assembly, and be governed by a praetor chosen by a plurality of voices. In this you endeavoured to secure your common safety; but your precaution has only produced troubles and divisions. Your deputies do not agree among themselves; your assemblies make laws which every particular city will not
not observe. This obliges you to have recourse to arms; and hence these eternal divisions, hence these hostilities, which makes it necessary for you to be always under arms, and to look upon your confederates as enemies. Rome is concerned to see so many intestine wars kindled among you, knows the cause of these evils, and is resolved to put a stop to them. When you are less united you will be more happy, and will never be completely so till you make the necessary separations. Attend then to the orders of the senate, which I am going to declare, and put them in execution with readiness. It is the will and pleasure of the Roman senate and people, that all the cities which were not formerly of the Achaean league, that is, Corinth, Lacedaemon, Argos, Heraclea (B), and Orchomenos (C), be separated from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws independently of the confederacy."

No sooner had Aurelius pronounced these words, but the Achaean deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and calling together the people of Corinth in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from Rome. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude, being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the Lacedaemonians they could find in the city, and either stripped them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. Aurelius and his colleagues in vain cried out, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the Lacedaemonians; the incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not fared themselves by a timely flight.

The commissioners on their return to Rome not only set the insults they had received at Corinth in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it advisable to use moderation: Carthage was not yet taken, nor the two Pretender sons of Perseus entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to be very cautious in treating so powerful a republic, as that of Achaia, in so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into Achaia, instructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the Achaeans not to give ear to bad counsell, lest by their imprudence they should draw upon themselves a war, which it was in their power to avoid by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in Peloponnesus met a deputy sent by the Achaeans to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against Orestes; but the commissioners carried him back with them to Aegium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. Sextus Julius, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation; when he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, soothing his reproaches with the most tender expressions. We can excuse, said he, "The first commotions of a multitude led astray by a mistaken zeal for their country; we are sensible that the magistrates cannot govern them on such occasions. If our embassadores have suffered any ill treatment in those blind transports, the fault may be easily repaired. The Romans will be appeased with the least signs of repentance. All the satisfaction Rome requires of you is, that you leave Lacedaemon in peace, and restore tranquillity to Peloponnesus."

These moderate remonstrances, in which Julius designedly omitted saying one word of separating any cities from the Achaean league, were received with great applause by the major part of the assembly. But Critolaus and Diues endeavoured to efface the impressions, which Julius's speech had made on the minds of the assembly, by insinuating, that it was dangerous to trust the fecling moderation of the Romans; that Rome only suspended her revenge till Carthage was destroyed; that they would soon

* Idem ibid.
* Idem ibid.
* Idem Legat 144.

(B) This city of Heraclia stood in Phocis, a province of Thessalia, near the pales of Thermopylae. It was called Heraclia Trachinica, to distinguish it from several other cities bearing the same name.

(C) Orchomenos was one of the largest cities of Boeotia, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the most antient and wealthy of Greece.
fool see her legions laying waste Peloponnesus, as they had done Africa, and consequently, that it was necessary to prevent such hostilities, by raising up enemies against the Romans and utterly destroying their friends. Such were the discourages of Critolaus and Dicus in their private conventicles among men of their own stamp and devoted to their faction. But in public they spoke a very different language, and treated the commissioners with great civility. Critolaus, who was then prae tor, invited them to Tegae to meet an extraordinary assembly, in which the affairs of Lacedaemon should be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Accordingly Julius and his colleagues went with the Lacedaemonians to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies: but no Achaean appeared. While the Romans were thus attending in a corner of the province, Critolaus was sending express to city to city, forbidding them to send their deputies to the congress. Julius began to be impatient and express his uneasiness, when Critolaus came all alone to Tegae, and to the great surprize of the Romans told them, that the dispute between the Achaean and Lacedaemonians was of too great importance to be decided in a private assembly; that it was necessary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be assembled according to law in less than six months.

Julius was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings; he dismissed the Lacedaemonians, and returning to Rome complained, that the republic had been insulted and her embassadors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand, the pretor gloried in having mortified Rome in her envoys, and took no step to appease her wrath. He was out of hatred to the Romans defirous of war, but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being confounded by his own nation. He therefore treated the embassadors in the manner we have related, being well apprised, that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people as open hostilities.

Metellus endeavours in vain to bring Critolaus to reason.

However, Rome was not in haste to come to an open rupture; notwithstanding the loud complaints of Julius and his colleagues, the senate would not require on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to Metellus, who was settling the province of Macedon, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with Critolaus, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. Metellus immediately dispatched four Romans of distinguished birth, viz. Cn. Papirius, Aelius Lamia, A. Gabinius, and Q. Fabius into Peloponnesus, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of Achaia the evils which Critolaus and his partisans were by their rash behaviour drawing upon them.

In the mean time Critolaus ran from city to city, summoning assemblies under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at Tegae; but in fact to vent invectives against the Romans, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to encrease his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any Achaean for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and Lacedaemon was at an end. By this means he dissipated the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes nor those of his nation.

During these transactions the four deputies sent by Metellus landed at Corinth, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassage ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in Macedon within reach of Greece. But Critolaus treated them worse than those who had been sent from Rome. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly, but commanded them to declare their business to the populace assembled in the market-place. To this faithful assembly, consisting of artificers and the refuse of the people of Corinth, Cn. Papirius spoke, with, at least, as much moderation as Julius had done before the heads of the nation. His discourse tended to shew, that it was the interest of Achaia to keep up a good correspondence with Rome; he took care not to mention the separation of Lacedaemon and the other cities from the Achaean league. This was interpreted by Critolaus as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great crowd of artificers fell upon the embassadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with
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a with all manner of affronts out of the market-place. All the cities of Achaia were at that time seized, we may say, with a kind of madness, but Corinth was more furious than the rest. They were persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them and absolutely destroy the Achaean league, which persecution made them deaf to all the remonstrances of those who disapproved the wild measures of Critolaus.

The turbulent pretor, finding all things succeed to his wish, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them against such of the nobility as refused to enter his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accusing them of informing the Roman embassadors of all that passed in the national assemblies.

b One of these by name Strategius immediately gave the pretor the lie, and steadfastly insisted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the pretor and Strategius condemned, notwithstanding he called the gods to witness that he had never discovered any thing transacted in the assemblies. This notorious piece of injustice convinced Critolaus that he had gained an absolute ascendant over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmost extremity, in the same assembly he caused war to be declared with Lacedaemon, and consequently with the Romans.

Upon the declaration of war the embassadors parted; Papirius repaired to Lacedaemon to watch the enemies motions; Aelius set out for Naupactus, and the other two for the camp in Macedon, to excite Metellus not to delay revenging the affronts offered to Rome in her embassadors. Accordingly Metellus, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put himself at the head of his army, and began his march towards Achaia, with a design to enter it by the Byssalys.

c The cities of Thebes in Boeotia and Chalcis in Euboea, having been disoblige by Metellus since his abode in Macedon, joined the Acheans. The inhabitants of Thebes had been condemned by Metellus to make the Boeotians satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of Amphissa in Lacon (D) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of Chalcis had ravaged part of Euboea, and Metellus had obliged them to make restitution. Upon these motives the two cities entered into the rash measures of Critolaus, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the Achean pretor believed himself able to cope with the most powerful state in the world; so far had his rage and hatred against the Romans got the better of his reason.

Both Critolaus and Diures had been of the number of those exiles, whom the Romans had kept so long in Italy in a kind of slavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves even at the expence of their country.

d Critolaus, being joined by the troops of Thebes and Chalcis, took the field, and marched against Heraclea, a city of the Achean league, which refused to send its contingent to the pretor. While he was besieging this town, news was brought to him that Metellus was drawing near, which struck him with such terror that he immediately broke up the siege and withdrew into Achaia. He might casually have seized the pass of Thermopylae, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the Roman army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. Metellus pursued him close, and at last came up with him, and routed him. Historians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it cost the Acheans dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thousand of them taken prisoners. Critolaus himself lost his life on this occasion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle: some say, he poisoned himself in some remote corner of Greece, others, that he threw himself down from mount Ossa into a marsh and was drowned.

e It was an established law among the Acheans, that when their pretor died during his office, his immediate predecessor should succeed him, and govern the republic till the next general assembly, which met at a stated time. By this law Diures took upon him the government of the republic and the command of the scattered forces.

7 Flor. in Epit. Flor. l. 2. c. 16. Pausan. ubi supra. Orosius, &c.

144. Pausan. in Achaea. Pausan. ibid.

a Polye. Legat.

b Dio. Pausan. ibid.

C The siege rais-
ed and the Acheans de-

fended.
scattered army. But scarce was he invested with this dignity, when news was brought him, that a body of above a thousand Arcadians, who had joined the Achaean, and after the battle retired to Elatea in Pheus, had been all to a man cut in pieces by Metellus. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behooved him to maintain it; he therefore sent deputies to all the cities of Achaia, enjoining them to raise new troops with all possible expedition, and cau’d an edit to be published, in all the places that were subject to the Achaean league, to this purport: That no less than twelve thousand flaves, who had been born in foreign countries, should be taken into the service to complete that number; that all those who were fit to bear arms, whether in Achaia or Arcadia, should repair to Corinth, and there take the military oaths; that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all the gold or silver into the public treasury. This convinced all Achaia of the danger that threatened them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy whom they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of Elee, Messene, and Patrae, were so terrified, when they heard that a confederate army was coming from Rome, and that a confederate with new legion was to take place of the praetor Metellus, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves, through fear of falling under the conqueror’s power. These cities were exposed to the first attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the most severe treatment. Some had recourse to the clemency of Metellus, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed against the most factious among their countrymen, though no enquiry was yet made after them.

In the mean time the Roman praetor entered Arcadia, and drew near Thebes, which had openly declared for the Achaean league. Pythias, the chief magistrate of that city, had stirred up all the inhabitants against the Romans, and treated with great severity such as were unwilling to enter into his measures. It was chiefly with a view to seize him that Metellus turned his arms against Thebes; but Pythias had retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the army. Most of the citizens had followed his example and abandoned the city, which Metellus entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and sav’d the temples and houses from being plundered, but set a price on Pythias’s head. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people, but struck the magistrates with new terror. From Thebes the Roman general marched to Megara, which important post was guarded by one Alcmanes, with a detachment of four thousand men. But the cowardly governor at the approach of the praetorian army left the place, and retired to Corinth where he joined Dionys. The inhabitants of Megara opened their gates to the Romans, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of Achaia.

And now Metellus, seeing most of the Achaean struck with terror and inclined to peace, thought that such a favourable opportunity of gaining Dionys and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the confus Mummia was charged with the war in Achaia, and had already set out from Rome, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in Greece by the destruction of Corinth. To deprive therefore Mummia of this glory, and at the same time save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse Romans, but three Achaeans of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the Roman camp. These were Andronidas, Lagos, and Archippus, men well affected to the Romans, but strongly touched with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at Corinth they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the praetor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into prison, after he had produced them before the assembly of the people and declared them traitors and enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of Philo, an Achaean of great authority who came on purpose from Thebry, or by the entreaties of Stratus, a man of distinguished merit and his particular friend. In spite of all their efforts the mad praetor sentenced the three

* Polye. & Pausian, ibid.
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three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; nay, they joined with them in the same condemnation one Soterates, a venerable senetor, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the Romans. Soterates was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared to extort from him such a confession as Diexus wanted; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war, and this inflexible constancy made no small impression on the minds of the people. As for Andronidas and his colleagues, the avaricious praetor sold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before, Diexus had caused one Phillus and his children to be put to death, only because they were suspected of corresponding with Menalchidas at Lacedemon, and inclining to favour the Roman faction. Thus were the unfortunate Acheans governed by magistrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their passions, and no other talent for war, but a savage fierceness, and a blind desire of revenge.

An account of the many advantages gained by Matellus being transmitted to Rome by one Pothumius, without the general's knowledge, the consul Mummius hastened his departure for Achaia, which had fallen to his lot. Why the senate would not suffer Metellus to finish a war, which he had prosecuted so far, is what we find no where recorded. When the consul landed the numerous army he brought with him, Metellus was advancing to Corinth, with a design to use his utmost efforts, in order to bring Diexus to accept of a peace before the arrival of the consular army, and thereby deprive Mummius of the glory of finishing the war. But the obstinate praetor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous soever, which gave Metellus great concern, and made him lose all hopes of settling Achaia in peace before the arrival of the consul.

This was the posture of affairs in Achaia, when Mummius appeared before Corinth with a consular army, consisting of three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot, besides a body of Cretan archers, and the Perigean troops sent by Attalus the son of Eumenes. His first care was to send back Metellus and his forces into Macedon, lest he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped on the isthmus of Corinth, posting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the Achean army being shut up in the city, the Romans staggred about the fields, and neglected their pots; which the Corinthians observing made a vigorous rally, fell upon the legionaries, and purloined them with great slaughter to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the Acheans, and inspired Diexus with hopes of conquering the consul, who on his side did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his foolish perfidious; he kept his legions close in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the sight of the enemy. Diexus, now becoming audacious and sure of victory, assembled all those who were able to bear arms and formed them into a phalanx, with which the auxiliaries from Chalcis made up an army equal, if not superior, in number to that of the Romans. They wanted experience and discipline; but Diexus thought that despair and the importance of their cause would supply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops and offered the consular battle, which he declined, in order to draw the Acheans into a valley called Leucopetra, at the extremity of the isthmus which joined Attica to Peloponnesus. Accordingly the praetor fell into the snare, and repaired thither long before the consul. Diexus was so sure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of Corinth to be spectators from the neighbouring hills of the slaughter he was going to make of the enemy; he had also ordered a great number of wagons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the spoils of the Romans.

Never was there a more rash and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of Diexus had removed from the service and from the public councils all those who were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs, and had substituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns; the soldiers had never before seen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline, and nevertheless the praetor promised himself victory, over a consular army innured to the greatest dangers. While the Acheans were thus triumphing in the plains of Leucopetra, and only licentious left the consul should find means to make his escape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn up.
up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuscade a strong body of a horfe, with orders to fally out in the heat of the action, and attack the Achaean phalanx in flank. The Achaean advanced furiously, but their cavalry was soon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous reftance; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and dispersed. The slaughter then was dreadful; we are told, that the two feas, which were divided by the isthmus of Corinth, were dyed with blood. If Diocles had retired into Corinth, he might have held it a long time, notwithstanding the loss of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius; for Corinth was at that time one of the strongest places in the world, and the confufion of fole aim was to deferve a triumph by putting a fpeedy end to the war. But Diocles abandoning himself to defpair rode full fpeed to Megalopolis his native country, and entering his house set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames left she fould fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poison.*

After this defeat all things were in the utmost confufion at Corinth. The inhabitants, finding themselves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deferted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The confufion hearing this could fcarcely believe it; and fearing some ambuscade refrained the arbour of his foldiers, who were very eager to enter Corinth, and enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city. Mummius was thus in fupene for the space of three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly observed all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his foldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themselves to forfake their native country, were all put to the fword, and the women and children fold for slaves to the beft bidder. Then the town was ravaged by the greedy foldiers; and who can reckon up the immense treasures they found? There were more veflils of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of the greatest matters in Corinth, than in any city in the world. All the princes of Europe and Asia, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, fiumphed of the different variety of pictures and statues with their richest moveables; here were cafte the finest statues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greatest perfection. Many ineftable pieces of the moft famous painters and statues fell into the hands of foldiers, who not knowing the value either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. Polybius was an eye-witnefs of the want of taste in the Romans of those days. This brave Achaean, upon the firft news that his countrymen had taken up arms againft Rome, lef Africa, where he was attending Scipio at the siege of Carthage, and hastened to Achaia to do his country what service he could. He was in the Roman army when Corinth was plundered, and had the mortification to fee the Roman foldiers playing at dice on a picture of Arifides (E), which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They set no value on that master-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the fpoils of Corinth were put up to fale, Attalus king of Pergamus offered for it fix hundred thousand feileures, that is near five thousand pounds of our money. The confufion, surprized that the price of a picture fhould be carried fo high, thought there was some magical virtue in it, and therefore interpoling his authority retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus. He was not actuated in fe doing by his private interest, for he did not appropriate it to himfelf, but placed it in the temple of Ceres, where Strabo had the pleasure of feeing it before it was confumed in the fire which reduced that temple to ashes. Mummius was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for when he put the pictures and statues he had taken in Corinth


(E) Arifides, who was contemporary with Apelles, flourished at Thebes about the 12th Olympiad. He is said to have been the firft that attempted to represent the passions of the soul in colours. The piece here spoken of was a Bacchus, so exquisitely done, that it was proverbially said of any extraordinary performance; it is as well done as the Bacchus of Arifides (11).

(11) Plin. I. 35. c. 4. & c. 10.
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a Corinth on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost. As if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those ineffable originals, done by the most celebrated masters in Greece.

b Were it not to be wished, says the historian who has transmitted this fact to posterity, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taste for such rarities which prevails in the present age? He spoke at a time when the governors of the provinces used all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themselves and their families with such valuable moveables.

c Corinth being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to ashes, purfiant to the decree of the Senate, which the confoul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was set to all the corners of the city at the same time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at last united there, and made one general conflagration, which is said to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, silver, and braves, which the Corinthians had concealed, were melted and ran down the streets in streams. Some of the greedy soldiers in attempting to save part of those metals perished in the flames. When the fire was extinguished, a new metal was found composed of several different ones (F), and greatly esteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demolished and razed to the very foundations. Thus was Corinth destroyed the same year that

d Carthage was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities the Romans intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep all nations steady in their obedience to Rome. Corinth was destroyed nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by Aetes the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. Ciceron, who approved of the destruction of Carthage and Numantia, wished that Corinth, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared.

F It does not appear, that the Acheans had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the Achean league had been buried under the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed and universally dismayed the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the Acheans in general. As to the Corinthians and such vessels as had taken up arms against Rome, they were all condemned to slavery, and carefully fought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open fields, where they were surrounded by the Roman legions; and because they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the natives of Corinth, and such vessels as had served in the Troops, should be made captives and be sold. The confoul granted the rest of the inhabitants of Achaia their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of Corinth, which were in great part purchas'd by the Sicilians. Thebes, Chalcis, and some other cities, that had joined the Acheans, were by the confoul's orders dismantled. Achaia was condemned to pay the Lacedemonians two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after ten commissioners arrived from Rome to regulate the affairs of Greece in general, and of Achaia in particular, in conjunction with the confoul. These, abolished popular government in all the cities, and establisht magistrates, who were to govern each city according to their respective laws under the superin-
f tency of a Roman prætor. Thus the Achean league was dissolved, and Greece reduced to a Roman pro-

The Achean league dissolved, and Achaia reduced to a Roman province.

We  

(E) Pliny tells us, that there were three sorts of Corinthian braves, viz. the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, silver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) Plut. l. 7. c. 38.
We have observed above, that Polybius on his return into Peloponnesus had the mortification to see the city of Corinth reduced to ashes, and his country become a Roman province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of Philopoemen, his master in the science of war. A Roman out of some private grudge to that great hero accused him before Mummia, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and always opposing their designs to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of Philopoemen in most cities of the Achaean league should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave Achaean was a true friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the Romans, being well apprised, that nothing but the absolute subjection of Greece could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, Polybius boldly took upon himself his defence, and represented him as the greatest man Greece had produced in latter times; he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the people of Rome considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopoemen should not be touched, and that his monuments should remain till they were over-turned by the destroyer of all things. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummia's good disposition, begged of him the statues of Aretus and Achaicus the founder of the nation, which were granted him, though they had been already transported out of Peloponnesus into Aetolia. At the same time he gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness, which gained him as much esteem among his countrymen, as his defending the memory of Philopoemen. After the destruction of Corinth, the effects of those who had been the authors of the insulfs offered to the Roman ambassadors were sold by auction. When those of Diass were put up, the commissioners ordered the quaestor who sold them, to let Polybius have out of them whatever he pleased, without taking anything from him on that account. But Polybius refused the offer, saying, that he looked upon it as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow citizens.

This action gave the commissioners such an idea of his virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving Peloponnesus, they appointed him to visit all the cities of Greece, and every-where feted the new form of Government. A very honourable commission, which he discharged both to the satisfaction of the senate of Rome and the people of Achaia, who erected many statues in honour of their benefactor, and among others one with this inscription: To the memory of Polybius, whose counsels would have saved Achaia, if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her difftres.

Mummia, on his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, which was embellished with all the finest paintings and sculptures that Greece had ever produced; and as he had made an absolute conquest of Achaia, he ever after bore the surname of Achaicus. Thus the Romans destroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themselves; which was making war, notwithstanding their boasted politeness, after the manner of Barbarians. From this time Achaia was governed, like the other Roman provinces, by a praetor sent thither annually from Rome, till the reign of Nero, who restored all Greece to the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, reducing at the same time Sardinia to a Roman province, and laying on that wealthy island the tribute which Achaia had paid. By this means he favoured the Greeks without impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by Vespasian to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord, which could no other wise be compos'd, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they no longer knew how to enjoy. Under Nero some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a Roman praetor, and also in Trajan's time.

Chap. 20.  

The History of Aetolia. 

time, as appears from a letter of Pliny the younger to Maximus, who was sent to govern Achaea, wherein, after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the Achaeans of that faint image, that shadow which remained of their ancient liberty. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of Constanine the great, who in his new partition of the Roman provinces subjected Achaia to the Prefectus praetorio for Illyricum. Upon the division of the empire, Achaia with the rest of Greece fell to the emperors of the east. Under Arcadius and Honorius all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the Goths, who under their king Alaric laid waste the whole country, reducing the flately and magnificent structures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins. From that time we find no account of any thing that paffed among them till the reign of the emperor Emanuel or Manuel, who, in the twelfth century parcelling Peloponnesus out into seven principalities, divided it among his seven sons, filling them despotes or lords of Morea. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in Greek Morea, and in Latin Moris, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time these dynasties were not only befouled on the emperors children and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when Constaninople was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of Peloponnesus, with most of the islands, were allotted to the Venetians. In the fifteenth century Constanine Dracos, despot of Morea, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, Demetrius and Thomas, beflowing Sparta on the former, and Corinth on the latter. These princes falling out and making war upon each other, Mohammed II. took advantage of their divisions, and, under pretence of affisting the one against the other, stript them both of their dominions. Thomas fled to Rome; but Demetrius, who had implored the affittance of the Barbarians against his brother, was carried captive to Adrianople. The Mohammedans, having thus got footing in Morea, soon drove the Venetians from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn driven out by the Venetians, under the conduct of general Morosini in 1687. By the treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, the Barbarians yielded it up to the republic of Venice; but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a Sanguick, under the Begleburg of Greece, who resides at Modon. 


SEC. II. 

The History of Aetolia. 

The republic of Aetolia (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of Achaia, and formed much upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a praetor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the ancients Panatolium, met usually only once a year, and that in autumn; but the praetor was empowered to summon it out of the flated time upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the Panatolium or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the Aetolian alliance, there was another called the council of the Aeolei; this was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the demetrii among the Achaens, which we have spoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the dark. 

(G) Under the name of Aetolia was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the Deiotates, or Little Greece. It was parted on the east by the river Evros, now the Fideri, from the Lucerni Osile; on the west from Arcadia by the Actaeon: on the north it bounded upon the country of the Darvius and part of Epeus, and on the south extended to the bay of Corinth. See the account we have given of the country and its inhabitants, p. 409 & seq.
dark. Their chief magistrates after the protector were the general of the horse, a
the public secretary, and the Ephori. The two first were held in great esteem;
for in the last alliance they concluded with the Romans, they allowed them to
chafe forty hostages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general
of the horse and the secretary, as if the republic could not subsist without them.
The Ephori were introduced in imitation of the Lacedaemonians, with whom they
were many Agesstraitly united, as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius inform us;
but as to their number the ancients are quite silent; their office was much the fame
as that of the Spartan ephori, but they acted in subordination both to the general
diet and the protector. The Aetolian confederacy was formed some time after that
of the Acheans, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were b
before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby enabling them-
selves to withstand the attempts of the Macedonian princes, who aspired to the fove-
regnity of all Greece.  

The Aetolians were a restless and turbulent people; seldom at peace among
themselves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of
friendship or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least
prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in short, they were looked
upon by the other states of Greece no otherwise, as our author informs us, than
as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enter-
prising in war; inured to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers; c
jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occasions willing to
venture their lives and sacrifice all that was most dear to them. They disting-
guished themselves above all the other nations of Greece in opposing the ambitious
designs of the Macedonian princes, who, after having reduced most of the other
states, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the
gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of
Greece against those powerful invaders, we shall have occasion to relate in the
history of Alexander and his successors, as in a more proper place; our present pro-
vince being confined to those occurrences only that happened after they had formed
themselves into a republic. The constitution of the Aetolian republic was, as we d
have hinted above, copied from that of the Acheans, and with a view to form, as
it were, a counter-alliance. For the Aetolians bore an irreconcilable hatred to the
Acheans, and had conceived no small jealousy at the growing power of that state.
The Cleonemic war and that of the allies, called the social war, which we have
described in the history of Achaia, were kindled by the Aetolians in the heart of
Peleponnesus, with no other view, but to humble their antagonists the Acheans. In
the latter they held out, with the affittance only of the Eleusis and Lacedaemonians,
for the space of three years, against the united forces of Achaia and Macedon; but
were obliged at last to purchase a peace, by yielding up to Philip all Acanthia.
As they parted with this province fore against their will, they watched all oppor-
tunities of wresting it again out of the Macedonian’s hands; and one very favour-
able for their design soon offered.

M. Valerius Laevinus had been appointed by the Roman senate to guard the coasts
of Italy, on the side of Greece, and to watch the motions of Philip, who, after
concluding an alliance with Hannibal, was preparing to pass over into Italy. The
Romans had under his command a fleet of fifty ships of war, and a legion for land-
service. But as he was no-way in a condition with so small a force to oppose the
designs of Philip, he cast his eyes on the Aetolians, who were highly dissatisfied
with the peace they had lately concluded with the Macedonians and their allies.
This general discontent Laevinus resolved to improve to the advantage of his f
 republic; and by stirring up the Aetolians against Philip to divert him from any
attempts upon Italy. As he was therefore then cruizing with his squadron on the
coasts of Greece, he invited some of the Aetolians on board, and entering into pri-
 vate conference with them, found, that it would be no difficult matter to engage
the whole nation in the interests of Rome. To this end he went to their general
assembly, where he gave them an account of the victories Rome had lately gained
over Hannibal, and the conquests of Marcellus in Sicily; he extolled the great gene-
rosity and constant fidelity of the Romans towards their allies; adding, that the

Ætolians

* POLYB. I. 2.  
* POLYB. I. 4.
Chap. 20. The History of Aetolia.

a Aetolians might expect to be ever looked upon with an eye of distinctness by Rome, if they were the first nation beyond the seas that joined her; that Philip was a dangerous neighbour, and his overgrown power would prove fatal to them, unless they were supported by some more potent state; that the Romans in conjunction with the Aetolians would easily oblige him to quit Acarnania, which he had usurped, and keep himself upon the defensive in his own dominions. He concluded his speech by assuring them, that if they entered into engagements with Rome, Philip should never obtain a peace, without restoring Acarnania to its former owners.

Scopas, at that time praetor of the Aetolians, and Dorimachus, a man of great authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises made by Lavinus, expatiating in commendation of the Romans, with all the eloquence which they were masters of; for Lavinus out of modesty had said but little in commendation of his republic. These two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the Romans, but for sending deputies to the neighbouring states, inviting them to accede to the same alliance. Accordingly they sent embassadors to Elis (H), Lacedaemon, and Attalus king of Pergamus (I); to Pleuratus (K), and Scecludaides king of the best part of Illyricum. In the senate of Lacedaemon two orators, Cleomenes and Lycurges, made long harangues, the first in favour of the Aetolians and Romans, the other in favour of King Philip; but the Aetolians carried their point, and Lacedaemon with Elis declared for Rome; the kings Pleuratus and Scecludaides followed the examples of Lacedaemon; so that the treaty was drawn up in these words:

"If the inhabitants of Elis, the Lacedaemonians, Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scecludaides think fit to enter into an alliance with the Romans, let them immediately arm and make war upon Philip. The Romans shall furnish the confederates with twenty ships at least: all the conquests that shall be made between the confines of Aetolia and the sea of Corycyra shall belong to the confederates, and the 

captives and booty to the Romans. The latter shall do their utmost to put the Aetolians in possession of Acarnania. The Aetolians shall not conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition that he withdrew his troops from the territories of Rome and her allies, nor the Romans with Philip, but upon the fame terms."

These articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the Aetolians at Olympia, and the senate at Rome. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the Romans in sending embassadors into Aetolia. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a lafting monument of their firm alliance with the Greek nation. However, hostilities began at once as the treaty was concluded: Lavinus feized on the island and city of Zancus (L), took Etaida and also Nafis (M), two cities of Acarnania, and restored them to the Aetolians. After this he returned with his Fleet to Corycyra, where he wintered, fully persuaded, that the king would now give up all thoughts of invading Italy.

The king was at Pella, making preparations for his expedition into Italy, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the Aetolians. Whereupon

(H) See an account of this country p. 405. The greatest part of this province bears now the name of Belzakova, as does Elis its capital. This country was anciently dedicated to Jupiter Olympus, whence to commit there any acts of hostility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) Attalus mentioned here is Attalus the third, who succeeded his father Eumenes the first brother to Philipus. Philipus was treasurer to Lysimachus king of Thrace; but afterwards acquired the dominion of Pergamus, which he erected into a little state, as we shall see in the history of the kings of Pergamus.

(K) Livy (13) makes this Pleuratus one of the kings of Thrace; but Polybius speaks of him as king of a country in Illyricum (14).

upon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next summer. Accordingly he took the field early in the spring, laid waste the Aetolian territories, and then marched back his forces into Macedon, in order to oppose the Maedi (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence Scopas, then praetor and general of the Aetolians, entered Acanthia, in hopes of reducing that country before Philip could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by Lecynus, who had taken Eniaida and Nafis, and was now near enough to affright the Aetolians with his fleet and legion. The Acanthians were sensible, that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but nevertheless resolved to stail to their defence, and fell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly having sent into Epirus all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained from the age of fifteen to threescore bound themselves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly destroyed the Aetolians: they only defined the Epirites to place the affies of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph: Here lie the Acanthians, who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the Aetolians. This resolution so terrified the Aetolians, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of Acrania, or to do any thing that might provoke people resolved to conquer or die.

The Aetolians, not daring to invade Acrania (O), a city of the Locri, and in the neighbourhood of Aetolia. This place they invesled by land, and Lecynus at the same time by sea: as it was battered night and day on all sides it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. Lecynus, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the Aetolians, referring for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The Aetolians flushed with this success, leaving Lecynus at Anticyr, entered Aetolia, and there committed such ravages as obliged Philip to leave Demetrias (V), where he was encamped, and draw near to Greece. On his march he met the Aetolian army commanded by Pyrrhus praetor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as Thebaly to give the Macedonian battle. The two armies met near Lania, a city of Peloponnes in the Aetolian interest. Pyrrhus had been reinforced with a strong detachment of king Attalus's troops, and a thousand legionaries sent him by P. Sulpicius, who had succeeded Lecynus as pro-praetor of Greece. Notwithstanding this reinforcement the Aetolians were twice defeated, and forced to faye themselves under the walls of Lania. After this victory Philip encamped in the neighbourhood of Phalaris near the mouth of the Sperchius, with a design to surprize a strong detachment of Aetolian cavalry, which was to return from Thebaly and pass that way. But while he was encamped here, embassadors arrived from Poltemy Philopater king of Egypt, attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of Chios and Rhodes and the city of Abdera. Their errand was to prevail on Philip and the Aetolians to put an end to the war. This was not so much out of good will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who, by reducing the Aetolians might easily enslave all Greece, and have a ready access to the cities which Poltemy possessed out of Egypt. Philip put off the conferences till the next diet of the Acheans, and in the mean time granted the Aetolians a truce of thirty days. In this interval Philip was invited by the Greeks to preside at the

(N) The Maedi possessed a part of Thrace beyond mount Rhodope, and therefore Poltemy calls their country Maedia, but others give it the name of Macedonian Greece, because it bordered on Macedon on the side of the Aegean sea.

(O) Anticyr is on a river Sperchius over against mount Ose. Its territory bordered upon Thessaly, and near it was an inn of the same name, abounding, as Pliny informs us (16), with helbores. Poltemy and Strabo mention another city bearing the same name in Phoci, near Crisa on the confines of Boeotia (17).

(P) The city of Demetrias, now Dimitriadis, was built by Demetrias Poliorcetes on the sea coast of Thessaly near the territory of the Magnian. Poltemy confounds this city with that of Pagasae, but Strabo and Poltemy make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the Pagasian now the gulf of Amivo. Demetrias was for some time the seat of the kings of Macedon (18).

(Q) The praetorship of the Aetolians was, according to Livy (19), divided between Perseus and king Attalus; the general assembly of the Aetolians having bestowed that honor upon the king of Perseus, though then absent.

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The Herœan (R) and Nemean games. This was a distinction, which the Greeks had shewn them, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending, that the first king of Macedon was a native of Greece. In this Flation the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and purified debauchery to excess. But at last the diet was held, which drew him from his pleasures to Rhium, the place appointed for the assembly. The negotiations began, and most of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing Alatus and the Romans would take advantage of their divisions and get footing in Greece. At the opening of the assembly, one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord, in a speech, which is preferred to this day, and may be looked upon as a master-piece of the kind.

The discourse moved the whole assembly, and it was no sooner ended but Philip's embassadors were introduced, who declared, that their matter was ready to give peace to Greece, if the Ætolians would consent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the prosecution of the war. The Ætolians, however, came to no resolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that Alatus was arrived with his fleet at the island of Aegina (S), and Sulpicius with his at Naupactus (T), which made the Ætolians put an end to the conferences. For

**POLYB. I. 11. 6. 4.**

(R) The Herœan games, or Herœan festivals, were celebrated by the Argians, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called Herœan from the Greek word ὧν, signifying Ἰαμ, whom the inhabitants of Argos worshipped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession made by the Argian young under arms, after the fashion of Juno, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous Polyæetus, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was the daughter of the chief of the Phœacians, who was the first priestess of Juno Argiva. This minstrel, which was granted to none but women of great distinction, was held in such esteem among the Argians, that they doted their public acts by the priesthoods of the priestesses of Juno, as we do by the reigns of our kings. The Argian youth marched in good order from the city of Argos to the temple of Juno, which flood at a small distance, and was one of the most lately edifices of Greece. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. While the religious ceremonies were over the sports began, and the youth entered the lists, disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall. An orator was called to pronounce a curse upon him plentiful with a crown of myrtle, and walked thro' the city for several days festively, undisturbed the acclamations of his fellow citizens, making a show of the buckler he had gained. Some ascribe the institution of these games to Archias tyrant of Argos, and others to Lynæus, who is said to have reigned in Argos in the year of the world 2558. The Herœan games were common to other nations of Greece, and also to the Ílains, namely to the inhabitants of Samos, Æginæ, and Cos. At Corinth this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that Mlodon after having killed her children instituted the Herœan games by way of atonement for her crime. The Corinthians therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by sacrificing a goat to Juno (20).

As to the Nemean games, most of the ancients agree, that they were instituted in honour of Archæmus, the son of Lycon, according to some, or of Lycurgus king of Thrace, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of Argians, commanded by Archias king of Argos, being in great distress for want of water as they were marching towards Tithæ to assist Pelmæus, addressed the nurse of the young prince Archæmus, whom they accidentally met, and that the laying down the child she had in her arms, on a branch of smalage, out of compassion led the thirsty soldiers to a fountain. But in the mean time a serpent attacked and put to death the child, before Archias and his Argians could bring him any relief. However, to ally the grief of Lycurgus for the death of his son, they instituted solemn games in honour of the deceased, which were first celebrated near Nemea in the month of April. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were instituted before the Trojan war; but all agree, that they were revived by Hercules, and consecrated to Jupiter in thanksgiving for his victory over the Nemean lion (21). Eufænas is of opinion, that they were instituted in the fifty-first olympiad (22). This festival was celebrated with sports, namely chariot-races, foot and horse-races, tournaments, boxing, wrestling, &c. The conqueror in any of these exercises was rewarded with a crown of olive, and also of smalage, which was made use of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of Archæmus. Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that on this occasion an orator was called to pronounce a curse upon him in honour of the young prince, and that the judge, appointed by the cities of Greece to distribute the rewards, was clad in mourning. These games were common to the Argians, Corinthians, and the inhabitants of Cltinæ, who had a right to chuse the president by turns (23).

(S) Æginæ, now Ægina and Legione, is an island in the Ægean sea, between the territory of Athens and that of Epidaurus, in the Sarine gulf, to which it gives its name. It is about thirty-six miles in circumference; and was anciently famous for the skill of its inhabitants in sea-affairs, and its athletes or wrestlers. Stephanus takes it for one of the Cyclades, and Euxenæ for one of the Spiræas; but they are both mistaken, as is plain from Strabo and Pausanias (24).

For they declared, that they would content to no peace, unless Pylos (U) was restored a to the Messenians, Aetitians (W) to the Romans, and the country of the Arbians (X) to Pleuratus and Scerdelias. This was giving law to all Greece, which fo incensed Philip that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely devious of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms propounded by the Aetilians, from those he had conquered.

The assembly being diffused, the king went to Argos to preside in the Nemean games, as he had lately done in the Heraean. But while he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways feasable in times of war and alarms, the pro-confus Sulphius setting out from Naupactus landed between Sicyon and Corinth, and being joined by the Aetilians laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions and take the field. His arrival thruck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for Naupactus. Philip returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the Greeks, who were jealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the these without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free cities.

Some days after the games, news was brought him that the city of Dyme on the confines of Elis had declared for the Aetilians, though it stood in Peloponnesus, and had received an Aetolian garrison. Hereupon Philip crossing the Larissus (Y) entered the territory of Elis, and ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged by the Romans and Aetilians to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of Achaia. However, he took by storm, in sight of the Romans and Aetilians, a strong hold of great importance, where he found a very considerable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his soldiers, advice was brought him, that the Dardanians had entered Macedon, d and possessed themselves of a small district called Orestis (Z); that the Dafsatara had revolted, and that several cities were ready to join the rebels. The Barbarians had been encouraged to shake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of Macedon, by a false report of the king's death. Philip, in pursuine the Roman and Aetolian foragers between Corinth and Sicyon, had thruck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an Aetolian, and brought to Scerdelias, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet; and hence arose the report, that Philip had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage. His presence therefore

because the Heraclidse built there the first ship that carried them in Peloponnesus. It first belonged to the Lucani Ozenke; but they were driven out by the Athenians, who gave it to the Messenians, whom the Lacedaemonians had obliged to abandon Peloponnesus. After the battle of Epidauros the Lacedaemonians took it from the Messenians, and reunited it to the Lucani. Afterwards Philip, the father of Alexander having seized it, bestowed it upon the Aetilians, and from that time it was always deemed a city of Aetolia (32).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of Pylos. The first flood on the western coast of Messenia, over against Spagna or Sphaktera, now Sopienia, a small island in the Ionian sea. The second, first bore more to the north in Trphilla, a province of Elis. The third flood more to the northward of the other two, not far from the mouth of the river Perious. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous Neleus the son of Neleus.

It is very plain, that the city of Pylos in Messenia was the subject of dispute between Philip and the Aetilians; for the Messenians could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the Eleans, in whole territory they flood (26).

(W) The Aetians, according to Thucydides (27), inhabited part of the country of the Molossi; but Livy and Polybius place them on the confines of Macedon towards Iliricum.

(X) The Areans or Arbians inhabited the eastern part of Iliricum; they had been conquered by Philip, who united their country to Macedon. (Y) The Larissus, now the Rips, divided Elis from Achaia proper; it watered the territory of Dyme, and fell into the Ionian sea.

(Z) Orestis was a country in the south-west part of Macedon. Orestes, having fled into this country after the murder of his mother Clytemnestra, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon Epirus, the country of the Aetians, and the Adriatic sea (28).

(27) Thucyd. ibid, Polyb. l. 11. c. 40. Liv. l. 27. c. 30. (28) Thucyd. l. 2. Liv. l. 27. c. 31.
a being necessary in his own dominions, he hastened home, leaving only a body of three thousand men to protect his friends in Greece. During his absence, the Romans, Aetolians, and king Attalus possessed themselves of Oreum, Opus, Terone, Tribonos, and Drymus. Whereupon embassadors being dispatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he settled the affairs of Macedon in the best manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into Greece. Upon his arrival Attalus re-embarked his forces and returned to Pergamus, Sulpicius, having but one legion on board, retired to the island of Aegina, and the Aetolians, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to shelter themselves in their strong holds, not being able to make head against the united forces of Macedon and Aetolia, with the assistance of the Lacedaemonians alone. Philip being thus left master of the field, retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of Aetolia, put the Lacedaemonians to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into Macedon. Early in the spring he returned into Greece, and, entering Aetolia at the head of a numerous army, obliged the Aetolians to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. The Romans, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in Greece to shift for themselves; but nevertheless took it very much amiss, that they had made a peace without their consent and approbation. Sempronius the pro-confus endeavoured to stir them up a new against Philip, but to no purpose; they were quite exhausted with such an expensive war, and no-ways in a condition to lend the pro-confus any assistance. He therefore altered his measures, and instead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was soon agreed on by the mediation of the Epirots. A general Peace concluded. Year of the Pheid, 2799. Before Christ 205. 

This peace was not of long continuance; for the Romans having, a few years after, resolved upon a war with Philip, sent Furius Purpureo into Aetolia to engage that nation a-new in the interests of Rome. Furius was attended by the envoys of Athens, a city greatly addicted to the Romans; and at the same time embassadors from Philip arrived with very advantageous proposals, in case the Aetolians would either join their matter, or stand neutral. The Aetolian nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they saw their friendship and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the embassadors an extraordinary diet was convened at Naupactus, whither the envoy's from Rome, from Athens, and from Philip, immediately retired. Damocritus presided in the diet in quality of praetor; and as he had been bribed by Philip, he directed, that the Macedonians should be heard before the Romans; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between Philip and Aetolia was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The speech made by the Macedonians embassadors was full of invectives against the Romans, they enlarged on their proceedings at Rhesium, Capua, and Tarentum, as instances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the Aetolians to observe the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with Philip. The Athenians, who spoke next, endeavoured to efface the impressions which this discourse had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impurity of Philip, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had shewn no regard to the august temples of the Gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the Romans, and, lastly, conjured the Aetolians to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, Heaven and Rome. Afterwards Purpureo was heard, and his speech chiefly turned on justifying the conduct of the Romans, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the Macedonians; he expatiated on the lenity and moderation shewn by his republic to the Carthaginians, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon Philip; he did not forget the advantages, which the confular army had already gained over the king; and, lastly, advised the Aetolians to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confedery with the Romans, unless they chose rather to perish with Philip, than conquer with Rome. The diet was inclined to favour the Romans; but Damocritus suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be resolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful praetor made
made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending, that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest.  

In the mean time, the proconsof Sulpius having penetrated into the king's dominions and defeated him near Oetolophum, the Aetolians at last determined to side with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with Aminander king of the Albamanses, (A) made an irruption into Macedon, and laid siege to Cerinum a city of Magnesia (B). This sudden invasion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake Boeotis (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; so that the Aetolians finding no more booty there fell upon the province of Peribis, took the city of Cyrette (D) by assault, and obliged Mallea (E) to take up arms, and join them against the king of Macedon. From Mallea Aminander was for marching against Comphi (F) which was very near Albamania, and might have been easily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants. But the Aetolians chose rather to pillage Teofally, than affright Aminander in taking a city, which was so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions from the inroads of the Teofallians. The Aetolians having entered Teofally, committed there great devastations, dividing themselves into small bodies, and lying down in the open fields without keeping guard, or securing themselves with trenches. Aminander, seeing he had reason to apprehend some sudden attack, being in an enemy's country, advised them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner; but they despised his advice, and advancing to the very walls of Phacaum (G), and there lying down on the grass, gave themselves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of Aetolia. Hereupon Aminander thought it advisable to withdraw to a rising ground about five hundred paces from the Aetolians, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone, when Philip appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the Aetolians, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to Aminander's camp, whether they were pursued by the Macedonians. But Philip, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortified, and the Albamans ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had taken to surprize the enemy. In the night, the few Aetolians that remained and the Albamans decamped together, and under the conduct of Aminander escaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries.

The next year they entered Teofally again, and took the cities of Cymines and Angea at the first onset. From thence they advanced to Theuma, Calathama, Acборra, Xния, and Cyphara (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of Teofally fell a prey to the most cruel and avaricious of all the nations that were in alliance with Rome. For the Aetolians, where-ever they came, left nothing in the rivers Pamias and Carulis. The Pamias, now called Pontegra Moravella, falls into the Penus. The Carulis, now Onooca, rises in the province of Palsistius, and empties itself into the same Penus.

(E) Mallea, or Matia was a city of Phocis, not far from mount Oeta and Thermopolis. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by Catullus in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the Matius, now the Gulf of Zea, borrowed its name from this city.

(F) The city of Comphi was situated in that part of Teofally where the ancient city called Eflisias, now called Eflisias, near the springs of the Penus (33). According to Lycy it was the nearest city of Teofally to the confines of Epirus (34).

(G) All these cities belonged to Teofally, but we cannot give any certain account of their situation.
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a in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the sword the inhabitants, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war.

The Ætolians continued steady in the interest of Rome during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the Roman commanders above the other nations of Greece, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of Cynocephalae, in which Philip was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and Flamininus, who commanded in that action, to treat the Ætolians in a quite different manner from what he had done formerly. They without all doubt gave some occasion with their boastful speeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the Roman infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely assiduous the Romans had been defeated and cut in pieces. In the songs which they dispersed all over Greece, they named themselves as the chiefs, and the Romans as their auxiliaries (H). Flamininus, who was already disgusted with the Ætolians for plundering the enemy’s camp, while the Romans were busy in making prisoners, was now more fired at these insolent reports, which greatly lefthen his reputation among the Greeks. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from Philip, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to solicit a peace: the pro-consul received them, and gave them an answer, without consulting the heads of the Ætolian nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The Roman was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have dissembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved so useful to him on all occasions. Flamininus agreed with the deputies of Philip upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the Roman army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This air of absolute authority and independence on the other allies shocked the Ætolians to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of Greece, that Flamininus was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by Philip. But notwithstanding these reports, the proconsul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king’s envoys with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the Ætolians, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the Roman had fold himself to Philip. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass, which led into the vale of Tempe. Thither Flamininus retired, after having invited all his allies to affix at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had consulted the heads of the confederates, upon what terms they thought it proper to grant Philip a peace. Amynander and the Achaeans spoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged, that he would conclude such a peace as might enable Greece to preserve her liberties in the absence of the Romans: as to the particulars of such a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But Alexander, one of the heads of the Ætolians, rising up, haughtily addressed the pro-consul in the following terms: “You have done wisely to call us to the conference: you have at last thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. But, pray, what do you propose by granting a peace to Philip? Greece will never enjoy its liberties so long as he enjoys the throne of Macedon. You are greatly mistaken, if you fancy it will. Philip must be driven out of his kingdom, before Greece can..."
promise herself a lasting tranquility. You Romans have flattered us with a hope of liberty; but there is no liberty for the Greeks till Philip is dead, and his dominions entirely ruined." When Alexander had done speaking, Flamininus directed his speech to him: "You are unacquainted, said he, with the character and sentiments of the Romans. My republic does not carry her resentment to excess; she knows how to reverse injuries; but upon the first appearance of submitting her anger is appeased; Hannibal and Carthage are convincing proofs of our moderation. As to myself, I never intended to carry on an irreconcilable war with Philip; but was always inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that my republic thought fit to prescribe him. You yourselves, O Etruscans, never once mentioned the driving of Philip b from his throne till our late victory. Shall we then be inexorable, because we are conquerors? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with all possible bravery; but if he yields, it is the part of a generous victor to use him with gentleness and humanity; for animosity dies after victory, and brave men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it is not your interest to destroy the kingdom of Macedon, which serves you as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls (1), who, were they not checked by it, would certainly over-run all Greece."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the Roman army, "That a peace ought to be granted to Philip, if he complied with the conditions which the other allies should propose, adding, that if the Etruscans did not like it, they might take what resolutions they pleased on that occasion." Phoebus, the Aetolian praetor, answered Flamininus, and represented to him in very strong terms, "That Philip, if he were left in possession of Macedon, would soon kindle a new war in the heart of Greece." But before he ended his harangue, the pro-confus rose from his seat in a passion, and saying with a loud voice, "That he would put it out of Philip's power to make any further attempts upon Greece," dismissed the assembly.

But after all, it was not good nature or compulsion that prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of a peace with the king of Macedon, but the advice he received, that Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was ready to march out of Syria at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption into Europe. This prince had long kept a correspondence with Philip; and if these two monarchs should join their forces, such an alliance might prove of dangerous consequence to the Roman republic. Besides, Philip, the conqueror and driven out of the field, might flout himself up in his strong holds, and dispute inch by inch the conquest of his kingdom. This Flamininus dreaded, being sensible, that in the mean time another might be sent to succour him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories.

The next day Philip appeared at the congress, with an air of submission suitable to his present circumstances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the Roman senate. After he had uttered these words, there was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were present being touched with compunction. But Phoebus the Aetolian praetor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to restore to the Aetolians the cities of Larissa, Pharnaces, Thebes in Phthiotic, and Echira. I do restore them to you, replies Philip. Flamininus was greatly offended at the pretensions of the Aetolians to the city of Thebes, and replied with some warmth, "It belongs to the Romans. I was the man who appeared before it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become subject to the Romans." Phoebus insisted, that, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between Aetolia and Rome, it belonged to the former; the dispute grew

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(1) It is uncertain, whether Livy speaks here of those Gauls who had settled in that part of Asia, which was from then called Gallia, or of another Celtic nation which was nearer to Greece, and had made a new settlement about the conflux of the Danube and the Save. These new-comers took the name of Scordisci, as Justin informs us. Strabo (36) places them about Sirmium, between the Danube and Macedon. About four hundred years before these were here speaking of, the Gauls had spread terror and desolation in all the countries of Macedon and Greece, not sparing even the famous temple of Delphi.

(36) Strabo, 1. 19.
The History of Aetolia.

Chapter 20

The Aetolians began to raise that violent storm, which we shall soon see gather and discharge itself upon that unhappy nation. The king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at Rome; but Flamininus demanded his son Demetrius with some of the chief lords of his court for hostages, and moreover two hundred talents, upon condition, nevertheless, that both the money and hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place. Philip comply’d, and immediately dispatched his embassadors to Rome, as also did the Aetolians; the former to solicit a peace, and the latter to obliterate it. When they arrived at Rome, the republic had just chosen new consuls, L. Furius Purpureus and M. Claudius Marcellus. The latter being desirous of having Macedon for his province, and there finishing the war, strenuously opposed the peace, and, being seconded by the Aetolians in his opposition, had like to have prevailed in the senate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimously voted for granting Philip his request.

The Aetolians were the only people in Greece dissatisfied with the peace, they had been reduced some cities which they claimed, and thought their services very ill rewarded by the Romans, who could not have conquered, said they, without their assistance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all Greece called the Pyliacum (K), and there endeavoured to stir up new enemies against Rome. But finding that the free states of Greece were all well pleased with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourse to Antiochus king of Syria, to Nelis tyrant of Lacedæmon, and even to their sworn enemy Philip king of Macedon. It was natural enough for them to suppose, that Macedon and Lacedæmon would readily enter into a league against the Romans, who had lately implored very hard conditions upon them. And as for Antiochus, his interest, his honour, the steps he had already taken, and the advice he received from Hannibal, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay passing over into Europe, and declaring war with Rome. Nor did they despair to see Carthage also join so many confederate nations, and make some efforts to shake off the yoke which Rome had laid on her. All these considerations encouraged the Aetolians, and gave them no small hopes of seeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They chose for their pretor one Tibbæus, a man fit for their design, being an inveterate enemy to Rome, and a fainthearted opposer of the peace lately concluded with the Macedonians. Tibbæus immediately assembled a general diet at Naupactus, and there conveyed it into the breach of all the deputies the irreconcilable aversion which he bore to the Romans. A decree passed without opposition, empowering him to send embassadors to all the princes who were dissatisfied with the Romans, and stir them up to war against the common enemy.


(K) Livy by the Pyliacum concilium means that assembly of the Amphictyons which met every year at Thermopylae, to deliberate on the common interests of Greece. These diets were established by Amphictyon the third king of Aetolus, in order to unite all the Greeks in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reason, that if he could succeed in this point, he should render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after Arisbal king of Arcos, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewise added several deputies of other provinces, who had not till this time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different sorts of Amphictyons, or general assemblies; the one instituted by Amphictyon, the other by Arisbal; whereas the king of Arcos only improved what the king of Aetolus had begun.

* Phobites, Malaian and Ptochian: the name of the twelfth has been probably lost by the negligence of the transcribers. The Delphi, not men¬tioned by Polybios in this enumeration, are said by the ancients to have enjoyed the Amphictyon right. Each of these nations chose two deputies, whom they sent to the general assembly; one of whom was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence filled Hieronous; the other was called Pylogoras, or the orator sent to Pyle or Thermopylae. Sometimes each nation sent three and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the assembly. The Ptochians were formerly excluded from the assembly for having plundered the temple of Delphi; but afterwards wiped off this dishonour by faying the same temple from being plundered by the Gauls, who invaded Greece under the conduct of the second Brennos. This supreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at Thermopylae, in a temple dedicated to Ceres, and situate in a large plain watered by the Asopus; in the spring at Delphi in the temple of Apollo (37).

enemy. Pursuant to this decree, Damocritos was dispatched to Lacedamon, Nicander to Macedonia, and Diocriarus to Syria. The first was ordered to make Nabis senfible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the Romans. His state was reduced to a small territory, and Achaia was sole mistress of Peloponnesus. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the neighbouring nations, and being shut up within the walls of Lacedamon, he had only the empty title of king. The second was instructed to tell Philip, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the Roman tyranny. The conquests of Alexander the great and his glorious exploits were also deemed proper topics to awake his jealousy. Nicander was likewise ordered to afflire him, that the proposals of the Eotians were not chimical, that Antiochus was ready to cross into Europe with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great Hannibal, whose very name struck the Romans with terror, afflire him with his advice, that the Eotians would join him with all their forces, and that Rome could not possibly repel so many enemies at once. The third embassador was directed to persuade Antiochus to pass over into Greece, and magnify to him the forces of Eotia: he was to let him know, that the conquests of the Romans in Greece were chiefly owing to the Eotians, and afflire him, that their troops were numerous and well disciplined, and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets. Nay, Diocriarus was charged to deceive the king of Syria with a lie, and tell him, that Philip and Nabis had already signed the confederacy.

Philip and Antiochus were not half in coming to a determination; but Nabis immediately took up arms, and besieged Gybium, a maritime city, which the Romans had obliged him to give up to the Achaean. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the Roman senate thought it advisable to send embassadors into Greece to defeat the measures of the Eotians, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with Rome. At their arrival they found, that Eotia had already declared openly for Antiochus. The embassador (L.), who had been sent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought with him an embassador from the king of Syria to the Eolian diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to propostle the minds of the people in favour of Antiochus. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exaggerate beyond measure the number of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into Eotia; and above all the immense treasures, which the king would distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands belonging to the Roman republic. The minds of the Eotians were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assembled to give audience to the king’s embassador. The Roman deputies, among whom was Flaminius, highly respected by all the other states of Greece, had regular notice sent them of whatever was transacting in Eotia; and they forbore some of their chiefs to thwart as much as possible the designes of the factious Thoas. Flaminius also engaged the Athenian to send deputes to the assembly of Eotia, and there to support the interests of his republic. Thoas opened the diet by acquainting his country-men, that an embassador was come from the mighty monarch of Syria to court their friendship, and propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances. He told them, that it had been happy for Greece, that his matter had concerned himself in their affairs before Philip was reduced so low; that if he had joined his forces to those of the Macedonians, Greece would not now groan under the tyrannical oppressions of Rome. If you call your cause, said he, is not without remedy, the wound is not incurable; if you put in execution the designes you have formed, I promise you a deliverer in the great Antiochus; he, with your affilience and that of the gods, will be able to restore Greece to its antient splendor.”

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*(1) Liv. 1. 35. c. 12.
* Liv. 1. 35. c. 51—54.
The History of Aetolia.

a The Aetolians were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the Aetolian emissary prevailed upon the assembly to hear the Romans before they came to any resolution. Accordingly Flamininus being sent for and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with Rome; and after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the senate, than fill all Greece and Asia with them, he concluded thus: Aetolians, "are you then determined out of mere wantonness to light a fire in Greece, which it will not be in your power to extinguish? Will you arm the nations of the east for their mutual destruction? What a dreadful storm are you bringing upon yourselves! you are the first on whom it will fall." The Aetolians, who had already laid their complaints before the senate, and had been by the senate referred to Flamininus, seeing themselves now referred back by Flamininus to the senate, grew outrageous, and in the presence of the Roman passed a decree conceived in the following terms: Let Antiochus be called into Europe to restore Greece, oppressed by the Romans, to its ancient liberty. Flamininus demanded a copy of the decree; but the praetor refused it him, anfwerin with a haughty air, that he had begun of much greater consequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very soon on the banks of the Tiber, with all the forces of Syria. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon Flamininus returned to Corinium, there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the senate with the steps they should take.

b In the mean time the privy council of the Aetolians formed a design of seizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of Greece; these were Chalceis in Euboea, Demetrias in Thessaly, and Lacedemon in the heart of Peloponnesus. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary design. Tobius was appointed to take Chalceis, Alexanmenes to surprize Lacedemon, and Diocles to make the attempt upon Demetrias. They all three set out at the same time on their respective expeditions, but were not attended with the like success. Diocles approaching the city of Demetrias with a small body of chosen troops, sent a messenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with no other design, but to attend Euryleucus to his native country, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his rank and merit. Euryleucus had been chief magistrate of Demetrias, and in that post disobligeed the Romans, whose partizans had forced him to leave his country and take sanctuary among the Aetolians. However, the Demetrians, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had consented to recall him; and his return Dioles made use of for the execution of his design, Euryleucus himself being privy to the whole plot. Both Diocles and Euryleucus arrived at the gates of the city with a small body of horse, the rest of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a distance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, Diocles ordered his troop to dismount, and enter on foot, leading their horses by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horse-men to be ready to fall on the citizens, if they should offer to shun it when the rest of the cavalry appeared. Thus Dioles was admitted without the least suspicion; but while he was leading Euryleucus by the hand to his house, news was brought him that the whole body of the Aetolian cavalry was arrived, and had got possession of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that surprize making himself master of the most important posts in the city, detached several small bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the Roman party. Thus the Aetolians possessed themselves of one of the most important places of Thessaly.

But Lacedemon was not to be so easily surprized. Nabos was a cunning and slyficious prince, and, as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council therefore of the Aetolians, in the instructions they gave Alexanmenes, had recourse to treachery. Nabos had been lately defeated by Philopomen, and apprehending that the brave Achaeans designed to besiege him in his capital, sent messenger after messenger to his friends and allies the Aetolians, acquainting them with the danger that threatened him, and earnestly entreating them to send him without delay such a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and straits, which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous Aetolians thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid design, which was to affrighten their ally, and seize on the city of Lacedemon for themselves.

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The Aetolians invite Antiochus into Greece. Year of the
before Christ

The Aetolians form a design of seizing Chalceis, Demetrias, and Lacedemon. O

The Aetolians seized Oe, the capital of Euboea. Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus, were said to have been born here.

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The History of Ætolia.

Book I.

Alexamenes therefore, a man well qualified for such a work, was ordered to set out with a thousand foot and thirty horsemen. The latter were all young men, chosen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the most fit for any desperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horsemen were introduced by the praetor Demetrius to the council of the aecleites, and there told, that it was not their business to think what expedition they were sent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever Alexamenes should enjoin them; and that how desperate ever the thing he commanded might seem, and repugnant to reason, yet, unless they readily performed it, they should not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With these instructions they began their march to Lacedemon, where they were received by Nabis, with the greatest transports of joy. Alexamenes encouraged him not to be under any apprehension of danger either from the Achaeans or the Romans, since Antiochus had already passed the Hellepont, and would soon enter Greece with a prodigious army, and such an immense number of elephants as would be sufficient, without any other help, to tread down the Romans. As for the Ætolians, said he, they would have sent you all their troops, if they had not thought it necessary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of Syria, before whom they were desirous to make the best appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of Lacedemon if he couldlew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well disciplined. Nabis was highly pleased with this flattering discourse, and used every day to exercise his soldiers in the plains of the Euripus near the capital; Alexamenes attended him at the head of his Ætolians, whom he drew up apart from the Lacedemonians, and then keeping close by the tyrant's side, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he designed. He observed that Nabis used to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other, guarded only by three or four horsemen. This made him form a design of affighting him in fight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himself a day for the execution of so desperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while Nabis was busy in exercising his phalanx, he stept aside to his thirty horsemen, and told them, that he should soon land in Ætolia, and need both of their courage and address; Keep your eyes, said he, fixed upon me, and whatever you shall see me take in hand, be sure to finish it, if you care to fee your country again and your relations. He said no more, but returned to attend the king as usual. At length, at Nabis was riding from one place to another with great speed, guarded only by two or three horsemen, Alexamenes seized on the desired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horse. Then the thirty Ætolians, without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and dispatched him before anyone could come to his assistance. His guards were so surprised, that, instead of feizing the affiants, they stood gazzing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But Alexamenes heading the Ætolian infantry, which was posted in the left wing of the Lacedemonian phalanx, hastened to the capital, and entering it without opposition began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As Nabis was equally hated by his citizens and soldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the Ætolian had convened the assembly, and made a speech suitable to the occasion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other considerations; and Alexamenes, contrary to all rules of prudence, spent the remainder of the day and the whole night in searching for the treasures of the murdered king. In the mean time the Lacedemonians, recovering themselves from their surprise, were highly provoked to see the ancient palace of their kings ransacked by a treacherous affian, as if their city had been taken by storm. Wherefore the whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the Ætolians, who were straggling about the city in quest of booty, and put them all to the sword. Alexamenes was killed in the palace, and those few that made their escape were feized by the magistrates of Arcadia, and condemned to slavery. Such was the result of the attempt upon Lacedemon. Philopomen no sooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his affian, but he hastened to Lacedemon, and finding all things there in the utmost confusion, he assembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their ancient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the Achæan league. Thus the ancient kingdom of Sparta became a member of a commonwealth.
Chap. 20. The History of Aetolia.

wealth, whereof the name was scarce known when the Spartans ruled over all Greece .

As for Tbaos, he failed in his attempt upon Chaleis, the magistrates of that city, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received timely notice of the design, and put the city in a condition to sustain a long siege. The inhabitants of Chaleis, hearing that Tbaos had hired a great many transports in order to carry over troops to their island, sent a messenger to him, desiring to know for what reason he was going to commit hostilities in their territories; the Aetolian anw{ered, that his only design was to deliver Enba from the Romans, who domineered more insolently over it than the Macedonians had ever done. But the inhabitants reply'd, that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the Romans, since they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This disconcerted the measures of the Aetolians, who had placed all hopes of succés in a sudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much dissatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him master of the whole island, and open'd a way for Antiochus into Attica .

Flamininus, who then resided at Corinth, being informed, that the Aetolians had made themselves masters of Demetrias in Thessaly, took upon him to recover it to the Roman party. He first wrote to Eumenes, praetor of Thessaly, desiring him to arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged Villius to go to Demetrias, and inform himself of the disposition of the inhabitants. Accordingly Villius embarked on a quinquennium, and came in sight of Demetrias. The report of his arrival raised a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to the port to see him. But the Romans, without any concern at seeing crowds about him, addressed Eurylochus the chief magistrate in this manner: Can the Romans reckon the people of Demetrias among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magistrate answered, that his fellow citizens were attached to Rome; but at the same time he let them know, that his presence might disturb the repose of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect telling him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into Demetrias. And indeed Eurylochus had already declared for Antiochus, and the inhabitants, seduced by his counsels, had just then concluded a league with the Aetolians against Rome. Villius understood by Eurylochus's discourse, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with severe reproaches on both sides; the Roman upbraided the Demetrians with ingratitude, since they owed their liberty to Rome, and the Demetrians reproached the Romans with injustice, haughtiness, and ambition. Villius therefore was obliged to put to sea again; but before he reimbarked, turning to the multitude that were purifying him with great noise and menaces, "I plainly see, said he, the form that will fall upon your heads; your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none, who provoke the Romans, escape with impunity." Flamininus, upon the return of Villius and his report, laid aside all thoughts of bringing the Demetrians back to their old alliance.

On the other hand, Tbaos, having failed in his attempt upon Chaleis, went straight to Antiochus, and pressed him to delay no longer his setting out for Greece. At the same time he dissuaded him from sending Hannibal with an army into Italy, inferring, that the Carthaginian would assume to himself all the glory of such an enterprise. As this fell in with the Syrian's suppliant and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the design, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being resolved, that Greece should be the first seat of war, the king pitched upon Demetrias for the place where he should land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he embarked with an army consisting only of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; such a small body of men was noways sufficient to the majesty of so great a king, nor answered the expectations of his Greek allies: but these were all the troops he had ready; Polyxenidas indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into Asia to draw together the rest of his forces, and lead them into Europe. The king landed at Pteleus in Phœbois, and from thence marched to Demetrias. Here the heads of the Aetolian nation waited upon him, and invited Greece.

invited him to Lamia, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave Asia, before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that as soon as the seas were passable, they should see all Greece covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words; “I will spare neither tears nor expences, I will expose my person, to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in the full enjoyment of your liberties: Rome has enslaved you, but Syria offers you a deliverer; let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, I shall find men and arms”.

This speech was received with great applause, and when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly, what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in Eetolia. The most judicious law plainly, that Antiochus, instead of a real and present assistance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promises, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between Rome and Eetolia. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of T harassed was prevalent, which was, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo or commander in chief of all the Greek armies against Rome. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on all occasions. The first step he took by their advice was to enter into a negotiation with Chalcis, a city which was famous for its affection to the Romans. In a conference which was held between the Eetolians and Chalcidians at Salamis, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with Antiochus, but without renouncing the friendship of the Romans; they declared, that the king of Syria was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but to deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of Greece than to live in amity both with Antiochus and the Romans, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withdrew the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the Romans, on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates.

Methio, one of the chief men of Chalcis, replied; that he could not imagine what people Antiochus was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and crossed over into Greece; that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of Rome; that they did not refuse the friendship of Antiochus and the Eetolians; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the Romans.

This answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it advisable to return to Demetrias, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his Eetolian counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But Tadus appeased him with the hopes of gaining over Amyntas king of the Attalians, with the Boiotians and Aeacids, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Romans. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and embassadors dispatched to these three powers. The Athenian diet, which was held at Aegina, gave audience to the embassadors of the Eetolians and Antiochus, in the presence of Hellenontias. The Syrian embassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horsemen were crossing the Hellespont, confining partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of Europe, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the Daezis, the Medes, the Elymians, the Cadijimis, &c. names

* Ibid, ibid. c. 42-44.  
* Liv. ibid. c. 46.  
* Ibid, ibid. c. 47.
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names never before heard in Greece, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would over-spread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of Greece; concerning money, it was, he said, needless to mention the immense sums which Antiochus promised, since they knew that the kingdom of Asia had always abounded with gold. In the close of his speech he addressed the Acheans, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore Greece to its freedom, yet he did not require, that the Acheans should take up arms against Rome, but only defend them to stand neutrals, and treat both parties as friends, affurishing them, that their neutrality should screen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened Greece.

b Archidamus, the Eetolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect, advising the Acheans to fit only as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon Rome; then growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and Flaminius in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot, that they owed to the valour of the Eetolians not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life and the safety of the army. For what great exploits, continued he, has Flaminius performed during this war? his whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur or a priest, while I exposed myself to the enemy's darts for his false. Flaminius heard all these reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleasantry thus. Attempts have now been made, Acheans, to terrify you with an enumeration of those nations of Asia, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon Greece. This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of mine in Chalced, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when venison was very scarce, and yet there seemed to be great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprised; but my friend smiling told me, that what I took for venison was nothing but hog's flesh disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The feast may be said of this mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The Dabri, the Medes, the Cadusii, the Elymean names indeed that are not heard every day in Greece, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men; let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And as for the Eetolians, they are brave only in words; they may amuse the king of Syria with their bragging discourses, but both you, Acheans, and I are better acquainted with their character than to be imposed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a poor figure is he come to make in these parts? his whole army is not equal to two of our smallest legions. And where are the richesses, which he promises you? he has been obliged at his first arrival to beg e of the Eetolian diet, provisions and money. From thence he rambled to Chalced, which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. The Eetolians have very injudiciously given credit to Antiochus, and Antiochus shewed as little judgment in believing the Eetolians. This ought to teach you not to be imposed upon, but to put all your confidence in the Romans, the effects of whose friendship you have so often experienced. When they demand of you a neutrality, they invite you to become a prey to both parties, and to suffer all the evils of war without sharing the advantages of victory.

The Acheans without hesitation declared for the Romans, and resolved to make war upon Antiochus and the Eetolians. They immediately sent five hundred men to reinforce the garrison of Chalced, and the like number to Abydus, which began to waver.

Antiochus and the Eetolians received no greater satisfaction from the Boeotians, who told their embassadors, that they would come to no resolution till Antiochus's army was on the frontiers of Boeotia.

The king of Syria having thus solicited in vain, either by his embassadors or in person, most of the Greek states to join in alliance with him, retired at last to Demetrius, where he held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing campaign. Hannibal, who was invited to it with all the chief commanders of the army,

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6 Idem, ibid. c. 48.  7 Idem, ibid. c. 49.  8 Idem, l. 36, c. 2.
The History of Aetolia.

The History of Aetolia.

Book I.

army, being asked his opinion first, advised the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his utmost endeavours to gain over Philip of Macedon; which, he said, was so important a step, that could they but succeed in it, they might without much ado become masters of all Greece. But if Philip should refuse to take up arms against Rome, in that case he was of opinion, that the king should send his son Seleucus at the head of an army into Macedon, and by that means prevent him from lending any assistance to the Romans. He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the Romans was to send an army into Italy. The council could not but approve of what Hannibal said, but at the same time the Aetolians diverted the king from following his opinion, preferring, that if he pursued the Carthaginian's plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him, and that since Antiochus had already taken another course and was in Greece, it would be highly disreputable in him to alter his measures. In the council it was resolved, that the king should again attempt the winning over of Chalcedon, and accordingly he set out again for that place. On his march he detached Manippus, one of his generals, with three thousand men to intercept a body of five hundred Romans which Flamininus had sent, under the command of Miltio the Chalcedian, to reinforce the garion of Chalcedon. Manippus came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amassing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to Apollo in the neighbourhood of Tanagra (M). Neither the sanctity of the place, which enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, nor the friendship that still subsisted between Antiochus and the republic, was not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the Syrians; they were attacked in the very temple and grotto of Apollo, most of them put to the sword, and fifty taken prisoners; a few of them escaped with their leader Miltio, who in a small boat got safe to Chalcedon. This was the first time Antiochus drew his sword in these parts; but by shedding Roman blood he made himself the aggressor, and gave Rome a new right to declare him an enemy. The Syrians, flushed with this small advantage, became more bold and enterprising; he advanced at the head of six thousand men to the Euripus, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the second time before Chalcedon. This city was rent into factions, and, now the Aetolian party prevailing, Miltio and Xenocides, with some other citizens as peripatets in their attachment to the Romans, were commanded to depart, and the city opened her gates to Antiochus. The example of the capital was followed by the whole island, and all Euboea submitted to the Syrian, who from that time made Chalcedon the place of his residence. He spent the winter there, sending deputies to all the free states of Greece to court their friendship. His power began now to be formidable; whereas the Eleans, the Epirots, the Boeotians, and the Abatanians readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with Rome. The Abatanians were prevailed upon to join him, by Philip the regent of Abitamania, who was a pretender to the crown of Macedon (N) 1.

And now the time drawing near to take the field, Antiochus advanced to Larissa, and from thence summoned his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of Phere, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolite step, which was taking the regent of Abitamania with him to the plains of Cynocephales, where the Macedonians, who had been killed when Philip was overcome, lay still unburied. He thought, that the pretended king of Macedon, by procuring their obsequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the Macedonians. But this served only to exasperate the true king of Macedon, who immediately gave the Romans notice of the progress Antiochus was making in Greece 2.

(M) Tanagra, a city of Bœotia on the banks of the Aphiys, five miles distant from the Euripus, is now called Amaturia. The temple dedicated to Apollo, and called Diduch, was built on the coast of Bœotia, between the city of Aulis and the mouth of the Aphiys, about five miles from Tanagra (4).

(N) Amyander, king of the Abatanians had married Agelopatis, a woman named Aposia, a native of Macedon, who was said to be descended from Alexander the great. The father of Aposia, who also bore the name of Alexander, gave out among the Megalopitians, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of Macedon. The brother of Aposia, who was called Amyander, was said to be the true king of Macedonia. He was a weak prince: and Amyander gained over Philip, by promising to restore him to the throne of his ancestors.
The king of Syria, being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to resist him, laid siege to Phcenae, which after a vigorous resistance was forced to surrender. From Phcenae he advanced to Larissa, and while he was deliberating whether he should lay siege to it or not, news was brought him, that a body of Romans was arrived at Goni, a city about twenty miles from Larissa. Claudinus, who commanded this small detachment, in order to deceive Antiochus, encamped in a much larger camp than was necessary for so small a number of troops, and kindled so many fires, that Antiochus, believing a numerous army of Romans was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to Chalcis, which city proved as fatal to him as Capua had been to Hannibal. For

b there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he suffered himself to be flamefully captivated by the charms of a fair Chalcidian. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of Chalcis, named Cleopolemus, in whose house the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king's made Cleopolemus fear, that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But Antiochus to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquiesce; and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the moft peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget Rome, Greece, and Syria. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unfeemable love was but a standing topic of raillery in all convocations, his allies made loud complaints, the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the Aetolians themselves expressed great uneasiness. But the king, infensible to everything but his passion, which engrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in fealing and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers, of the Syrian army: discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

c While Antiochus was thus lost in pleasures at Chalcis, Rome kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas, and alter the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops of the wars that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against Antiochus. Then the new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Naeus and A. Aelius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces, and Greece fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of May for Brundisium, whence he set sail for Greece, and, crossing the Ionian sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to Babis, who was encamped near Pellinna in Thessaly, and with his cavalry he marched to Limnae, another city of Thessaly, which the king of Macedon was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in Pellinna was taken Philip the pretender to the crown of Macedon. The king in derision called him brother, ordered him to be fated king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons and sent him to Rome. Then the Romans and Macedonians parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himself master of all Albamania, Amyclander, having retired with his wife and children into Epirus; and the consul soon reduced all Thessaly. This surprising progress of the Romans roused at last Antiochus out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife Eubia to adoration; but his reason, pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, at last got the better of his passion; and he determined to leave Chalcis and draw nearer to Etilia. This obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over Greece, and join them in one army. All the Syrian troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of Etilia, in hopes of powerful succours from thence; but he was disappointed; for the Etilian chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. Antiochus was then sensible that he had been imposed upon.

c 719

\[\text{Chalcis} \text{psum fatus to} \text{Antiochus.}\]

\[\text{The progress of the Romans towards Antiochus.}\]

\[\text{Liv. ibid. Appian. c. 96.}\]
upon by Tboas; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. He knew, that the Roman army had passed the Sperchius, and was ravaging Phibius. To prevent therefore their entering Aetolia by way of Locris, and at the same time to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he feigned a pass already famous in history, called Thermopylae. This pass was not above twenty-five foot broad, and bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by mount Oeta. The king strengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was not ignorant, that Xerxes would not have been able to force the Lacædonians, if he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand Aetolians to feize the summits of mount Oeta, which were nearest his camp. The Roman general was informed of the prudent precautions which Antiochus had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from passes, where scarce ten armed men could march a-breast was a dangerous attempt; to follow the example of Xerxes, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the tops of the mountain being guarded by two thousand Aetolians. In this perplexity he had recourse to the famous Cato, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, hadrouzed up his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no higher a station than that of a legonary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the confluf out of his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the Aetolians from their advantageous post. As this enterprise was of no less difficulty than importance, the confluf thought proper to join L. Valerius, one of his lieutenants, with Cato in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body of Aetolians, which was encamped on the summit, called Tichius, and the latter against those who were on the other, named Callidromus. Valerius was repulsed by the Aetolians, and forced to retire; but Cato, after undergoing inexpressible fatigues and dangers, got at last to the top of the mountain, and charged the Aetolians with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post, and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly engaged with Antiochus, but could not with all their valour force the Syrians' entrenchment. Atilius did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the confluf all on a sudden spied Cato half way down the hill, and the Aetolians flying before him. This sight inspired the Romans with new vigour, and struck no small terror into the Syrians, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and still maintained their ground, till Cato, attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to the dispute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned his horse about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one leaving the valley, and leaving the passes open for the Romans, who did not pursue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty.

The next day early in the morning the confluf marched to Elatia, whither Antiochus had first retired. But before the arrival of the Romans the king was fled from thence, and had got safe to Chalcis with five hundred horse. All the infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were surprised by the Roman horse and cut in pieces; so that Antiochus may be said to have lost his whole army, in the action of Thermopylae and in the pursuit (O). The confluf continued his march through Baetia to the Euripus, with a design to drive Antiochus from Chalcis, and recover the illand of Euboea. The Baetians had declared for Antiochus, and therefore being feized with terror at the sight of the conflusar army, they appeared before Atilius in the attire of supplicants, and the confluf spared both their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except at Coronea, where, by a public edict of the Baetian diet, a statute had been erected to Antiochus. At this fight the legionaries were so provoked, that Atilius could not restrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the conflusar army appeared before Chalcis, Antiochus, embarked with his new queen, set

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1 Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Syrac. c. 96.  
2 Liv. ibid. c. 19.  
3 (O) Valerius of Antium, according to Livy, greatly magnified the king's loss; for he wrote that for- 
ty thousand Syrians were killed upon the spot, and 
five thousand taken prisoners (5).  
a fail for Aitia, and retired to Ephesius. Upon his departure Chakis opened her gates to the Romans, and all Euboea followed the example of the capital. Actius then returned to Thermopylae, and from thence continued his march to Heraclea (P), which two thousand Aetolians still kept for Antiocbus. 

Before the confid befoged the city in form, he summoned the garision and the inhabitants to surrender; representing, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all Greece had a new declared for Rome; that it was not too late to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. Damocritus, who had told Flaminius that he would give him on the banks of the Tiber a copy of the decree inviting Antiocbus into Greece, was governor of the place; and by his means the Aetolians, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The confid therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made himself master of it. Heraclea was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defense. The confid having invested the city on all sides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which discharged showers of darts and stones on the befoged. The Aetolians on the other hand maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harased the Romans with frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their 

b battering rams quite useless. The aggressors no sooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the the befoged made vigorous sallies, keeping the Romans employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days against the incessant attacks of the whole confinarian army. The great number of the befoged leften their fatiges; but the befoged were employed night and day, the whole garision being scarce sufficient for the constant defence of the place. The confid being sensible that the Aetolians could hardly be overcome with fatiges and watchings, resolved to give some relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a flap to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The Aetolians, being persauded that the Romans were as much exhausted as themselves, retired at the same time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreshed themselves with some hours rest. They continued this practice for some time; but the confid all on a sudden ordered Sempronius to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noise would draw all the garision thither. Accordingly the Aetolians being waked, hastened to the castle, and the Romans at the same time assaulted with great vigour the town, but were repulsed by the Aetolians in three succesive attacks. Actius had ordered his legonaries to attack the town on all sides, except that which joined the suburbs. There he had placed a strong detachment among the ruins of the demolifhed houses, with orders not to stir till they heard the signal. He imagined, that the befoged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And so it happened, the befoged left this place quite undefended, which the confid perceiving, gave the signal agreed on, and the legonaries mounted the wall without any opposition. The befoged hearing a thout on the rampart believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. Actius suffered the city to be plundered, not so much out of a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the confid marched against the citadel, which, as it was not sufficiently focked with provicions to maintain such a number of men, women, and children, as had 

c fled thither for refuge, soon surrendered at discretion. The Aetolians threw themselves upon the clemency of the Romans, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the confid's hands their leader Damocritus, who probably was sent to Rome, with the other captives of the conquered nations.  

From Heraclea the confid marched to Lamia, a strong place situated on a rock about seven miles distant. The troops of king Philip had begun the

1 Liv. ibid. e. 20.
2 Liv. ibid. e. 25.
(P) This city, called Heraclea Trachynia, flood of Zeiton, and about forty surlongs distant from between the Sperchius and the Aigius, near the gulf Thermopylae (G).

(6) Strabo l. 9. Thucyd. l. 3.

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the siege at the same time that the Romans set down before Heraclea. As the two cities were near each other, and Lamia stood on an eminence, the Macedonians and Romans could discover, each from their own camp, what progress was made in the other. Hence arose an emulation between the two armies, which should reduce their city first. The works were carried on by both with the utmost vigor; but as the Macedonians could not, according to their custom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the Romans took Heraclea before the Macedonians had made any considerable progress in the siege of Lamia. Philip indeed did not at first afflict in person, being prevented by an indispension; but he no sooner recovered, than he went to pay a visit to Aelius, who was then encamped at Thermopylae, and congratulated him on his victory. From the confoul's camp Philip hastened to Lamia to pursue the siege; but he had not the satisfaction of taking the place, the Lamians b chusing rather to submit to the Romans, in hopes of recovering their liberty; than to receive the Macedonian yoke.

Before Heraclea and Lamia were besieged, the Aetolians had sent an embassy to Antiochus then at Ephesus. Tbaus, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into Europe. He represented, that if the war was not carried on with vigor in Greece, he would soon see the Romans in the heart of his dominions. What he said was not improbable, and therefore determined Antiochus to send immediately into Aetolia considerable sums, and give orders for the assembling of his forces. Tbaus he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of prefiguring the king to fulfill his promises. Thus the Aetolians were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduction of these abated their ardor, and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but of concluding a peace. They sent embassadors to the confoul to make proposals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. "I have other business on my hands, said he, than to hear you; go back to your diet at Hypata, whither I will send Valerius Flaccus to treat with you: make your proposals to him, and in the mean time I grant you a ten days truce."

Valerius and the embassadors sett together for Hypata, where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honor; held their seessions at his house, and to shew that they repose an entire confidence in him, they desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. Our alliance, said they, with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we shewn our attachment to Rome? Here Valerius stopped them, and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they had so often broken. An humble submission, said he, will have more effect on the confoul and senate, than a vain ostentation of your services. The diet seemed to pay a great regard to the wholesome advice of Valerius, and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before the confoul, Phenesus, who was their speaker, addressing the confoul in a mournful tone, began his speech by telling him, that all Aetolia, repenting of her late conduct, threw herself on the honour and clemency of the Romans. The confoul, without suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied; you say, Aetolia surrendereth herself to the Romans; if so, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt; put into my hands Menetas the Epipol, Amyntander king of Albamania, and such of the Albamians as have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in Aetolia. While he was yet speaking, Phenesus interrupting him, answered with a quite different air and tone of voice; You demand more than we promised; we threw ourselves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery. What you require is neither consistent with the honour of the Aetolian nation, nor with the laws and customs of Greece. What is that to me, replied Aelius haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the Romans, and that is enough. Phenesus was offering to speak, when the confoul rising up, What, said he, do you refuse to obey my orders, and plead your customs or laws with me? Then turning to the licitors, he ordered them to bring in iron chains and collars, and threatened to put the embassadors in irons that infatant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unless they promised to perform what he required. The right of the chains

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a chains and the threats of the angry confus so terrified them, that neither Phœneas nor his colleagues durst utter one word. Valerius, taking their part, defied the confus to remember that they were embassadors, and consequently ought not to be treated with all the severity, which their insincerity perhaps might deserve. This encouraged Phœneas to represent to the confus in terms of great submision; That neither he, nor the council of the apocleti who had sent him, could obey his orders, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promised to bring him a positive answer. Aelius heard him now with patience, and granted the suspension of arms he required.*

b Uprox the return of the embassadors, and the report which they made of the severe treatment they had met with, a general assembly was convened, to which all the cities of Etolia sent their deputies. There were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries proposed by the Romans, and all cried out, We are then reduced to slavery: Is the king of Abarmania our subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the Romans? Warm debates arose, and the members of the council could neither agree with the praetor, nor among themselves. On one side the Romans were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities: on the other Antiochus was a wealthy prince, powerful by sea and land, and a declared enemy to the Romans. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened which determined them to choose the worst part. One Nicander, an active and bustling man, had gone from Aetolia to Ephesus, where Antiochus refided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large sums of money with him from the king of Syria, and assured the diet, that early in the spring all the forces of Syria would be sent to their assistance. He added, that the king of Macedon was highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Romans, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he said with relation to Philip had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the assembly. Nicander on his return to Greece had been obliged to pass between the Roman and Macedonian camps, and keeping as far as he could from the Romans fell upon an advanced guard of the Macedonians, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The prisoner expected no good treatment from Philip, and was under no small apprehension of being delivered up to the Romans. But, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the Macedonian in a very friendly manner, and even invited to sup with him. After the repast, the king ordered the rest of the company to withdraw, and then addressed Nicander thus: "You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a friend, and therefore do not fear. Are you not at all sensible, that the Aetolians your countrymen are the authors of all our misfortunes? They first brought the Romans into Greece, and afflicted them in the reduction of my dominions. Then they grew weary of their new masters, and drew Antiochus into these parts. However, I forget all that is past, and will not inflame you in your miseries. Only let the diet at Hypata know, that it is high time for them to lay aside their hatred to me. As for you, Nicander, remember, that I now give you your life, and "be grateful." Accordingly Nicander acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in Philip's camp, and the Aetolians inferred thence, that the king might be easily drawn off from the Romans. This persuasion, with the money which Nicander brought from Asia, and the reports which he spread, that Antiochus was ready to pass into Europe at the head of a powerful army, made such impressions on the assembly, that all thoughts of peace vanished, and nothing was now talked of but war. They resolved to draw all their forces to Naupactus, and preferre at all events that important city against the return of Antiochus*.

Aelius on the other hand look'd on the taking of Naupactus as the most fatal blow he could give the Aetolian nation, and therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first place he sent four thousand men under the command of Appius Claudius to guard the roads through which the army was to pass. The confin did not begin his march, till he had implored the assistance of the gods, by offering a solemn sacrifice to Hercules.

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cules on the top of mount Oeta (Q). Having thus consecrated his departure by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to Corax (R), the highest mountain of Aetolia, which he was obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden and many of the soldiers were lost in the precipices. Not one single Aetolian appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with the consul, which might have been defended by an handful of men against an army how numerous ever. At length the Romans got over it, and arrived greatly fatigued before Naupactus, which the consul immediately invested. But as the Aetolians defended themselves with incredible vigor and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer, while Philip and the Acteans reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of Demetrias, but extended his conquests to Dolopia, Aperanta and Perr Tabius (S); and thus by degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him ¹.

But Flamininus, who resided at Chauleis (T), not being at all pleased with the progres, which the consul suffered Philip to make contrary to the interest of Rome, hastened to Naupactus, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus; Are you aware what prodigious pains you take, to ruin the affairs of the republic? Aetolus surprized at these words, desired him to explain his meaning; and then Flamininus told him, that ever since his victory at Thermopylae he had spent his whole time in taking two cities, while Philip had not contented himself with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. "You are endeavouring, continued Flamininus, to lessen the power of Aetolia, and at the same time suffer a far more dangerous enemy to increase his beyond measure; and consider better the true interest of Rome; raise this troublesome siege, leave Naupactus, and deliver Greece from impending slavery."

As the authority of Flamininus was great at Rome, and his reasoning very just, Aetolus was unwilling to disoblige him; but on the other hand he confided, that the raising the siege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his conduct, and therefore was some time in suspense, whether he should follow the advice of Flamininus, or contrary to his opinion pursue the siege. But at length he yielded, Flamininus taking upon him to justify his conduct to the senate, and to persuade the Aetolians to make some kind of submission. Accordingly he immediately hewed himself to the besieged, who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his assistance with mournful cries. Flamininus seemed at first not to give ear to their entreaties, but as they redoubled their cries, beseeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compassion on an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to understand, that they might send deputies to confer with him. Hereupon he banished the chief men of the nation came out and threw themselves prostrate at his feet. Flamininus seeing them in this humble posture, I will not infall you, said he, in this condition, nor aggravate ¹

² Liv. I. 36. c. 32.  
³ Liv. ibid. & Plut. in Flamin.

(Q) Mount Oeta was dedicated to Hercules, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the summits of this mountain was called Pyra, that is a funeral pile, because Hercules had there burnt himself, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The flame of the place drew the consul to it, and before his departure he offered sacrifices to the deity there worshipped.

(R) According to Pausanias this mountain lay between mount Callicorus and mount Parmenus. Livy places it between Naupactus and Callipolis.

(S) Dolopia was part of Epirus, and bordered upon Thessaly, near mount Pandosus. Aperanta was another province of Epirus, lying near the springs of the Acheus. Perrheus was properly the mountainous country about Olympus in Thessaly, extending from the city of Atrax as far as Tempe (7).


(8) Plut. in Flamin. (T) Flamininus, after having conquered Philip, and settled the affairs of Greece, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great fail and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to Flamininus, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chose Chauleis for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for Aetolus, when it surrendered to him after the departure of Antiochus, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but Flamininus had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the Chauleians carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, placing him upon the same level with Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules (8).
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a ""vate your sorrow with unfeanorable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you of them, and you have the further mortification to know, that you have by your imprudent conduct brought them upon yourselves. But as I am appointed by the gods to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not get the better of my propension to mercy. Go, throw yourselves at the confial's feet, and beg a fulpanement of arms, in order to send embassadors to Rome to negotiate a peace; I will intercede with the confial in your behalf." They followed the advice of Flamininus; embassadors were sent to the Roman senate, and Aecilius, breaking up the siege, marched his army back into Phocis. The city of Naupactus must have been reduced to great straits, since the besieged fired so earnestly for the protection of Flamininus. But, on the other hand, if Aecilius had believed he could carry it in a short time, he would not have let it slip out of his hands; the whole flower of the Aetolian nation was shut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their Submission more hearty and sincere.

Aecilius, being disengaged from this troublesome siege, made the best use he could of the short time he was to stay in Greece. He gave audience to the embassadors of the Epirots, who came to excuse the steps they had taken with regard to Antiochus. They had not indeed sent any troops to his assistance, but were suspected to have supplied him with money and provisions. The confial told them, that he was in doubt, whether he should call them friends or enemies, but that the senate of Rome knew how to explain their mysterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themselves before the senate. At Rome they were received very coldly; but as it did not appear that they had committed any hostilities, the senators chose rather to shew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic.

As for the Aetolian embassadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an audience of the senate. They were, however, admitted at last, and endeavoured to raise the compation of the confial; they gave a long, but modest, account of the services they had rendered the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged, that in consideration of them the confial might not forget them in their late conduct. Many questions were put to them; but the senators observed, that, instead of giving any positive and direct answer, they had recourse to supplications and entreaties. This made them suspect their sincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates arose among the fathers, some being for granting them a peace, and others for purifying the war. Some days were spent in these disputes, and as the embassadors artfully declined giving satisfactory answers, the senate long continued in suspense between peace and war. At last the embassadors were told, that they must choose one of these two conditions, viz. either to submit to the will of the senate, or to pay the republic a thousand talents, and neither make war nor peace with any other power, without the consent and approbation of Rome. The Aetolians had not so much money; and, on the other hand, if they implicitly submitted to the will of the senate, they were perplexed, that Rome would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they desired to know in what points, and how far, they were to submit to the will of the confial. But they could have no certain answer, and therefore openly declared, that they would not consent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropp'd, and the embassadors ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

The Aetolians, upon the return of their embassadors, finding, that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it necessary to guard Naupactus against a new attack. They were afraid, that Aecilius, who continued in Greece, would again fit down before the place and carry it. To prevent this, they posted themselves in the narrow pales of mount Corax, in order to stop his march. But this precaution only served to make the confial turn his arms against another city, of no less importance than Naupactus. Lamia, after having been the last year very near reduced by Philip, had submitted to Aecilius upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the confial was employed in the siege of Naupactus, that city declared anew against the Romans. Aecilius, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon Naupactus, set out for Lamia, and appearing unexpectedly before:

w Idem ibid. c. 35.  x Idem ibid. c. 36.  y Liv. i. 37. e. 1. POL. DESC. Legat. 16.

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before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be scaled on all sides; but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon Aelius, despairing to take the city by assault, founded a retreat. The Romans returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he designed to renew the assault the next morning; Don't expect, said he to his troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the attack with such vigour, that the besieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After the reduction of Lamia the consul was for returning to Naupactus; but in a council of war, which was held on that occasion, not one of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt. A steep mountain covered the place, and the paffes were all guarded by numerous bodies of Etolians. The consul therefore marched his troops with all possible expedition, his confusate being ready to expire, to Ampissa, a city of Locris, which had joined the Etolians (U). He did not attempt to take it by storm, but besieged it in form; the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and held out, till news was brought to Aelius, that L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Scipio Africamus, was landed at Apollonia, and marching through Epirus and Thessaly, to take upon him the command of the army. The new confus brought with him an army of thirteen thousand men, and the great Africamus served under him in quality of his lieutenant (W). Cornelius visited all the coasts of Epirus, and came to the Matia gulf. From thence he sent to summon Hypata, which was one of the most considerable cities of Thessaly. But the inhabitants answering that they were not their own matters, and that they could not surrender without the consent of the Etolian diet, he turned towards Ampissa, the citadel of which Aelius was besieging, having already taken the town. The confus encamped eight miles from the town, and were soon visited by deputies from Abotes, who came to pay their respects to him, and intercede for the Etolians. They first impurted the chief buñesses, which were come upon, to Scipio Africamus, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their interests into his hands. Scipio told them, that he would intercede for the Etolians with a great deal of pleasure, and procure them the best terms he could. This raised the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately assembled a diet at Hypata, and sent deputies to the confus, not doubting, but Africamus would obtain favourable terms for them. But Cornelius, having conceived some sort of jealousy, in seeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himself, though vested with the confusate dignity, gave the embassadors the same answer which the senate had given before. He again insisted, that the Etolians should either pay a thousand talents, or implicitly submit to the will of the Romans. This unexpected answer threw the whole nation into the utmost conformation. However, they sent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the sum demanded, or at least, that, if they submitted to the will of the confus, their lives in general should be saved. But Cornelius was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon Ebedemus, the chief of the Abotes, advised them, by a six months' truce, and once more apply to the Senate. They followed his advice, and being backed in their request, both by Ebedemus, and Scipio Africamus, they obtained at length the truce they desired. The same em- bacterialso who had been driven from Rome were sent back thither, and the siege of the citadel of Ampissa was raised. Then Aelius, resigning up the command of the army to the new confus, left Greece, and returned to Rome. The Etolians themselves were
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a were not more overjoyed at this truce than Scipio Africanus, who was impatient to pass over into Asia, and once more enter the lists with Hannibal. The funeral army was scarce withdrawn from Greece, when the Aetolians, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a design to restore king Amyntader, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the Aetolians, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by Philip, whom the Romans had put in possession of all the banished king's dominions. They soon drove all the Macedonian garrisons out of Albania, and placed Amyntader again on the throne of his ancestors. But this did not content the restless Aetolians, instead of humbling themselves to Rome, as Amyntader did, for disappointing Philip of the dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they purloined their conquests, and entering Amphipolis, a province of Epirus, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of Rome, reconquered almost the whole Country. From thence they advanced to Apranta, which had likewise belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon Dolopia, a country which had always belonged to the kings of Macedon, and to which they could lay no claim. The Dolopians were easily prevailed upon to shake off the Macedonian yoke, and submit to the Aetolians. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic, in the person of a king, who was joined in alliance with Rome, and had rendered her eminent services during the late war.

d Thus the Aetolians employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease, by their submission, the wrath of the sovereign republic. However, when they heard that the senate, upon an embassy from Amyntader, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved at last to apply to the senate not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them, than she had been to their ally Amyntader. Their embassadors arrived at Rome soon after the election of the new consuls, M. Furius Nobilior and Cn. Mamilus Philo, proceeding with the Senate, and before the news of the famous victory at Magnesia had reached Italy. Wherefore the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two

e Scipios had been made prisoners by Antochus at a conference, and that the Roman army was entirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some perfons of their nation in the confuls camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these appearances did not abate the pride of the senate, or bring them to shew any indulgence to Aetolia: the embassadors were dismissed, and ordered not to return without the express consent of the generals, whom the republic should send to carry on the war in their country.

The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to M. Furius Nobilior, who immediately set out, and landing at Apollonia, a city of Macedon near the borders of Epirus, assembled there a council of the Epirots, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. These advised him to begin with the siege of Ambraecia (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of Aetolia. Herein they confuted their own interest; for Ambraecia belonged formerly to the Epirots, besieged by the Romans, and was now to be restored to them. However, Furius followed their advice, and, crossing Epirus, set down before Ambraecia. He no sooner saw the town, and observed its situation, but he concluded that it would be no easy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one side by a great river (Y), and on the other by steep and craggy hills, and surrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compass. The confus began the siege by forming two camps separated by the river, but with a communication between them; the Epirots were posted in one, and the


(X) Ambraecia was formerly one of the most considerable cities of Epirus. It stood at the bottom of the Ambraecian bay, upon the river Aschidus, at a small distance from the sea. The situation of Arba in upper Albania agrees with that of this ancient city (10).

(Y) The city of Ambraecia stood on the Anachus, which Long here calls Abbeat. Le Noir tells us, that the natives call this river Sappamagrite.

(10) Strabo. l. 7. Polyb. l. 8.
the Romans in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and a
the other of contravallation, and built over-against the citadel, which stood on a
hill, a wooden tower in the form of a castle. When the Aetolians understood, that
fulvio had begun the siege of Ambraicie, they assembled all their troops, and marched
 to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed
Strato, a city of Aetarnia on the banks of the Actaeus, for the place of the
general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, Nicander the
praefect and most of the officers were at first for attacking the Romans. But being
afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the
place were not finished, it was thought more advisable to throw troops into the
City, and strengthen the garison. Eupolemus, a man of great resolution, took upon
him to perform this, and succeeded in the attempt, entering Ambraicie at the head of
a thousand Aetolians, where the lines were not finished. As for Nicander, he
marched against the Epirae, with a design to attack them in their camp ; but, finding
them strongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous,
and therefore led his army into Aetarnia, and laid waste the whole country. In
the mean time the Romans and Epirae began to batter the place. The confid
ordered five attacks to be made at the same time, three on the side of Pyrrbeum,
a small fortress without the city, one over-against the temple of Actaeus,
and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides, and the
Romans, from their moveable towers pulled down the battlements with a kind of
colliers, which they fastened to long beams. This did not at all dishearten the
Aetolians, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the
ills of the rams and colliers. As to the former, they invented a kind of pulleys,
by which they let down beams, large fones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as
they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes. They guarded themselves
against the colliers by pulling the beams, to which they were fastened, into the city
with large hooks contrived for that purpose.

While Fulvio was thus carrying on the siege, Nicander, after having pillaged
Aetarnia, returned to Strato, and from thence detached five hundred men to
reinforce the garison of the besieged city. These got safe under the conduct of
one Nicodemus, with whom Nicander agreed to attack the Roman camp at a time
appointed, not doubting, but, if the garison within and the army without fell upon
them at the same time, and in the night, the Romans might be obliged to abandon
their camp, and retire from before the city. Nicodemus narrowly watched the time
in which he was ordered to fall, and at the hour appointed, though Nicander did
not appear, marched out at the head of the garison, armed with fire-brands and
torches. The Roman centurions were not a little surprized at this fight, and running
to wake their companions spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legions
marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy, whom
they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the side
called Pyrrbeum. Two of the enemy’s bodies were driven back, but the third, com-
manded by two Aetolian Generals, maintained their ground, made a great slaughter
of the Romans, set fire to their tents, and then, not finding themselves seconded by
Nicander, retired in good order into the city. If Nicander had at the same time
attacked the Romans, as he agreed to do, the siege would have been probably raised;
but he did not lend the besieged the least assistance, which some ascribe to timoros-
neis, while others tell us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night
against Pefos, who had invaded Doloia.

Nicander had so much to do elsewhere, that he could not bring any relief to
the besieged. On one hand Pefos was to be driven out of Doloia; and on the other
the coasts of Aetolia were to be defended from the ravages of Pleuratus,
king of Illyricum, who afflicted the Romans with a numerous fleet, and committed
great devastations in the Aetolians territories. The besieged being thus abandoned,
and without any hopes of succours, did not, however, despond, but defended them-
selves with incredible vigor and resolution. The Romans had no sooner made a
breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The
contul therefore altered his measures, and instead of making breaches with the ram,
began to undermine the wall in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once,

* Liv. l. 38. c. 4.  
† Idem ibid. c. 5.
and entering the city before the besieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not observed by the garrison, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they supposéd the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the strokes of the pick-axes of the Romans. In a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the Romans had fapped, and supported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle ensued under-ground, first with pick-axes and spades, and then with swords and spears. But this attack did not last long, each party making themselves a kind of rampart with the loofe earth. But the Aetolians, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow vessel with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distancies to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This vessel they filled with feathers, which they set on fire, and with bellows driving the smoke on the besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being suffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made use of to repair the foundations of the walls.

This vigorous refitlance did not raise the courage of the Aetolians in general; they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of Ambracia was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the Macedonians, Illyrians, and Achaans, and to refit to many enemies at once seemed impossible. The praetor therefore thought it necessary to assemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most proper in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, said they, was on Antiochus; but, now that he is confined to the other side of mount Taurus, we can expect no assistance from him; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a resolution was taken to send Pheneas and Damoteles to the confuú with full power to conclude a peace. Fulvius received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The preliminaries he insisted upon were, 1st, that they should lay down their arms; 2nd, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; 3rd, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the embassadors begged leave to return and consult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return they were checked by the assembly for leaving the confuú without signing the articles. We must have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving Fulvius time to reflect. They therefore immediately set out again for the Roman camp, but on the road were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of Acaranians, who carried them to Pyrrhus a city of Acalania. Fulvius, being informed of what had happened, ordered the Acalanians to set them at liberty; and in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle Aetolica in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the interceions of the Athenians, Rhodians, and of king Amyntander, in behalf of the Ambracians. As Amyntander had great interest in Ambracia, having long resided there, the confuú made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterously, prevailing upon them to surrender on the following terms; that the Aetolian garrison should have leave to march out of the city, that the inhabitants should pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the rest at fix equal payments; that they should deliver up to the confuú all the prisoners and defectors that were in the city. These articles were agreed to by the Ambracians, and approved of by the Aetolian diet. Ambracia opened her gates to the confuú, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which Pyrrhus had made his capital and inriched it with many valuable monuments.

After the surrender of Ambracia, Fulvius entering Aetolica encamped at Argo, the capital of Amphibolicia, then subject to the Aetolians, who had reduced all that province. There Pheneas and Damoteles, being set at liberty, acquainted him, that the Aetolian diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the senate, and for this purpose Pheneas and

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and Nicander set out attended by the embassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who went as a
interceder for them with the senate. In the mean time the confoul granted the
Aetolians a truce, and retired to the island of Cephalonia. When the embassadors
arrived at Rome, they found both the senate and people highly exasperated against
the Aetolian nation. Philip of Macedon had represented to the senate, and magnifi-
ced, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with
Rome, and bitterly complained of them for unjustly detaining from him Dolopis,
Atbamanis, and Amphiloctia. His complaints were of such weight with the senate,
that the embassadors were even refused an audience. But the Athenian deputies
were received very favourably, and the speech which Damis, who was at the head of
them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the
confrait fathers. The good offices of Valerius likewife, who accompanied the
Aetolian embassadors, did not a little contribute towards appeasing the clamours
which were every-where heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by the
Macedonian deputies. Caius Valerius was brother to the confoul Fulvius, and the
son of Lævinus, who concluded the first treaty of alliance between Rome and
Aetolis. This Valerius remembered, and used his utmost endeavours to procure
them a favourable reception. But nevertheless Phæneas and Nicander were kept a
long time in a painful uncertainty, whether they should obtain a peace or not.
At length, by the affidious and joint application of the Rhodians, Athenians, and
Valerians, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the fol-
lowing: 1st, The majesty of the Roman people shall be revered in all Aetolia;
2dly, Aetolia shall not suffer the armies of such as are at war with Rome to pass thro'
hers territories, and the enemies of Rome shall be likewise enemies of Aetolia; 3dly,
She shall in the space of an hundred days put into the hands of the magistrates
of Coreya all the prisoners and defectors she has, whether of the Romans or their
allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with Rome;
4thly, the Aetolians shall pay down in ready money to the Roman general in Aetolia
two hundred Euboic talents of the same value as the Athenian talents, and engage
to pay fifty talents more within the six years following; 5thly, They shall put
into the hands of the confoul forty fuch hostages as he shall chuse, none of which
shall be under twelve, or above forty, years of age; the praetor, the general of the
horfe, and such as have been already hostages at Rome, are excepted out of this
number; 6thly, Aetolia shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories
which the Romans have conquered since the confluence of Flaminus, though those
cities and territories had formerly belonged to the Aetolians; 7thly, The city of
Oenias and its district shall continue subject to the Acanians; 8thly, Cephalonia
shall not be included in this treaty.

From these articles we may judge, how far the Aetolian republic was abridged
of her ancient liberties by this peace. However, after the conquest of Macedon by
Paulus Aemilius, they were reduced to a much worse condition. For not only those
among them, who had openly declared for Perseus, but such as were only suspected
to have favoured him in their hearts, were sent to Rome in order to clear themselves
before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return
into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation
were barbarously affaminated by the partisans of Rome, for no other crime but that
of being suspected to with well to Perseus. The Aetolians appeared before Paulus
Aemilius in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment,
but could obtain no redress; nay the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the
senate to settle the affairs of Greece, enacted a decree, declaring, that those
who were killed had suffered justly, since it appeared to them that they had favoured
the Macedonian party. From this time those only were railed to the chief honours
and employments in the Aetolian republic, who were known to prefer the interest of
Rome to that of their country. And as these alone were countenanced by the sovran
republic, all the magistrates of Aetolia were her creatures, and mere tools of the
Roman senate. In this state of fervile subjection they continued till the destruction
of Corinth, and dissolution of the Achaean league, when Aetolia, with the other free states
of Greece, was reduced to a Roman province, commonly called the province of 
chaeta. Nevertheless each state and city was governed by its own laws, under the superinten-

dency

Liv. i. xxxviii. c. 8.
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a
dency of the pretor, whom Rome sent annually to Aetolia. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to possess lands any-where, but in their own country b.

In this state, with little alteration, Aetolia continued under the emperors, till the reign of Constantine the Great, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the western parts of Greece from the rest, calling them New Epirus, and subjecting the whole country to the Praefectus Praetorio for Illyricum. Under the successors of Constantine Greece was parcelled out into several principalities, especially after the taking of Constantinople by the western princes. At that time Theodorus Angelus, a noble Grecian of the imperial family, feigned on Aetolia and Epirus; the former he left to Michael his son, who maintained it against Michael Paleologus, the first emperor of the Greeks after the expulsion of the Latins. Charles, the last prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful issue, bequeathed Aetolia to his brother's son named also Charles, and Acarnania to his natural sons Memnon, Turmus, and Hercules. But great disputes arising about this division, Amurat II. after the reduction of the Peloponnesus, laid hold of it and captured a part of Epirus, and the Venetians; but they were not able to make head against such a mighty power, the whole kingdom was soon reduced by Mohammed II. whose successors held it to this day.

b Idem. L. xcviii. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

S E C T. III.

The History of Athens, from the Achaean league to the present time.

a

HE Athenians, having recovered their antient liberty by means of the brave Aratus, in the manner we have related elsewhere, were soon obliged to improvise the assistance of a more powerful protector, to maintain their freedom against Philip of Macedon, a prince, who seemed to have inherited the ambition of the first Philip, and the bravery of Alexander. This warlike monarch had formed a design of subjugating all Greece, and afterwards extending his conquests into Italy. In prosecution of this scheme, he made use of the following pretence to carry the war into Attica. Two young Acarnania, who happened to be at Athens while the inhabitants were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres (Z), had entered the temple of

b P. 557.

(Z) The festival of Ceres was the most celebrated and mysterious solemnity of any in Greece, whence it is often called by way of eminence the mysteries. The Sicilians claimed the glory of having first instituted this solemn worship, pretending, that they had been instructed by Ceres herself in the secret ceremonies, which were performed on this occasion. This goddess, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in societies to live under the influence of the wise laws which she had given them. Whence twice a year they renewed the remembrance of their signal benefits, worshipping alternately the mother and her daughter Proserpine; the former in the first feed-time, and the latter in the harvest. After the example of the Sicilians the inhabitants of Attica, who had been likewise enriched with the gifts of Ceres, signalized their gratitude to this goddess, by instituting three festivals in her honour.

Of these the first was called Proserpina, because it preceded the ploughing-time and the seed-time. On this occasion the Athenians, who celebrated this festival in the name of all the Greeks, offered a great many victims in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harvest.

The second festival was called Thesmophoria, this word alluding to the worship which was paid Ceres as a law-giver. Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and after them Theophrastus, tell us, that the same ceremonies were performed on this occasion in honour of Ceres, as were practised by the Egyptians in the mysteries of Isis. The celebration of this festival lasted five days, and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of Athens consisted, chose one from among themselves to preside over the ceremonies.
of the godselves with the crowd. As it was not lawful for any person to attend at those mysteries, without being initiated, the **Aenarianis**, who had not been admitted with the usual ceremonies, being discovered by their language to be strangers, were carried before the chief priest, and by him sentenced to die, though it was well known, that they had offended purely out of ignorance. The **Aenarianis** nation referred this inhuman sentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of Macedon, with whom they were then joined in alliance. **Philip**, without demanding any satisfaction, proclaimed war against **Athenis**, and sent a body of troops to join the **Aenarianis** and lay waste **Attica. Achaia, Lacedaemon, and Corinthis** had entered into an alliance with **Philip**, and **Athenis** was no-ways in a condition to make head against so many enemies at once. She resolved therefore to have recourse to **Rome**, and by a solemn embassy implore the protection of that powerful republic. The **Romans** were already well known at **Athenis**, and had been honoured there many years before with particular marks of distinction. In the consubfill of Sp. **Carvilius** and Q. **Fabius** **Verruculus**, thirty two years before the era we are now speaking of, **Rome** had sent embassadors to **Athenis**, and several other free states of **Greece**, to make them sensible of the happiness which he had procured them by humbling the **Illyrions**, who with frequent piracies infested their coasts. The year before **Cn. Fulvius** **Centumalus** had forced the **Illyrions** to submit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they should not suffer above three of their ships of war at a time to fall beyond the city of **Lysitius**, which rock on the confines of **Illyricum** and **Macedon**, near the mouth of the river **Drilon**. This article was so agreeable to the **Athenians**, that they not only received the embassadors with great demonstrations of kindnese, but from that time admitted the **Romans** in general to partake of the mysteries of **Eileusis**.

remonies that were practified at this solemnity. The victims were offered by a priest, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called **Stephanopleri**. Such women, as had had three talents to their portion, were invited to demands of their husbands the necessary sums for the expenses of the sacrifices; every one being obliged to contribute to them according to their ability.

All the women that were to attend at the ceremonies being assembled in one place, they went in procession from **Athenis** to **Eileusis**, a small city in that neighbourhood, singing hymns in honour of the goddess, and carrying the books, which contained the secret mysteries of the solemnity, and the laws, for which **Attica** was indebted to **Cere**. But this deputation was intrusted with such only as were of an unblemished character and famose for their integrity. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expense of the public, and with all imaginable care in order to be employed in this office and in the other ceremonies performed at **Eileusis**. These were always kept within the **Theosophorsion**, a public building in **Athenis** appropriated for that use, and narrowly watched by persons let over them to guard their virtue. However, when they arrived at **Eileusis**, they prepared themselves for the offices of their priesthood, by passing a whole day, at the feet of the statue of **Cere**, in fasting and prayer. This fevery ended in a kind of comedy; for as **Cere** had laughed at the sight of an old woman, who infatuated herself, so the young virgins endeavoured by innocent jokes to stir up one another to laughter. The following days were spent in lustrations and sacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the prisoners, who were initiated in the mysteries of **Cere**, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the solemnity, that they might join in those religious practices. A place of the festival, in honour of **Cere**, was deemed the most holy and solemn, being called the **mysteries**. It is said by some to have been instituted by **Cere** herself, after having supplied the **Athenians** with corn in time of famine; others ascribe the institution of it to king **Erethion**, and 

tome to **Muses** the father of **Euclidus**, or to **Euclidus** himself. The temple of **Eileusis** was the place where all those met who were admitted to those mysterious ceremonies; and thither the **Greeks** sent all parts of **Attica** under their feet. About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to **Cere**, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, but not suffered to enter the temple; during the whole time at the sacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the secret rites, some few excepted which the external cloth for the priests alone did not appear to them; whence they changed the name of **Mylais**, that is, persons initiated, for that of **Epipais**, or eyes-witnesses. The manner of the initiation was thus: the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtus on their heads. At their entering the sacred place, they purified themselves by washing their hands in holy water; and at the same time were told, that the external cloths for the priests alone would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unless attended by the internal cleanliness of an undefiled mind. After this the holy mysteries were read to them, the priest, who initiated them, having first asked them, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To these questions they returned answers in a set form, and then were led by the priest into the most holy part of the temple, a place of darkness and horror. Then all on a sudden a strong light darted in upon them, and discovered a statue of **Cere** richly adorned, and a very indescribable figure called **Mylais**. The light soon disappeared, and then a terrific noise, and a sudden fire fell down like lightning, and dreadful monster 

appear
The History of Athens.

A. Eleusis (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of Athens enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the least but their embassadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at Rome. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their embassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured, that a confederate army should be sent without delay to their assistance

In the mean time the Macedonians and Acrémonians, after having ravaged great part of Attica, were drawing near to the capital. The approach struck the citizens with no small terror; but their fears were soon dispelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king Atalassus and the Rhodians. These two powers were already at war with the king of Macedon, and therefore no sooner heard, that hostilities were begun between the Macedonians and Athenians, but they hastened to Athens, with a design to

1 Liv. I. xxxii. c. 4.

appeared, which by the glimmering light of contemplation, combined, and after the celebration of mysteries, with great terror. Neither could they recover themselves from their fright, till they were shown an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Lastly, the priest, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called Hierophant, or revealer of holy things, took his leave of the initiated, with exhortations to the practice of virtue. Hierophant he was by his own confession, and of the family of the Eumolpidæ. As he was the chief priest, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chastity, and forbidden even lawful marriages. His name was so venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the presence of the populace, that is, of such as were not initiated. He had three assistants, the first of which was called from his office Daedalos, or workman; the second was called the sacred herald; and it was his province to forbid on pain of death such as were not initiated, or were conscious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third ministered at the altar, implying the protection of the gods. The superintendent over these mysteries was called king; and it was his duty to offer prayers and sacrifices, to see that no indecency or irregularity was committed, and, after the celebration of the mysteries, to assemble the senate, being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four assistants under him called the sacred heralds, and from thence proceeded one out of the family of the Eumolpidæ, another out of the Corycia, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

The festival lasted a month, and ended on the twenty-third day of the month Bridemair, during which time it was unlawful to arrest any person, or precipitate any action, and those who were found guilty of such practices, were, according to some, fined a thousand drachmae, and according to others put to death. If any woman rode to Eleusis in a chariot, she was obliged to pay six, thousand drachmae. The reason of this law, which was enacted by Tyrtæus, was to prevent all odious dissensions between the rich and the poor.

The different shows, with which the spectators were entertained each day of the festivities, were emblematical representations of the travels of Cerés, and the chief incidents of her life. In this connexion the external pomp of the festival. The reti was an impenetrable mystery, which the Hierophantes discovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable secrecy by the most dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging these mysteries, or any part of them, became the public curiosities, and was excluded from all civil honours, and avoided even by his nearest relations; who were afraid to live with him under the same roof. But the ordinary punishment for such a crime was immediate death. If any person, not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or mistake, chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he was put to death. Permits of both sexes and all ages were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; infomuch, that it was one of the chief articles of impeachment against Alexander. However, such as were convicted of any crime or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from these mysteries.

If the testimony of profane authors may be admitted, these assemblies were schools of virtue and purity. Theirs gives a very favourable account of them, saying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life. Other writers call these initiations a more strict engagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were established by the gods. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the Pagan under the venerable names of mysteries consecrated profligates, and other more heinous crimes, and called the assemblies of Chers schools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps these ceremonies were at first such as the profane writers represent them to have been, but afterwards came by degrees to degenerate into libertinism and licentiousness, which gave the fathers occasion to exclaim against them. They were celebrated by the Athenians every fifth year at Eleusis, and from thence proceeded to Rome, then to Alexandria, and never totally abolished till the reign of Theodosius the elder.

This is the general account which the ancients have given of the mysteries of the Greeks. They were so respected, with which they were prepossessed in favour of these mysteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The Cerus of the Greeks was, according to Sir Isæus (12) a nation, a woman of Sicily, who came into Attic, and taught Triptolemus, the son of Ceres, of how to farm corn, about the thirtieth year of king Darius's reign, or the year before Christ 1095, B.C., and was deified for this benefit about the year before Christ 1007, by Celus and Eumolpus, who instituted the Eleusia feasts with Egyptian ceremonies, and erected a pelopæa or temple to her in Eleusis.

A. In the primitive times, the Athenians excluded from the mysteries of Ceris all strangers, that is, all that were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence Herodes Atticus, Crito, and Pelias deified to be initiated, they were first excluded citizens of Athens (13). In process of time they admitted all persons, barbarians excepted, and at length also all Romans having been the first among the barbarians, as the Greeks, called all other nations, who enjoyed this honour.

(11) Cie. de leg. i. ii. (12) Chr. p. 15; 17, 18, 144-156. (13) Plut. in Thes.
to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the influx of Philip. All the city went out to meet them, and among the rest the priests in their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city. The people assembled in the market-place to conclude the alliance, and expected that Attalus would come thither in person. But the king thought it more suitable to his dignity to treat with them by messengers, than by word of mouth; and was also willing to decline the acclamations and flattering of a people, who were too lavish of their praises. In a letter, which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits against Philip, and the good offices he had done the republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the Macedonians, and restored to Athens. He concluded with exhorting them to take advantage of the succours which both he and the Rhodians now offered them. The league was concluded, and the Athenians in their transports of joy paid extravagant compliments to the king and the Rhodians. To their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it Attalis in honour of king Attalus (B). As to the Rhodians, they presented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of Rhodos free of Athens. The king of Pergamus and the Rhodians, better pleased with the treaty than the houts of the people, returned on board their ships and set sail, the king for Aegina, where his fleet waited for him, and the Rhodians for their own island.

Philip no sooner heard, that Attalus and the Rhodians were retired, but he sent Piblocles one of his generals, at the head of a strong detachment, to ravage the territory of Athens, while he himself, with the rest of his army, over-ran all the southern parts of Thrace and the Thracian Obyzonius. From thence he passed over the Hellepsont into Aetia, and laid siege to Abydos, which city he took by storm, but reaped no advantage by his conquest; the Abydians, having massacred their wives and children, set fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; so that the conqueror made not one slave.

The news of the reduction of Abydos, and the repeated complaints of the Athenians, made the confid Sulpicius at last leave Rome; he imbarqued with his army at Brundianum, and landed at the mouth of the A茜us between Dyrrachium and Apollonia. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he immediately detached Claudius Cento to Athens, with twenty gallies and some legionaries, to cover the Athenian territory from the ravages of Piblocles. As soon as he appeared at Piræus, Athens got some repose; a flot was put to the devastations in the inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the ravages of the Chalcidian pirates. But this was not enough for Cento; he resolved to punish the Chalcidians for their piracies; and accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, surprised Chalcis, pillaged it, massacred all the Macedonians and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the statues of king Philip, burnt his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to Athens. As for Philip, early in the spring he assembled his sea and land-forces at Demetrias, a maritime city of Thessaly, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted in the close of the late campaign to revenge himself on the Romans for the surprize of Chalcis, and to surprize them in their turn. But he came too late; the Romans had retired from Chalcis, and left nothing there but dead bodies, ashes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage against Athens, and having crossed the Euripus over a bridge, marched through Boeotia towards Attica, hoping to find Athens as ill-guarded as the Romans had found Chalcis. But the Athenians had received notice of his approach, and were prepared. They kept constantly a cera-

(B) The number of the tribes, of which the republic of Athens consisted, was not always the same, but varied as the number of the citizens increased. At first they were but four in all; soon after they were six; in the times of Aeschines and Demosthenes they were increased to ten. In afterages the Athenians erected three more, out of the tribes Pontian, Attalid, and Adrianid, in honour of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, of king Attalus, and of the emperor Adrian. The ten first tribes took their names from ten Attic heroes; there were Acanthos the son of Theseus, Ajax the son of Telamias, Cleobis the founder and first king of Athens, Eurybus the ninth king of Athens and the father of Theseus, Erechtheus the fifth king of Athens, Hippothoon the son of Neptune, Len, who facilitated his daughters for the welfare of his country, Ocean the son of Pandion, Pandion the fifth king of Athens, and Aristocles the son of Heracles.
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a a certain number of men in pay, whose whole business was to fly continually from place to place in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what discoveries they could. One of these couriers, having discovered the Macedonian army, returned in haste to Athens, and reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the Athenians was not less than that of the Chalcidians; they were all asleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets soon roused them; both citizens and soldiers ran to arms, took their posts, and put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, finding he could not surprize the city, resolved to attack it. He therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largest gate, called Dipylon. The street which led to it from the market-place, and continued through the suburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; so that the besieged and the besiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battle. The Athenians did not wait till the king came to the gate; the best part of the garrison, consisting of auxiliaries sent by king Attalus, and a body of Athenians, commanded by one Dioippos, marched out to meet the enemy. Philip, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this short exhortation: *Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do.* He then fell upon the Athenians with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and pursued them to the very gate. But he soon found that he had ventured too far, such flowers of darts were discharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to found a retreat.

b If the Athenians had not been afraid of wounding their men, who were mixed with the Macedonians, few of the latter would have escaped unhurt. The next day the besieged, being reinforced with some Roman companies and the troops of Attalus which guarded Piraeus, made another sally with much greater advantage; so that Philip was obliged to decamp, and post himself about three miles from Athens. But before he retired, he vented his rage in a most barbarous manner in that neighbourhoood. He spared neither temples, nor tombs, nor the Lyceum, nor sacred groves, nor houses of pleasure; all were, without distinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbish. Nay, he commanded his Macedonians to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the repARATION of the demolished edifices. All these devastations, with a great many aggressions, were afterwards felt forth before the Aetolian diet by the Athenian envoys, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with Rome. And indeed the king's behaviour on this occasion prejudiced many of the Greeks so strongly against him, that they were afterwards easily gained over to the Roman interest, not knowing, that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords, or rather arbitrary tyrants, than Macedonia had ever produced, or Greece ever seen  

The irruption of the Romans into Macedon, which soon after happened, obliged Philip to leave Attica and all Greece, and hasten to the defence of his own country. About the same time Apollius, to whom the proconsul Sulpicius had given the command of the Roman fleet, having joined the naval forces of king Attalus off the coast of Argolis, failed thence to the port of Athens. These successes so elevated the Athenians, that they expressed their resentment against Philip in a most ridiculous manner. They had formerly erected statues to Philip and his ancestors of both sexes, and even instituted sacrifices and festivals, and appointed priests in their honour. But now, out of a childish revenge, they destroyed the idol, which they had worshipped, and passed a decree in their assembly, which levellled their esteem even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the statues of Philip and his ancestors should be broke in pieces; that the inscriptions in their commendation should be every where erased; that their altars should be overturned, their festivals abolished, and their priests degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, should be deemed accursed, and no monuments ever after reared there; that the prayers for the future should in the religious assemblies pronounce curses against Philip and the Macedonian armies; that if any citizen should have the impudence to excuse Philip, or speak in his favour, he should infamously be put to death; and lastly, that Philip and his posterity should be treated in the same manner as Peisistratus and his family had formerly been  

These were the only acts of hostility which the degenerate Athenians committd against Philip, the only revenge which they took of the dreadful
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Book I.

The dreadfal havock he had lately made in their territory. The officers of the Roman fleet and king Atilius, who had put in at Pyrenai, were witnesses of these shameful proceedings, and at the same time forfeited with the fulsome praises of which the Athenians were no less lavish on them, than of their curfes on the king of Macedon. Athens, herefore so renowned in arms, was now become one of the most insignificant cities of Greece; for during the whole course of this war with Philip, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the Romans and their allies against his son Perseus, to the utter destruction of the kingdom of Macedon, the Athenians performed nothing, which the ancient writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They continued indeed inviolably attached to the Roman interest, not having been even suspected to favour the Macedonian party, while in the other states of Greece the friends of Macedon were far more numerous than those of Rome. This steadynefs gained them the affections of the Romans, who left them in the full possession of their ancient liberties, even after the destruction of Corinbo and diffolution of the Achean league.

In this flate Athens continued without any remarkable alteration till the Mithridatic war, when that city openly declared against the Romans her patrons and allies, being induced therunto by one Arrifion an Athenian philosopher of the sect of Epicurus. Arrifion was of a mean extraction, but greatly esteemed among the followers of Epicurus, for his pretended contempt of power and riches. But thefe the hypothesis had only affected to despife, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them more easily that way. For Archelaus, whom Mithridates had sent with a numerous army into Greece to stir up the inhabitants against the Romans, found it no difficult task to gain over this defpifer of riches and honours, by promising to raise him to the chief employments of his republic. Archelaus having thus engaged him in the interests of his matter, sent him over to Asia to confer there with the king himself, and concert meafures about drawing Athens off from the Roman party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The scheme which they formed succeeded to their wish, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. Archelaus had some time before reduced the ifland of Delos, and plundered the rich tempal of Apollo Delius. As this ifland had been formerly fubjeft to the Athenians, Arrifion advised the king to fend the spoils to Athens, and with the preftent a strong body of men under pretence of guarding it. The Athenians were taken with this bair, and admitted the troops to the number of two thousand into the city. By the help of these Arrifion, who accompanied them, took upon him to dispofe of all the employments at Athens, and reigned there with great authority. All thofe who favoured the Romans were either cruelly murdered, or sent prisoners to Mithridates. Nor did the friends of Rome fare better in the other countries of Greece; the Acheans, Lacedemonians, Boeotians, &c. openly declared for Mithridates, and drove out ihich of their countrymen as refufed to come into their meafures 1. Thifia was the only city of Greece that continued faithful to the Romans (C).

Upon the news of this general revolt, C. Sextius praefor of Macedon detached Bruttius Sura his lieutenant general, at the head of a thoufand men, to put a stop to the progres of Archelaus. The praefor could fpare him no more, being in apprehenfion that Macedon might follow the example of Greece. With this small body Bruttius penetrated into Boeotia, fought several battles with the joint forces of Arrifion and Archelaus, and continued to harass them, till the Lacedemonians and Acheans taking the field joined the Afitics. Then Bruttius, not being able with a handful of men to make head against fo many enemies at once, reimbarked his troops, and with his foulfquadron blockaded the port of Athens. While he continued here, the fleet of Mithridates commanded by Metrophanes drew near to Euobea, with a defign to feize that ifland. Whereupon Bruttius put to fea, and with one single

Footnote:

1 Thifia, despite its name, was sacked by the Thracians under the command of Euphamand, many of the inhabitants fled to Athens, where they were kindly entertained.

2 Appian, in Mithridates.

3 Poet. in Baso, Strat. l. ix.
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A single squadron forced Metrophanes to fall back into Aria, sink some of his ships, and on his return to the port of Athens made a descent on the island of Scitobos, which the Aetates had seized. He recovered the island, crucified all the slaves he found there, and cut off the right arms of all the islanders that fell into his hands, both slaves and inhabitants having joined in the revolt, and treated the friends of the republic in a very barbarous manner. The brave Bruttius, having thus preferred the island of Euboea and recovered that of Scitobos, returned to the Pyrenees or port of Athens, in order to prevent the Athenians from receiving any succours by sea from the king of Pontus.

Such was the state of affairs in Greece, when Sylla, who had been appointed to carry on the war against Mithridates, landed in Thessaly, with five legions, some Italian cohorts, and a small body of cavalry. With these he was to make head against the joint forces of Archemas and the states of Greece, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thousand men. Upon Sylla's arrival, the Greek cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the Roman general. Athens alone, which was held by the tyrant Arietion, perfidiously and in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms. Whereupon Sylla resolved to reduce it by force, thinking it necessary to settle the affairs of the republics in Greece before he passed over into Asia against Mithridates. This capital of Attica, or rather of all Greece, confounded at that time of two cities, the upper called Cecropia from Cecrops its first founder, and the lower named Athens from Athenian, or Minerva, its tutelary goddess. Both these cities were surrounded by one common wall, but parted by another which lay across between them, both walls being defended by strong towers raised at small distances from each other. The two ports of Pyrenees and Munychia were no less fortified than the city itself, being encompassed with walls of an uncommon thickness, and forty cubits high. Both these ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs distant from it, by a wall which Themistocles had caused to be built, in order to secure the removal of such effects as were brought by sea from the port to the city. Besides these two ports or citadels, Athens was defended on the east by the Cepheus, and by the Hilus on the west, which two rivers, winding about the plain, rendered the access to the city very difficult. However, Sylla undertook to reduce it with a far smaller army than that which had been brought from Asia to defend it. Upon his entering Attica he was met by Arietion and Archemas, but he obliged them both to retire with a considerable force, and shut themselves up in the two cities and citadels of Athens. Archemas took upon him to defend Pyrenees, and Arietion to sustain the siege of Athens and Cecropia. On the other hand, the Roman general divided his troops into two bodies; one he sent to invest the city; with the other he marched in perfunctory to attack Pyrenees, hoping to take it by storm. But the besieged made such a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unsuccessful attacks, to retire and take up his winter quarters at Eleusis and Megara. However, he did not drop the enterprise, having left a sufficient number of troops to keep the city and castle blocked up against his return in the beginning of the spring. The whole winter he spent in making preparations for besieging the place in form, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines which were then used in sieges. Nay, he did not spare the sacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and lyceum, which were the finest in Attica. He caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, making use of the ruins to raise the works, and carry on the approaches; and as the army had laid waste the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thousand mules were continually employed in bringing provisions from Boeotia and other countries of Greece. These extraordinary expenses soon drained his military chest, which was but very indifferently furnished at his first setting out from Rome: neither had he any hopes of receiving supplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by Marius and Cinna, prevailing in Italy, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the east. In this distress he had recourse to the sacred and inviolable treasuries of the temples, and wrote a letter to the aethiopes (D) assembled.

(D) The aethiopes were, as we have observed elsewhere, the deputies of the cities in Greece that enjoyed the aethiopic right. These, before they were admitted into the assembly, bound themselves by

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9 B

Idem, ibid. 

Pausan. in Attic.
bled at Delphos, defying them to send him the treasures of Apollo, and promising that he would return to the god, whom he himself revered, the value of whatever should be sent him. One Caphis, a native of Pisces, in whom Sylla confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the amphiathyenes, and excite to the assembly a step, which the Roman general was forced to take against his will. When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he went in the presence of the amphiathyenes, and told them, that nothing but the utmost distress could have obliged Sylla to make such a demand, or himself to be the messenger of it, and desired that the god might be consulted. The oracle indeed returned no answer, but the sound of Apollo's lyre was heard from the inside of the sanctuary, and Caphis, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to save the treasure by filling Sylla with a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts consecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, that he was surpried he shoul not comprehend that music was a mark of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment; he therefore desired him to take the treasures, and be assured, that in doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Pursuant to this order, all the gold, silver, and bracts, all the vases, presents, and offerings, which the superintendence of the neighbouring and most nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and, amidst the lamentations and outrages of the amphiathyenes and Delphians, sent to the Roman camp, where the gold, silver, and bracts was coined by Sylla's orders. The perfon he employed to take care of the coinage was Lucullus one of his quaestors, who made so beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the Lucullian money. The treasures of the god Aeolus at Epeistaurus, not much inferior in value to those of Apollo at Delphos, were at the same time by Sylla's orders brought to the camp, and by his quaestor turned into money. Sylla, being thus furnished with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the siege, took the field early in the spring, and put up both the city and port more clostly than before. As he could not possibly reduce the city by famine, so long as it received supplies of provisions by sea from the Pyreneus, he began by making a breach in the wall, which secured the passage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a strong body of legionaries, so that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the sea, he drew a line of circumvallation which prevented the inhabitants from abandoning their native country, or receiving any supplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus clostly shut up, Sylla applied himself entirely to the reducing of Pyreneus, hoping, that in the mean time the Athenians would be obliged by famine to take off the tyrannical yoke of Attica, and return to their duty. It is not ealy to say, whether the attack of Pyreneus or the defence was conducted with most vigor, both the besiegers and besieged behaving with incredible courage and resolution. The fallies were frequent, and attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally. In one of these Archelaus put the Romans to flight, set fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire at a greater distance from the place. They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not Murena, a legionary tribune, encouraged the Romans, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged in their turn were forced to give ground, and fave themselves within their walls, after having loft two thousand men in the engagement. The Romans pursued them so close, that they would have entered pell-mell with the Aetates, had not the gate been timely shut, and a considerable part of the garison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. Among these was Archelaus himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts observing his danger thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall. The disadvantage of this action did not dishearten the besieged, who were still numerous enough to defend the place. The treachery of two slaves that were in the

1 Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat.
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a the Pyræus proved far more prejudicial to them, than the attacks of the enemy. There, either out of affection to the Roman party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place should be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings into the Roman camp. By this means all the wise measures which Archelaus took were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the usual success. He resolved one night to rally out against the enemy's works, and at the same time to send all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no sooner took this resolution, than Sylla, who caused all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence; Tonight at such an hour the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp.

b He made use of this advice, and posted his troops so, that the besieged were soon forced to retire with considerable loss. As the city began to be in great want, Archelaus designed to send a great quantity of provisions to relieve the garrison, and to convey it into the city by a strong detachment, which might easily break through the body of Romans that guarded the passage. But Sylla, who was timely acquainted with this design by the two slaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambuscades, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces most of the Asiatics who escorted it.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Archelaus still held out in hopes of being soon relieved by Taxiles, one of Mithridates's generals, who was marching through Epirus to his assistance at the head of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with ninety chariots armed with scythes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced Thrace and Macedonia, gave new courage to the besieged, so it disheartened the Romans. Whereupon Sylla exerted his utmost endeavours to take the place by storm, before the arrival of so numerous an army. One night, while the sentinels on the walls were asleep, he ordered some of the boldest among his legionaries to scale the ramparts, which they did accordingly, and drove off the enemies that were posted to guard them. But the rest of the garison taking the alarm, the Romans were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. Archelaus took advantage of the confusion the Romans were in, and made a vigorous fall with a design to burn a tower which had been lately raided by Sylla, and from whence the Romans greatly galled the besieged on the walls. Sylla hastened to the defence of a work, which had cost him much time and labour; the engagement lasted from morning to night, many falling on both sides, but the tower was preferred entirely by the valour of Sylla, who on that occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner.

In the mean time the two cities of Athens and Ceryopia began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions; Archelaus had several times attempted to throw in conveyos, but had always found on that occasion the Romans on their guard, and the detachment, which was posted between the port and the city, reinforced with new troops from the camp. He therefore began to suspect that he had traitors about him, but nevertheless resolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but Sylla would be soon acquainted with his design, and in consequence of that intelligence send a considerable detachment from his camp to reinforce the legionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a fall upon the camp, and demolish the works. This design he imparted to none, and therefore the fall proved very successful, several of the enemy's machines being reduced to ashes; but the convoy was intercepted, and most of the Asiatics that guarded it cut in pieces.

Sylla had raised many castles round the walls, from the several floors of which such showers of arrows were discharged against the besieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts. To obviate this inconvenience, Archelaus ordered his men to undermine the castles, which were raised on large foundations of stone, and by this means several of them were thrown down, and the Romans, who were lodged in them, either killed, or dangerously wounded. While the besieged were thus busy under-ground, the Romans beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themselves at last masters of the place. But

in a general assault Archeclus repulsed the besiegers with such resolution, that they were forced to abandon the enterprise, and apply all their thoughts to the widening of the breach, before they could entertain any hopes of taking the place by storm. The Aphares had, in imitation of the Romans, raised wooden towers without the walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous. Sulla therefore altered his measures, and, instead of using the ram, ordered his men to dig a way to the bottom of the walls, and lap their foundations, supporting them with large beams, lest they should be buried themselves in the ruins. The wall being thus undermined, fire was set to the towers, which being burnt, great part of the wall fell down with a dreadful noise, which struck the besiegers, who did not expect it, with great terror. Sulla laid hold of this opportunity to mount the breach at the head of his best troops; but Archeclus opposed him with such resolution, that he was obliged to give ground. The Roman general returned thence to the assault, but was as often repulsed; nay, in the last attack his men suffered so much, that he himself thought it advisable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions back to the camp. There they continued inactive for several days, and in the mean time Archeclus built another wall within that which the besiegers had with so much pains and labour beat down. This new wall Sulla began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows and burning materials, which were from thence discharged upon the aggressors, obliged him not only to desist from the attempt, but to retire with some precipitation.

And now Sulla gave over all thoughts of taking the place by assault, and therefore turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the avenues both to the city and the port were guarded by strong detachments, so that neither provisions of any sort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the most populous of the world, was reduced to such straits, that a bushel of barley was sold for a thousand drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing else to maintain themselves but the roots and grubs, which they found growing around the walls. In this distress the senators and priests went to throw themselves at the tyrant Aristion's feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to submit to the Romans upon any tolerable terms. But the tyrant was so far from being moved with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them, and in that manner drove them from his presence. In the midst of the public misery, Aristion and his accomplices in the tyranny were plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions: their tables were served with the most exquisite meats, while the common people and many of the nobility, after having consumed their horses, dogs, and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they softened by steeping it in water, and even upon human flesh. The tyrant was at last prevailed upon by the importunities of the people to send embassadors to the Roman camp; but as these made no proposals, but only defaced on the exploits of Theseus, Eumolpus, and their ancestors against the Medes and Persians, Sulla interrupted them, defering the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flourishes for themselves, since he was not come to Athens to be informed of the prouest of their ancestors, but to punish their present rebellion. Aristion had sent them no answer but without any other view but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to save the city by capitulating with the Romans; but he still depended on the succours which were on full march to the relief of the city under the command of Tassiles; these he daily expected, and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the people, he sent out embassadors to Sulla, yet he had no mind to come to any agreement, nor even proposed any terms, which he imagined the Roman general might accept.

Sulla had spies in Athens, as well as in Pyreneus, who were continually running about and intruding into all companies. One of these having one day over-heard some old men, that were walking in a place called Ceramicos (E), blaming the tyrant for...
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a for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might easily surprieve the city, upon his return to the camp acquainted Sulla with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the Romans went at midnight to take a view of the place, and finding that it might be easily scaled, ordered his legionsaries without delay to apply their ladders, which they did accordingly with great cheerfulness, being tired out with so long a siege, and entered the city sword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, Sulla battered the walls so violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of those who were fighting on the ramparts. The Athenians were struck with terror when they saw the Romans advancing in good order within their walls, and, throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But Sulla had been too much provoked by the seditious reflections of the Greeks, from their ramparts on himself and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The slaughter was so merciless, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers. A few days after the reduction of Athens, Cecropia, whither Aristion had retired, was likewise forced to surrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others by Sulla's orders spared.

b He would not suffer the city to be set on fire, saying, that he pardoned the children for the sake of their fathers. The only punishment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they should not for the future have the power of choosing their own magistrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the walls. The first part of this punishment he soon remitted, and restored the city to the full enjoyment of its ancient liberties. Some time after the reduction of Athens and Cecropia, Arbelatus, having held out till his new wall was beat down, thought it advisable to abandon the place, and accordingly, after a long and most glorious defence, embraced his troops, and retired first to Munychia, and from thence advanced to join Taviles. Sulla having possessed himself of the Pyreneus, to leave behind him some marks of his retribution, destroyed most of the flatter buildings, and amongst others the magazines and the arsenal, which had been built by the celebrated architect Philo, and was reckoned a master-piece of art.

c This storm being blown over, the Athenians enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey, when they fled with the latter, and were therefore closely besieged by Q. Fufius Calenus, Caesar's lieutenant, who committed great devastations in Attica, destroyed several edifices which had been spared by Sulla, and reduced the city of Athens to great straits. However, they held out so long as they had any hopes of being relieved by Pompey; but when news was brought them that he was entirely defeated, they surrendered at discretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for Caesar not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, saying, that he spared the living for the sake of the dead. But this kindness was not sufficient to keep a people in obedience, that had an utter aversion to any thing that favoured servitude; for they no sooner heard of Caesar's death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received Brutus and Cassius into their city, and even erected statues to them, which they placed next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had afforded the liberty of their country against the tyrannical usurpations of the sons of Pisistratus. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius they fled with Antony, who not only restored them to the full possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the most flourishing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions, by subjecting to Athens the islands of Cia, Sciothos, Peperus, and Aegina. After the defeat of Antony, Augustus punished their ingratitude towards Julius Caesar, by taking from them the island of Aegina, and forbidding them to sell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter

d Plut. in Sulla. Appian. in Mithridat.

(F) They reproached Sulla with the lewd life of his wife Metella, whence we may conclude, that her infortune was become very public, since it had already reached Greece. Metella was the daughter of Quintus Cneius Metellus, and by Sulla mother to the famous Faustus, whose execrable licentiousness made Rome forget the lewdness of Metella.

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The History of Athens.

Book I.

latter end of Augustus's reign they began to revolt, but were without much trouble reduced to their former obedience. Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was deemed a mark of sovereign power; this grant was confirmed to them by Tiberius and his successors, under whose protection they maintained their ancient form of government till the reign of Vespasian, who reduced Attica, with the rest of Greece, to a Roman province, saying, that the Greeks knew not how to enjoy their liberty. But the emperor Adrian, who had been archon of Athens before his accession to the imperial throne, restored to them the full enjoyment of all their ancient privileges, and bestowed upon them a large sum of money with an annual provision of corn. In his reign and at his charge the two ports of Pyreæus and Mænætica were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called Adrianopolis from Adrian, whom the Athenians, as appears from some ancient inscriptions, not undeservedly used to style the second founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by Adrian were not only confirmed, but extended, by his successors M. Antonius Pius and M. Antoninus the philosopher; the latter of which allowed them handsome salaries for the maintenance of their public professors. But Severus abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as it was supposed, an affront which he received at Athens while he studied there. Valerian was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by Sylla. In the reign of Gallienus, as Zosimus informs us, or of Claudius, as Cedrenus will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the Goths, who were soon obliged by Cleomedus, who had escaped their fury, to abandon their new conquest, and save themselves by a timely flight. Constantine the Great was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the Athenians, honouring their chief magistrate with the title of grand duke, and granting them many other privileges of greater consequence, which were confirmed and enlarged by Constantius, who moreover put them in possession of several islands in the Archipelago. In the time of Arcadius and Honorius they were cruelly harassed and pillaged by the Goths, who turned all the flotage and magnificent structures, that were still standing, into heaps of ruins. From this time there is scarce any mention made of Athens till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of Baldwin, as Nicetas informs us, and besieged by one of the generals of the Greek emperor Theodorus Lascaris, who was forced to raise the siege after having suffered a considerable loss. The same author tells us, that it was not long after besieged and taken by the marquis Boniface. It fell afterwards into the hands of one Doves of the house of Arragon, upon whose death it was feigned by Bayazet, who did not hold it long, being driven out by the Catalonians under the command of Andronicus Palaeologus the elder. The Catalonians were in their turn displaced of it by Reinerius Accialioli a Florentine, who, having no lawful title, left the state or dukedom of Athens, as it was then called, to the Venetians, and Thebes with Baotia to his natural son Anthony. Anthony made war on the Venetians, and in one campaign recovered the whole state of Athens, which continued for some years under the government of the Accialioli, but was at last reduced by the Turks in 1455. Francis Accialioli, the last duke of Athens and prince of Achaia, seeing his country threatened with an invasion by the Mohammedans under the conduct of Omares, and not being in a condition to make head against numerous an army, had recourse to the western princes, called then the Latins; but these refused to assist him, unless he engaged his subjects to renounce all the articles wherein the Greek church differed from the Latin, which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himself and the city to the Barbarians, who first treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death. Athens remained subject to the Turks till the year 1687, when it was after a short siege taken by the Venetians, and not many years after retaken by the Turks, who continue masters of it to this day.

To what we have said of the greater republics of Greece, we shall add something relating to the smaller states, namely those of Baotia, Acmantia, and Epirus. The Baotians, after having driven out their kings, as we have related above, formed themselves into a republic, whereof the chief magistrates were the Proctor or Strateges,

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* Gruter. p. 177, 178.  
1 Spartanus.  
2 Nicetas in vita Baldini.  
3 Idem. idem.  
4 Idem, l. vi. & ix.  
5 Hilt. Univers. p. 375-
Strategos, the Boeotarchi, and the Polemarchi. The praetor was always chosen from among the Boeotarchi, and his authority lasted only a year, it being death for the praetor, according to the laws of the republic, not to resign his office before the first month, called Boucades, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the same with that which was vested in the praetors of Achaia and Aetolia. The province of the Boeotarchi was to affix the praetor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the supreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the praetor himself, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, some authors mentioning seven, some nine, and some even eleven, all vested with some command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only, they bore a great sway in the civil administration, and were from hence filled Boeotarchi, or governors of Boeotia. They were chosen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the praetor, to lay down their employment on pain of death before the first month of the new year was expired. The Polemarchi were entirely civil magistrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the Boeotarchi were employed abroad in the wars of the republic. Besides these magistrates there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the state, as Thucydides informs us, was confided. These were made up of the deputies that were sent by all the cities of the Boeotian republic, and without their approbation the Boeotarchi could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or transact any other business of importance, as appears from Thucydides, who tells us, that an alliance with some of the neighbouring states, which had been approved by all the Boeotarchi, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. As Thebes, the chief city of Boeotia, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens, an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of Greece. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other Greek states, from public employments, pertinent to a law which obtained over all Greece, and declared those only qualified for the administration of public affairs, who had abstained for the space of ten years from all manner of trade and traffic. We find another of the Boeotian laws mentioned by the antient, which forbids on pain of death any parent to expose his child; if he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was by the same law directed to put it into the hands of a magistrate, and the magistrate to dispose of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child thus brought up was condemned to perpetual slavery, being entirely at the disposal of the person who had taken care of it during its childhood.

The Boeotians, and especially the Thebans, were continually harassed by the princes of Macedon, as we shall relate in the history of Alexander and his successors; Nevertheless they sided with Philip against the Romans, and could not be prevailed upon by the Athenians and Achaians to desert him and join the other states of Greece, till he was entirely defeated in the famous battle of Cynocephalae. As they were then sensible, that the Romans would at last prevail, they thought it advisable to provide by time for their own safety, and accordingly sent deputies to Flamininus, imploring his protection. The proconsul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same foot with the other allies of the republic in Greece. Not long after they offered a petition to Flamininus, which seemed reasonable. A great many Boeotians had served in the Macedonian army, and these the proconsul was deified to demand of Philip, who had then made a truce with the Romans. Flamininus complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of Philip, who immediately sent back the Boeotian troops, and with them one Brachylles, who had been banished, for appearing too zealous in the cause of the Macedonians against the Romans. The Boeotians, though indebted to Flamininus alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of Macedon only, and to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a praetor, they preferred Brachylles, famous for his attachment to Philip and hatred to the Romans, to Zeuxippus and Pitharatus, who were both zealous partizans of Rome; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the Roman camp. In like manner all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to Rome and friends to Macedon. Their steps greatly exasperated Flamininus, and Zeuxippus and Pitharatus joined their remonstrance to that of

of the proconful. These two Boeotians foresaw that Brachylia would not fail to vent his rage upon them, as soon as the Roman troops were withdrawn from Greece, and therefore resolved to be beforehand with him, while Flaminius continued there. All the friends of Rome concurred in this design, persuading the proconful, that neither their lives nor fortunes could be safe so long as Brachylia was alive. Flaminius approved of their design, but refused to contribute to it himself. His approbation was sufficient encouragement, Zeuxippus and Phippatus, having hired three Etruscans and three Italians, fell upon Brachylia, as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and dispatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his house from the banquet when the affins attacked him, were at first the only persons suspected of the murder. But Zeuxippus appeared with an air of confidence in the assembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accused, and shewed, that it was not at all probable, that deushees should have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the praetor. This assurance made some of the Boeotians believe, that Zeuxippus was no ways privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at seeing him so mighty of cities in having those cleared who were apprehended, and began to suspect, that the praetor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by Zeuxippus. On this suspicion, those who were in his company being put to the rack, though innocent, accused Zeuxippus and Phippatus, purely upon the public suspicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accusation. Hereupon Zeuxippus, who was conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, changed his pretension into fear, privately withdrew from Thebes, where the murder was committed, to Tanagra another city of Boeotia. Phippatus continued in Thebes, not fearing the deposition of men who had not been any ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehension of being discovered by a slave, who had been employed in the affinatation by Zeuxippus his master; he therefore wrote to Zeuxippus at Tanagra, defying him to dispatch the slave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action than to keep it a secret. The messenger was ordered to deliver the letter into Zeuxippus's own hands; but he, thinking the slave faithful and affectionate to his master, trusted it with him. The slave read it, and finding it contained sentence of death against himself, left his master that instant and repaired to Thebes, where he discovered the whole affair. Phippatus was apprehended and put to death; but the odium of the murder fell entirely on the Romans. Zeuxippus retired to Athens, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protector the Romans.

The Boeotians were inclined to take up arms, but having no officer of experience to head them, and Philip refusing to lend them any assistance, they contented themselves with a private revenge, murdering all the Romans they found straggling about the fields; inasmuch that they could no longer cross the country but in large bodies. At last Flaminius being informed that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the Boeotians, sent officers with troops to inquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers upon their return acquainted him, that great numbers of Romans had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of Copias (G). He was at the same time affairs, that the cities of Corona and Acrabie (H) had on that occasion signalized their hatred to the Romans. Upon this information the proconful ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him, and as he had lost five hundred men, the Boeotians were condemned to pay five hundred talents; troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of Acrabie, and lay siege to Corona. The Boeotians, who were conscious to themselves that they deserved severe punishment, seeing the proconful drawing together his troops, with a design to treat them as they deserved, had recourse to the

(G) This lake, which is the same with the lake called by Pausanias (13) the lake of Copisias, took its name from the city of Copis. It was in former times, as Strabo tells us (16), three hundred and seventy-one furlongs in compass; but is now much less. It is fed by the river Copisias, and the poets tell us, that Herakles made it by turning the Copisias into the plain of Orchomenus. The people of this neighbourhood are said to have been the first inventors of ears, whence the city next to the lake was called Copis from the Greek word kore.  

(H) Corona, a city of Boeotia, stand on the river Copisias, where it discharges itself into the lake Copas, not far from Mount Helicon (17). It is famous on account of the victory which Agylus gained there over the Thebans and Athenians. The city of Acrabia stood between the springs of the Iasus and the Alphus.
Chapter 20. The History of Athens.

a. the Athenians and Achaean, whose mediation was of such weight, with Flamininus, that he immediately ordered the siege of Corinth to be raised, and remitted four hundred and seventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of Bactria. He inflicted only on their delivering up to him the murderers, who were accordingly apprehended and carried to the Roman camp, where they were brought to condign punishment. This mixture of mildness and severity was highly extolled and applauded by the Boetians, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the Romans. But as some of their leading men joined Pericles king of Macedonia in his wars against the Romans, the whole country was on that score treated with great severity, Rome being at that time under no apprehension of an invasion from Antiochus, as the

b. was when Flamininus suffered himself to be so enfilly appeased. At the disfoulation of the Achaean league Baotia with the rest of Greece was reduced to a Roman province.

Acarania lay between Aetolia and Epirus, was a free state, and governed in a prector, a general assembly, and other subordinates magistrates of the same nature and authority as those of the Achaean and Aetolian. The Acarnanians were above all the other Greeks added to the kings of Macedonia, and chiefly to Philip, the father of Pericles. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of Cynocephale, vowing themselves upon an inviolable fidelity in the observation of treaties. However, Lucius Flamininus, brother to Titus Flamininus, took upon him to bring them over to the Romans, and deprive Philip of this his only support. With this view he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the island of Corcyra, whether they referred according to their appointment; but the result of this conference was to appoint another in the city of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania (1). In this second interview the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the Romans, and were inclined to defect Philip. Some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints; the people joined them, and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of Macedonia, who had often protected them against the Aetolians, the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion, Philip sent Echadisus and Androcles, two Acarnanians greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to Macedonia. These declined with great virulence against their flaviest countrymen, who, without any regard to the fate of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already propositi against the Romans, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies, and openly protested, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of Philip. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the Romans, was unanimously rejected in the assembly, and Archelais and Bionor, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery. Zenevida, their prector, was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence passed against these two was annulled, and they restored to their former honours. But at the same time their alliance with the king of Macedonia was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the Romans, rejected with indignation. Lucius, who had in the beginning of the tumult retired from Leucas, resolved to reduce the Acarnanians by force; and accordingly having made the necessary preparations, he failed from Corcyra with a design to lay siege to Leucas. He thought that the very sight of the Roman troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his request; but he was disappointed; the Leucadians appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Whereupon the Roman general began

c. to this

(1) Leucas was the capital of Acarnania, where the general assembly of the Acarnanians used to meet. The city gave its name to the whole island, which was called Leucadia, but is now known by the name of Sesta Nemea. It lies in the Leucan sea and is now divided from the continent by a strait, which is not above fifty paces over. The Carthaginians are said to have settled a colony here, and to have formed this strait or canal; for Leucadia was formerly a peninsula, being joined to Acarnania by a neck of land. Near this city stood in ancient times a stately temple consecrated to Apollo, and the famous rock, whence despairing lovers leaped into the sea. During the feast of Apollo the Leucadians yearly threw down from the top of this rock a criminal, who had been sentenced to die, imagining that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They fastened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall less violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was spared, but he was banished for ever.
his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. Leucadia, or the territory of Leucas, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of Acarnania by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages, this isthmus being dug through, Leucadia became an island. Lucius having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and on that account the least fortified; the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the Romans were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and in the mean time the Leucadians raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been protracted to a great length, had not some Italian exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many Romans privately into the city. These, uniting themselves into one body, marched straight to the market-place, and while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The Acarnanians were surrounded, and those who refused to submit put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they deserted Philip, and submitted to the Romans, under whose protection they lived, according to their own laws, till the destruction of Corinth, when Acarnania became part of the province of Achaia.

Epirus was bounded on the east by Aitolia, on the west by the Adriatic, on the north by Thessaly and Macedon, and on the south by the Ionian sea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes, in which state it made no small figure, as we shall see in a more proper place. Deidamia, great grand-daughter to the famous Pyrrhus, having no issue, gave the Epirots their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to Macedon obliged them to be continually on their guard against those princes, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other states of Greece. The Romans, after having conquered Philip, restored them to their ancient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their friends and benefactors and joined Perseus, who provoked the Roman senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to Paulus Aemilius, after the reduction of Macedon, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of Aemilius, but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army, and arriving on the confines of Epirus, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, that the Epirots might enjoy the same liberty which Rome had granted to Macedon. The Romans were received in all the cities of Epirus with great demonstrations of joy; for Aemilius had not communicated his orders to any one for fear of terrified the Epirots, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country with their usual bravery. In the mean time Paulus Aemilius sent orders to the ten chiefs, who were dispersed in the different provinces, and governed all Epirus, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means what was most valuable in Epirus was faved out of the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quellers to be laid up in the public treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the confinar troops were cantonned in different places, the execution was made the same day and hour, the Roman soldiery falling every where with incredible fury on the houses, which were abandoned to their mercy. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale each foot soldier had two hundred denarii, that is 61 l. 9s. 2d. and each of the horse the double of this sum. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of Rome stop here; all the cities of Epirus, to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to Rome, where they

Liv. i. xxiii. c. 4.
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a they were tried, and most of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment. After this fatal blow Epirus never recovered its ancient splendor. Upon the dissolution of the Achaean league, it was made part of the province of Macedon, but when Macedonia became a diocese, Epirus was made a province of itself, called the province of Old Epirus, to distinguish it from New Epirus, another province lying to the east of it. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the East, and continued under them till the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, when Michael Angelus, a prince nearly related to the Greek emperor, feigned on Aetolia and Epirus, of which he declared himself deposed or prince, and was succeeded by his brother Theodore, who took several towns from the Latins, and so far enlarged his dominions, that disdaining the title of deposed, he assumed that of emperor, and was crowned by Demetrius archbishop of Bulgaria. Charles, the last prince of this family, dying without lawful issue, bequeathed Epirus and Acarnania to his natural sons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by Amurath the second. Great part of Epirus was afterwards held by the noble family of the Capriots, who, though they were masters of all Albania, yet filled themselves with princes of Epirus. Upon the death of the famous George Capriot, Epirus fell to the Venetians, who were soon dispossessed of it by the Turks, in whose hands it still continues, being now known by the name of Albania, which comprehends the Albania of the ancient, all Epirus, and that part of Dalmatia which is subject to the Turks.

b Thus we have seen, through a series of many ages, the rise, progress, declension, and lastly the final ruin, of the several states of Greece. The first form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as Plato observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families. But as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often haughty, unjust, and oppressive, especially if it is hereditary, the several states of Greece, in course of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands, so that monarchy everywhere, except in Macedonia, gave way to a republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they all had liberty for their fundamental principle, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which saved the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of Greece, was capable of attaining the chief honors of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the state a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had bore a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of Greece, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and above all such a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible; we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the Persians, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But as soon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time became a quite different people. The Persians soon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These insinuate divisions, carefully fomented by the Persians, so weakened them, that Philip of

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of Macedonia and his son Alexander met with no great opposition in reducing a people, that had for so many ages maintained their liberty, against the whole power of the Persian monarchy. They made several attempts to reestablish themselves in their ancient condition; but these efforts were ill-concerted, and only served to increase their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the Romans, who after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the Macedonian power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. Greece, thus deprived of its ancient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the Romans themselves could not help paying homage. Athens continued to be the school of polite arts, and the center of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finisht and refined in Greece. Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. The emperors themselves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into Greece, brought Greece to a manner home to themselves, by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers, for the education of their children and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory Greece triumphed over Rome, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Grecian States in Asia Minor.

The History of Ionia.

IONIA, so called from the Ionians, who inhabited this part of Asia Minor, was bounded on the north by Aetolia, on the west by the Aegean and Icarian seas, on the south by Caria, on the east by Lydia and part of Caria. It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

The most remarkable cities of Ionia were, Phocaea, now Fromia, built, according to Velleius, by the Ionians, according to Paulyanus, by the Phocenes of Greece, and according to Strabo by the Athenians. Some writers tell us, that while the foundations of this city were laying there appeared near the shore a great shole of sea-calves, whence it was called Phocaea, the word Phoca signifying in Greek a sea-calf. Ptolemys, who makes the river Hermus the boundary between Aetolia and Ionia, places Phocaea in Asia, but all other geographers reck it among the cities of Ionia. It stands on the sea-coast between Cyma to the north, and Smyrna to the south, not far from the Hermus, and was in former times one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of all Asia, but is now a poor beggarly village, though the see of a bishop. The Phocaeans were, as Herodotus informs us, expert mariners, and first among the Greeks that undertook long voyages, which they performed in galleys of fifty oars. As they applied themselves to trade and navigation they became acquainted pretty early with the coasts and islands of Europe, where they are said to have founded several cities, namely Volta in Italy, Alalia or rather Aleria in Corsica, Marseille in Gaul, &c. Neither were they unacquainted with Spain; for Herodotus tells us, that in the time of Cyrus the Great, the Phocaeans arriving at Sardis a city in the bay of Cadiz, were treated with extraordinary kindness by Argantomius king of that country, who hearing that they were under no small apprehension of the growing power of Cyrus, invited them to leave Ionia, and settle in what part of his kingdom they pleased. The Phocaeans

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a Phocæans could not be prevailed upon to forfake their country; but accepted of a large sum of money, which that prince generously presented them with to defray the expense of building a strong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return, but it stood in no stead against the mighty power of Cyrus, whose general Harsaphus invests the city, with a numerous army, soon reduced it to the utmost extremities. The Phocæans, having no hopes of any succour, began to capitulate, but the conditions, offered by Harsaphus, seeming somewhat hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and in the mean time withdraw his forces, Harsaphus, though not ignorant of their design, complied with their requêt, and the Phocæans taking advantage of this condescension put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board several vessels which they had ready equipt, and conveyed them safe to the island of Chios, leaving the Persians in possession of empty walls. Their design was to purchase the Ænean islands, which belonged to the Chians, and settle there: but the Chians not caring to have them so near, left they should engross all the trade to themselves as they were a sea-faring people, they put to sea again, and having taken Phoca their native country by surprize, put all the Persians they found in it to the sword. As they were well apprised that the Persians would resist such inhuman proceedings, they re-embarked with all expedition, fleeing their course towards Cyrus nowCorisc, where twenty years before they had built the city of Alaria or Calaris. Before they left Phocaæ the second time they uttered most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return till a red-hot ball of iron, which on that occasion they threw into the sea, should appear again unextinguished. However, above half the fleet broke through all these engagements, and returned soon to Phocaæ, the Persians, who were defiours the city should be re-peopled, offering a general pardon to such as had been concerned in the massacre. The remaining part arrived safe at Alaria, where they continued five years, infesting the neighbouring seas with piracies, and ravaging the coasts of Italy, Gaul, and Carthage. Hereupon the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians entering into an alliance against them, fitted out a fleet of 120 sail, with a design to drive them from Cyrus. The Phocæans, not at all dismayed at the sight of so powerful a fleet, engaged them in the sea of Sardinia with half their number, and after a bloody engagement put them to flight. But the victory cost them dear, forty of their ships being sunk, and most of the rest quite disabled. Whereupon not finding themselves in a condition to stand a second shock, (and the enemies were preparing to attack them anew) they resolved to abandon the island, and retire with their wives and children to Rhégium; which they did accordingly, but soon left that place, and settled in Ætolia, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrhenian sea, overagainst Velia in Lucania, which their ancestors had founded. Those who returned home lived in subjection either to the Persians or tyrants of their own. Among the latter we find mention made ofLandamnès, who attended Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and of Dionysus, who joining Arisagoras, tyrant of Miletus and chief author of the Ionian rebellion, retired after the defeat of his country-men first to Phocenia, where he made an immense booty, feasting on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From Phocenia he sailed with immense riches to Sicily, where he committed great depredations on the Carthaginians and Tuscanis; but is said never to have molested the Greeks. In the Roman times the city of Phocaæ sided with Antiochus the Great; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered by the Roman general, but allowed to live according to its own laws.

b Herodot. 1. 4. & 6.

\(^1\) Idem ibid.

(A) Herodotus tells us, that such of the Phocæans as had left their ships in the engagement fell into the hands of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, who attacked them as they came ashore in their small boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of Argilia in Tuscia, both the inhabitants and castle of that district were razed with a dreadful dißtemper, which obliged the Argiliani to have recourse to the oracle of Delphi, being deërous to avenge for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place should direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the Phocæans, with great magnificence and gymnastic combats; which they did accordingly, beginning as soon as their deputies returned from Delphi, and were immediately delivered from the raging dißtemper. Our author informs us that they continued even in his time the same combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had prescribed on that occasion. (1)
In the war, which Arisbeinius, brother to Attalus king of Pergamus, stirred up against the Romans, they afflicted the former to the utmost of their power, which so dispirited the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the Phocaeans utterly rooted out. This fierce sentence had been put in execution had not the Mutilienet, a Phocaean colony, interposed, and with much ado averted the anger of the senate. Pompey declared Phocaea a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the first emperors it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all Asia Minor. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular history of Phocaea.

Smyrna, called by the Turks Izmır, is situated on the isthmus of the Ionesian peninsula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largest and richest cities of the Levant. Smyrna was not at first one of the twelve cities of the Ionesian league, so often mentioned by the antients, but was in process of time admitted into that confederacy by means of the Ephesians, who lived, as Strabo informs us, for many years in the same district with the Smyrneans; and hence it is, that Ephesus is sometimes called Smyrna. Velleius Paterculus reckons it among the cities of Aeolis, wherein he agrees with Herodotus, who tells us, that Smyrna was built by the Aeolians, but afterwards destroyed by the Ionians, who claimed the ground on which the city stood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it must have been soon after rebuilt; for the same Herodotus, or whoever else is the author of Homer's life, describes it as a famous emporium in that poet's time, whither merchant's refitted from all parts. Pliny is of opinion, that it was founded by an Amazon named Smyrna; and adds, that it was many ages after rebuilt and embellished by Alexander. What he says of the Amazon is commonly looked upon as quite fabulous, though the present inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name of an Amazon, who, coming into Asia at the head of a female army, poached herself of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by Alexander, for Strabo, a writer far more exact, informs us, that Smyrna four hundred years after it had been destroyed by the Lydians, during which time the Smyrneans lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by Antigonus, but that Lygimachus put the last hand to the work. This new city was built, according to the fame writer, twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city stood; between the castle on the shore and the present city, as our best modern travellers conjecture, from the many ruins of edifices, that are still to be seen in that place. This new city, as it was most conveniently situated for trade, became in a short time one of the most populous and wealthy of all Asia, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is called The metropolis, The first and chief city of Asia, The ornament of Ionia, &c. But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of ancient Smyrna, than the description of it we read in Strabo. "It is at present, says he, the finest city in Asia. One part of it is built on a hill, but the finest edifices stand on a plain not far from the sea, over-against the temple of Cybele. The streets are the most beautiful that can be, flat, wide, and paved with fine stone. It has many stately buildings, magnificent porticoes, majestic temples, a public library, and a convenient harbour, which may be shut up at pleasure." There are still to be seen many vestiges of the ancient grandeur of Smyrna, namely of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in Asia, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. for the description of which we refer our readers to Le Brun, Tournefort, Spon, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus nor the theatre were built, it seems, in Strabo's time, else he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that were embellished.

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B) A modern traveller (2) tells us, that many valuable pieces of antiquity have been discovered here, and mentions four antient statues that were dug up in that place, while he was at Constaninople, and are still to be seen at Paris. Our author adds, that in 1671 an urn was discovered in the same place with this inscription, Marcus Fabius, the son of Marcus Fabius, of the Galerian family, surnamed Junius, one and twenty years old. Upon opening the urn they discovered the bodies both of the father and son lying together in their armour which was still entire.

(2) Le Brun voyage au Levant, &c.
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The walls of Smyrna were washed by the Meles, a river of great note in the republic of letters, for Homer is said to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called Meleagres. Some writers add that he composed his inimitable poem in a cave near the spring of this river. Under the Roman emperors the city of Smyrna was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the finest harbour in Asia, and distinguished with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities of Asia, Ephesus alone excepted. Tiberius shewed on all occasions a great esteem for the Smyrnaeans, and Marcus Aurelius rebuilt their city, after it had been almost quite ruined by an earthquake, and the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them as raised no small jealousy among the other Greeks of Asia. The Smyrnaeans on the other hand continued ever faithful to the Romans, and are said to have been the first in Asia that honoured Rome, under the title of Rome the Goddess, with a temple, priests, and sacrifices; which they did while Carthage was at the highest pitch of its glory, and Asia in great part possessed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the Roman valour.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore at the foot of a hill which commands the port, and may be justly titled the centre of trade to the Levant. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate which most cities in Asia, though formerly of great note, have suffered. The great cities of Sardis, so famous in the Greek history, of Pergamus, the capital of a rich kingdom, of Ephesus, the metropolis of all Asia, are at present but small villages: Thyatira, Philadelphia, Laodicea, &c. are known only by some antient inscriptions; whereas Smyrna, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes(D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being reforted to by all the trading nations of Europe, Asia and Africa. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand Turks, ten thousand Greeks, eighteen hundred Jews, two hundred Armenians, and as many Franks. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. Smyrna was one of the seven churches mentioned in the revelations, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

As for the particular history of the Smyrnaeans; their city at first belonged to the Aeolians, as we have hinted above, but was taken from them by the Ionians in the following manner. A great many of the inhabitants of Colophon, an Ionian city, being driven out on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the Smyrnaeans, who received them with great kindness, which they requited with the utmost ingratitude. For not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of Bacchus without the walls, they shut the gates, and feigned on the city. This alarmed all the Aeolians, who hastened to the afflition of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the Colophonians being supported by the other cities of Ionia, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the Ionians should restore to the Smyrnaeans all their effects, and the Aeolians on their part should quit their claim to the city. The Smyrnaeans consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven Ionian cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The Colophonians continued in possession of Smyrna, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve Ionian cities. It was afterwards taken by Alyattes king of Lydia, and continued subject to the Lydians till the time of Cyrus, by whose general Harpagus it was brought under the Persian yoke, with the other cities of Ionia. The Smyrnaeans, according to the character Aristides gives them(L), followed their pleasures, and live in great luxury, but, what seldom happens, were at the

1 Pausan. Achaic. c. 5.  
2 Herodot. 1. 1.  
3 Aristid. in Smyrna Encomio.

(C) To this alluded Statius (2) when he said in commending Lucan born near the Bati, that the Bati was one day more famous than the Meles itself, Graia nobilior Melete Bati; and Tibullus (4), when he titled Homer’s poem Melites Cariartis.

(D) The Greeks of the country count for dreadful Earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town; and they have a tradition, that it is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(3) Stat. syl. carmv. 7. vors. 34.  
(4) Tibull. 1. 4. Eloc. 1. vors. 200.  
(5) Le Bruns. sib. pape.
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Clazomenae, now Vourla as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve Ionian cities, and of great note in the flourishing times of Greece. The ancient city, as Pausanias informs us, stood on the continent, and was by the Ionians fortified at a vast expense, in order to put a stop to the Persian conquests. But the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of Cretus and surrender of Sariss, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built the city of Clazomenae, so often mentioned in the Roman history. Alexander joined it to the continent by a cause-way two hundred and fifty paces long; whereas Ptolemies, Strabo, Pliny, and most of the ancient geographers count it among the cities on the continent. The Romans always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conquests in Asia; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in possession of the island of Drymusa, and often quarrelled with the princes of Asia on their account. Augustus repaired and embellished their city with many statly buildings, whence on some medals he is tilled the founder of Clazomenae (E), though this city was without all doubt founded by the Ionians, and from the very beginning one of the Ionian confederacy. Some antiquaries take Clazomenae for the ancient city of Grynosis, which gave the epithet of Grynuus to Apollo, for there is in ancient times a famous temple of Apollo in the neighbourhood of Clazomenae; Cybele likewise was one of their chief deities, and also Diana, as we gather from several ancient medals and inscriptions. The Clazomenians held out against the Lydians, after most of the other cities of Ionia were reduced by Alyattes, who besieged, but could not master Clazomenae. The Persians got possession of it in the time of Cyrus, who carried all before him, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of Antalcidas. Alexander restored them in their ancient liberty and privileges, which were rather enlarged than diminished by the Romans, whom they fitted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erithre, one of the twelve Ionian cities, is placed by some on the shore over against the island of Chios, but by Strabo on the peninsula, at the foot of mount Mimas, over-against the islands called by the ancients Hippi. Erithrea was the seat of Heropole, one of the Sybils, whence called the Erithrean. It had a spacious harbour called Cyllus, and a temple of Hercules, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all Asia. Erithrea sided on all occasions with the Romans, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory.

Teos, situated on the south side of the Ioniai peninsula, was likewise one of the twelve cities. Anacreon was born here, and also Hesiodus the historian. The inhabitants, abandoning in Anacreon's time their native country, where they were grievously oppressed by the Persians, retired to Tirese, and settled in the city of Abdera, which Timotheus of Clazomenae had founded (F). They were the only among the Ionians, as Herodotus observes, who preferred banishment to slavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their ancient habitation, for in the Roman times the city of Teos was of some note, and well peopled. Augustus in several medals is called the founder, which title he may have deserted by repairing and embellishing that, as he did most other

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(E) This gave rise to the proverb Εὐαράξ πώς, mentioned by Aristides, and applied to such as live luxuriously, but at the same time are brave and courageous.

(F) Mr. Tournesfort makes mention of a medal in the king of Prusias's cabinet, with the head of Augustus, and the inscription, Founder of Clazomenae. Another is to be seen in the French king's cabinet, with the head of Augustus, and on the reverse

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(6) Vide Eras. Chilid.

(7) Cic. ad Attic. l. 7. c. 4.
other cities of Aiga. Pliny e counts Teos among the islands, wherein he is contra-
dicted by all the ancient geographers. The small towns of Ere and Mylephus, between Teos and Lebedus, were formerly subject to the Teians, who enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city f to the neighbourhood of Lebedus.

Lebedus, counted by Mela, Strabo, and Herodotus among the twelve Ionia cities, Lebedus, flood on the isthmus of the Ionia peninsula over-against Smyrna, and was famous in ancient times for the sports that were there yearly performed in honour of Bacchus.

Lyfmacetus utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to Ephesus. 

Upon his death they left Ephesus and rebuilt Lebedus, which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city g.

b Colophon, now Altoboko, or as others will have it Belvedere, was one of the chief Colophon cities of the Ionia league, seated on the coast, and not an inland city, as Pliny e calls it. It was destroyed by Lyfmacetus, and the inhabitants sent to people Ephesus; but after his death rebuilt in a more convenient situation. The Colophonians were so skilled in horsemanship, that thofe they fided with were always sure of the victory, which gave rife to the trié proverb (G). Colophon was the birth-place of Nicander, and one of the seven cities that claimed Homer, who lived there some time, as Herodo-
tus informs us in the life of that great poet h. The ancients mention a famous grove and temple of Apollo Clarus in the neighbourhood of this city. Whence that fabulous deity borrowed the epithet of Clarus is uncertain, some pretending that his temple stood in a small town near Colophon called Claris, and others maintaining that he was so called from a mountain bearing that name. The small town of Notium on the same coast often mentioned by Livy belonged to the Colophonians, and was by the Romans allowed to enjoy the same privileges as Colophon itself h.

e Ephesus, called by the present inhabitants Asfaloue, was in former times the me-
tropolis of all Aiga. Stephanus gives it the title of Epiphanestate, or most illustrious, Pliny fifies it the ornament of Aiga, and Strabo the greatest and most frequented emporium of that continent. How different was the ancient Ephesus from the modern, which is but a forry village inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families, who are not capable, as SpOn observes, to understand the epitite St. Paul wrote to them l.

d The ancient city flood about fifty miles south of Smyrna near the mouth of the river Caygler and the shore of the Iarrian sea, which is a bay of the Agean sea; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, 'tis no easy matter to determine the precise place; most of our modern travellers are of opinion that the ancient city flood more to the south than the present, which they argue from the ruins that still remain. Ephesus was in ancient times known by the names of Alopes, Ortygia, Morges, Smyrna Trachaea, Samornia, and Pteia k; it was called Ephesus, according to Heracleides l, from the Greek word Ephesis, signifying permission, be-
cause Hercules, says he, permitted the Amazons to live and build a city in that place; others tell us that Ephesus was the name of the Amazon that founded the city, for Pliny m, Justin n, and Orosius o unanimously affirm, that it was built by an Amazon, while others bestow this honour upon Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens, who was the chief of the Ionians that settled in Aiga. But in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come to the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such frutless enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the Roman times was the metropolis of all Aiga, acknowledged Ly-
fmacetus for its founder; for that prince having caufed the ancient city to be entirely demolished, rebuilt at a vast expence a new one in a place more convenient and nearer the temple. Strabo tells us, that, as the inhabitants fowed a great reluctance to quit their ancient habitations, Lyfmacetus caufed all the drains, that con-
veyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the Caygler, to be privately ftopt up; whereby the city being on the first violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the ancient, and retire to the new city. This new Ephesus was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, but by that emperor embellished with several flately

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e Plin. I. v. c. 31. 

f Pausan. Attic c. 9.

 Vide Herod. I. ii. epift. 11. k Plin. l. v. c. 29. 

l Strabo I. xiv. p. 442.

m Herodot. v. 6. Homer. o. 9. n Plin. l. v. c. 29. 


q Plin. I. v. c. 29. 

r Heracleid. 

de Polit. 

s Plin. ubi supra. t Justin l. ii.

u Orosius. l. i. c. 15.

(G) To κολόπις ἅλαθρος, Colophenic adders, that is to put the left hand to a work, to end it with success.

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flately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any thing worthy of ancient Ephesus. The aqueduct, part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the Greek emperors; the pillars, which support the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct served to convey water into the city from the spring of Halicuce mentioned by Pausanias. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reason we know not, the gate of perfection, is remarkable for three bas-reliefs on the mould of an exquisit e taffe. The port, of which fo many medals have been struck, is at present but an open road, and not much frequented. The Cayster was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place for ships to ride in, but is now almost choked up with sand.

The temple of Diana.

But the chief ornament of Ephesus was the fo much celebrated temple of Diana, built at the common charge of all the states in Asia, and for its structure, size, and furniture accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was fixtate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh, which place they chose, if we believe Pliny, as less subject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges, for they were obliged to be at a vast expense in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the morals and the Cayster. Philo Byzantius tells us, that in this work they used such a quantity of slone, as almost emptied all the quarries in the country; and these drains or vaults are what the present inhabitants take for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or fewer, which were to bear a building of such a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, says Pliny, well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, Pliny says four hundred⁸, were spent in building this wonderful temple by all Asia. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and two hundred in breadth, supported by a hundred and twenty-five marble pillars seventy foot high, of which twenty-five were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of fo many kings, and the bas-reliefs of one were done by Sevus the most famous sculptor of antiquity; the altar was almost wholly the work of Praxiteles. Cithernocrates, who built the city of Alexandria, and offered to form mount Abydos into a statue of Alexander, was the architect employed on this occasion. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, was afterwards enlarged by Mithridates to a bow-shot, and doubled by Marc Anthony, so that it took in part of the city; but Tiberius, to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, called them all, and declared that no man guilty of any wicked or dishonest action should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself (H). A great many medals are to be seen with the heads of divers emperors, and on the reverse the temple with a frontispiece of two, four, six, and even of eight pillars.

The priests, who officiated in this temple, were had in great esteem, and trusted with the care of sacred virgins or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. They were called Esiatres and Eisse, had a peculiar diet, and were not allowed by their constitutions to go into any private house. They were maintained with the profits accruing from the lake Seliunte, and another that fell into it, which must have been very considerable, since they erected a golden statue to one Artemidorus, who being sent to Rome recovered them, after they had been seized by the farmers of the public revenues⁹. All the Ionians resorted yearly to Ephesus with their wives and children, when they solemnized the festival of Diana with great pomp and magnificence, making on that occasion rich offerings to the goddess, and not forgetting their priests. The Afarce were, according to Beza¹, those priests, whose peculiar province it was to regulate the public sports; that

⁸ PLIN. I. xvi. c. 40. ¹ Annot. ad Acta.

(H) Pope Julius II., in relating this observance, that the many fasts of Rome, open to ruffians, and all offenders without distinctions have changed that city, otherwise quiet, into a den of thieves (8). Thus he wrote before he was raised to the papal chair; but that dignity inspired him, it seems, with different sentiments, for he was the whole time of his pontificate a most ferocious afferrer of what they call the Ecclesiastical immo-

(8) Plin. secundus in Asia.

³ Strab. ubi supra. ⁴ Thucyd. I. iii. ⁵ Luke. A.D.
that were annually performed at Ephesus in honour of Diana; they were maintained with the gatherings that were made during the sports, for all Asia flocked to see them. The great Diana of the Ephesians, as she was flled by her blind adorers, was, according to Pliny\(^u\), a small statue of ebony, made by one Canetius, though commonly believed to have been sent down from heaven by Jupiter. This statue was at frst placed in a niche, which, as we are told, the Amazons caufed to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the frit rite of the veneration that was paid to Diana in this place. In fcores of time, the veneration for the goddes daily encreased among the inhabitants of Asia, a most fately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm stood, and the fature of the goddes placed in it.

This was the firt temple, but not quite so fumpuous as that which we have described, though reckoned as well as the fect among the wonders of the world. The fect was still remaining in Pliny's time, and in Strabo's, and is fupposed to have been destroyed in the reign of Constantine, pursuant to the edict by which that emperor commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demolished; the former was burnt, the fame day that Alexander was born, by one Erostra-tus, who owned on the rack that the only thing which had prompted him to destroy the temple was the desire of transmitting his name to future ages. Whereon the common council of Asia made a decree forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition ferved only to make his name more memorable, such a remarkable extravaganza, or rather madness, being taken notice of by all the historians who have written of those fames. Alexander offered to rebuild the temple at his own expense, provided the Ephesians would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in fuch manner as was no-ways taken amifs by that vain prince, telling him, that it was not fit one god should build a temple to another. The pillars and other materials that had been faved out of the flames were feld, and also the jewels of the Ephesian women, who on that occasion willingly parted with them, and the fum raifed from thence ferved for the carrying on of the work till other contri-butions came in, which in a fhort time amounted to an immense treafure. And this is the temple which Pliny, Strabo, and other Roman writers speak of. It ftood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather fhinifhed, as Livy tells us, in the reign of King Servius. Of this wonderful ftructure there is nothing at present remaining but some ruins, and a few broken pillars.

The Ionians fìr ft settled at Ephesus, under the conduct of Androcles, who drove out the Carians and Leleges, by whom those places were poifonned at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as Strabo affirms, or by one Crethus, or Ephesus, long before the Ionian migration, as others maintain, became foon the metropolis of Ionia. It was at fìr ft governed by Androcles and his descendants, who affumed the royal title, and exercised regal authority over the new colony; whence even in Strabo's time the pofterity of Androcles were filed kings, and allowed to wear a fcarlet robe, a sceptre, and all the enfans of the royal dignity. In fcores of time a new form of government was introduced, and a fenate established, but when, or on what occasion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of Pythagoras, who lived before Cyrus the Great, and was one of the moft cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in history; for having driven out the fenate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not sparing even thofe who fied to the temple of Diana for felter. Pythagoras was fucceeded by Pindarus, who bore the fame fway in the city, but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time Ephesus being besieged by Crethus king of Lydia, he advifed the inhabitants to devote their city to Diana, and fatten the wall by a rope to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were, in regard of the goddes, not only treated with great kindness by Crethus, but refurred to their former liberty. Pindarus being obliged to reign his power, retired to Peloponnesus. He was, according to Ælian\(^v\), grandson to Halysates king of Lydia, and Crethus's nephew. The other tyrants of Ephesus, mentioned in history, are Abenagoras, Comas, Ariflarbus, and Hegesias, of which the laft was driven out by Alexander, who, coming to Ephesus after having defeated the Persians on the banks of the Granicus, beftowed upon Diana all the tributes which the Ephesians had paid to

\(^u\) AE. 10. 17. 18. \(^v\) PLIN. I. xii. c. 4. \(^x\) STRAB. ubi supra. \(^y\) LIV. I. i. c. 45. \(^z\) SUITAS.

\(^*\) HERODOT. I. i. POLYB. I. vii. ÆLIAN. V. H. I. iii. c. 26. \(^{*}\) ÆLIAN. ubi supra.
to the Persians, and established a democracy in the city. In the war between Mithridates and the Romans they sided with the former, and by his direction massacred all the Romans that resided in their city; for which they were severely fined and reduced almost to beggary by Sulla, but afterwards treated kindly, and suffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from several ancient inscriptions and medals (1). The Ephesian saws were mightily given to superition, forcery, and curious arts, as the scripture testifies them, whence came the proverb Ephesian letters, signifying all sorts of spells or charms (K).

Priene.

Priene was one of the ancient cities of Ionia, and the birth-place of Bias one of the seven wise men. Ptolemy places it at a great distance from the sea, but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of Ionia.

Miletus.

Miletus, now Palatia, was formerly a city of great note, being filied, by Pliny and Pannomius Mela, the first city and metropolis of all Ionia. The same Pliny mentions the ancient and new Miletus, the former he calls Lelegis, Pitbyfa, and Anachoria, and Strabo tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of Crete. The latter was founded, according to Strabo, by Neleus the son of Cadmus king of Athens, when he first settled on that part of Asia. This great city stood on the south side of the river Meander near the sea-coast. The inhabitants applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded, according to Pliny, eighty, according to Senece three hundred and eighty, colonies in different parts of the world. The city itself was as it were a temple and oracle of Apollo named Didyma, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by Xerxes, but rebuilt by the Milesians to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world, being equal in compass, as Strabo attests, to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt who served the temple. Pliny places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty-eight furlongs distance from the city, but Strabo says that it stood near the walls. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen, but that the town is reduced to a few shepherds' cottages. Near Miletus stood mount Lathonus, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to Endymion. Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city and thence famed the Milesian, to distingiuish him from a famous Lyric poet bearing the same name.

Miletus was in a most flourishing condition in the time of Darius Hystris, and accounted the ornament of Ionia, as Herodotus informs us, though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations before, and almost reduced to the last extremities. Their differences were at last composed, as the fame writer informs us, by the Parians, whom they had chosen from among all the Greeks for that purpose. These arriving at Miletus, and observing that the fields round the city lay in great part uncultivated, told the Milesians, that they designed to survey their whole country, which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner where-ever they faw in that defolate country any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very small part of it well kept, they returned to the city, and having called an assembly, put the government into the hands of those whose lands they had found in good condition; not doubting but they would administer the public affairs with the same care which they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoined the
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a rest of the Milesians, who till that time had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magistrates they had appointed, and in this manner reformed the state of the city, which thenceforth daily increased in wealth and power. In the time of Ptolemaus, king of Egypt, a colony of Milesians settled in that country, and built a wall, which Strabo calls us, called by the Egyptians the Milesian wall. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flourishing condition of Miletus in those days, from the long and expensive war which they maintained against Cyzicus, Aristeis, Sadytis, and Halyattes, kings of Lydia, without being afflicted by any of the Ionians except the Chians, whom they had supported against the Erythraeans. In what manner this war was carried on, and how Halyattes was at last obliged to sue for peace, we have b already related in the history of Lydia. After the defeat of Creatus and taking of Sardis, all the Ionians sent embassadors to Cyrus, offering to submit to him on the same terms which had been granted them by Creatus; but that prince, rejecting the proposals of the others, admitted the Milesians alone on the foot of their former agreement with the Lydians. By this indulgence of Cyrus, Miletus flourished above all the cities of Ionia, till it fell into the hands of Hystenus and Ariélagoras, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all Ionia; for Miletus was besieged, taken, and laid in ashes by the Persians, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred first to Sura, and thence to Amaea, a city on the red sea, not far from the mouth of the Tigris. The Athenians were so grieved at their c misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, no otherwise than if the like calamity had happened to Athens itself; and some time after one Phrynichus, a dramatic poet, having wrote a tragedy on the destruction of Miletus, the whole theatre burst out into tears when it was exhibited, and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own, ordering at the same time that the piece should never more be acted. The Persians having thus utterly ruined Miletus, and transplanted the inhabitants, the lands about the town and level country they reserved for themselves, but bestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the Carians of Pedieis. This misfortune befell Miletus six years after the revolt of Ariélagoras d in the reign of Darius Hyphasis, and had been long before foretold, if we believe Herodotus, by the oracle of Apollo Didymamus (L). However, the Milesians were suffered afterwards to return and rebuild their city, which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of Thales related by Plutarch; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place at some distance from the city, saying, that it would one day become the market-place of the Milesians. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them eight years before the Peloponnesian war contending with the Samians for the sovereignty of Priene, and obliged to call in the Athenians to their assistance, for which piece of service they sided with them in the e Peloponnesian war, till they were perfidious by Alebiades, then in banishment, to join the Lacedaemonians. In the time of Cyrus the younger they attempted to shake off the Persian yoke, and join that prince against his brother Artaxerxes; but Tissaphernes, governor of that province, having timely notice of their design, put some of the chief conspirators to death, banished others, and reduced the city to a miserable state of slavery. At the famous peace of Antalcidas it was given up to the Persians, and remained subject to them till the time of Alexander, who restored them to their ancient liberty, notwithstanding they had for a time against him, and did not submit till reduced to the last extremities. By the Romans they were treated very kindly, and suffered to enjoy their liberty, especially under the emperors.

THE

(1) That author tells us (10), that the Argians having consulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double answer, partly concerning themselves, and partly the Milesians; the answer relating to the Milesians was uttered in the following terms: "If Milesia, source of evils, thy houses and wealth shall serve to feast-and enrich a multitude; men with long hair shall sit and have "theirs feet washed by thy virgins; Didyma shall stand, as Argos has; her altars transferred to another place." What the oracle is said to have foretold was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the sword by the Persians, who wore long hair; the women and children were made slaves, and the temple in Didyma, with the grove and oracle, reduced to ashes.


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THE MILESIANS, like the other states of IONIA, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were Tyros and Damasenor, who, as Plutarch informs us, filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed, or driven out, Theraus usurped the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time and by his means an end was put to the war, which had been for many years carried on between the LYDIANS and MILESIANS, as we have related at length in the history of Lydia. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of GREECE courted his friendship, and governed themselves in their unjust usurpations by his advice. Among these PERIANDER tyrant of CORINTH is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to inquire what methods he had purposed in so settling his authority among the MILESIANS, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. Theraus, unwilling to send an answer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave in a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of ammendment, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. PERIANDER understood the hint, put all those to death whose power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped. Upon the death of Theraus several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by HISTORIANS, PLUTARCH, and other writers. Among these the most famous in history are HISTIENS and ARISFAGORAS, who in attempting to shake off the yoke of the Persian kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the Greek colonies in Asia, as we have related at length in the history of PERSIA. In the time of Antiochus II. king of Syria, we read of one Timarebus reigning in Miletus, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was on that account honoured by the MILESIANS with the surname of THEOS or GOD. Miletus gave birth to the celebrated philosophers, ANAXIMANDER, ANAXIMENES, and THALES. The islands of CHIOS and SAMOS were likewise inhabited by the IONIANS, and belonged to their confederacy; but we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following chapter, containing the history of the GREEK islands.

Description of AELIS. The EOLIANS, so called from the AELIANS, who settled in this part of Asia, extended, according to STRABO, from the promontory ELEUSIS to the river HERMUS, and contained the following cities, CYME, LARISSA, NEONTICOS, THENUS, CYRIA, NOTION, AEGEREA, MYRNA, and in more ancient times SMYRNA, which, as we have related above, was taken from the AELIANS by the IONIANS. These are the seven ancient cities of AELIS mentioned by HERODOTUS. CYME stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of AELIS towards IONIA. LARISSA belonged properly to TRASOS, and is placed by STRABO between AEGAEUM and COLONAE. In former times AELIS comprehended all TRASOS, and extended along the coast from IONIA to the Propontis. NEONTICOS, or NEMI-TIBOS is mentioned by THUCYDIDES as situated in the country of the APODOTI, who were a peculiar tribe of AELIANS inhabiting the sea-coast. THENUS, called also TEMNES, is placed by PLINY at the mouth of the HERMUS, but by all other geographers in the inland parts of AELIS. CYRIA was a colony of the AELIANS on the sea-coast of MYRNA. NOTION stood on the seashore about two miles from COLophon, and was in after-ages subject to the COLophonians. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of AEGEREA, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. PIITAE was a considerable town not far from the mouth of the CAULUS. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. AEGEREA or AEGERA, bordered on the system of SYNE, and is counted by STRABO among the Mediterranean cities of AELIS. MYRNA, the most ancient city of all AELIS, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. It was in after-ages called Schesium in honour of Augustus. To these PIITAE, STRABO, and
and Pomponius Mela, add Grymium and Elaea; the former was about forty furlongs
distant from Myrina, and famous for a temple and grove consecrated to Apollo,
whence the surname of Gryneus is often given by the poets to that deity; the latter,
which was the port of Pergamus, and the birth-place of Zeno the philosopher, stood
near the mouth of the Caicus. Cyane, or as others write it, Cuma, was the metrop-
olis of all Æolis.

Doris, properly so called, was that large promontory of Caria, which runs into
the sea over against the island of Telos. The chief cities of Doris were, Halicar-
naus, formerly the capital of Caria, and famous for the Mausoleum or tomb built
by queen Artemisia, in honour of her husband Mausolus, which was of so noble a
structure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world.

This city gave birth to the two celebrated historians, Herodotus and Dionysius,
and to the poets Heraclitus and Callimaclus. It stood between the Ceramic and Iasian
bays, and was reckoned one of the strongest cities of Asia. It is now a heap of
ruins, and known by the name of Nea. Cnidus stood on the sea called Triapias,
having on the north the Ceramic, or as others call it the Ceraunian, bay, and on the
south the Rhodian sea. This city was formerly famous for the Venus of Praxite-
les, and as Venus was the tutelary goddess of the place, she is thence often called
by the poets; the Cnidian goddess. Lindus, Telmissus and Camirus were likewise
cities of the Dorians, as Herodotus informs us, but we find nothing relating to them
c

That the Ionians, Doriens, and Æolians, who settled in Asia Minor, were
Greek nations, is not to be doubted. Prophane writers give us the following account
of their origin, and first settling on the coast of Asia. Deucalion, say they, who
reigned in Thejfaly, and is famous for the flood that happened in his time, had by
his wife Pyrrha two sons, Helenus and Amphibytus. Helenus, who is supposed to
have given the name of Helenes to the Greeks, had three sons, Æolus, Dorus and
Iaxus. Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and, besides Thejfaly, had
for his share Locri and Baetia. Many of his descendants went into Peloponnesus
with Pelops the son of Tantalus king of Borrhia, and settled in Laconia. The country
d

in the neighbourhood of mount Parnassus fell to Dorus, and was from him called
Doris. Jaxus being obliged by his brothers to quit his native country, for appro-
priating part of his father's estate to himself without their knowledge, retired to
Atica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens, by whom he
did not have two sons, Achaeus and Ion.

An involuntary murder committed by Achaeus, obliged him to retire to Pelopon-
nessus, which was then called Aigialea or Egialae; but the country, where he settled,
ever after bore the name of Achaea. Some writers tell us, that he afterwards left
Achaea, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom of Thejfaly. Ion commanded the
Athenian forces against Eumolpus the Tetrarch, who had invaded Attica, and so
distinguished himself on that occasion, that the Athenians intrusted him with the
government of their city, and were from that time called also Ionians. Though in
proces of time they thought fit to lay aside this name, yet it was not altogether out
of use in the time of Thejes, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the
Isthmus, to shew the bounds of the Athenians on one side, and the Peloponnesians
on the other; on the east side of the pillar was this inscription; This is not Peloponne-
num, but Ionia, and on the south side; this is not Ionia, but Peloponnesus. In the time
that Ion governed Athens the citizens increased to such a degree, that their country,
being not only unfruitful, but confined within narrow bounds, was no longer able
to furnish them with necessary provisions. This forced them to contrive some means
to disburden it, and therefore they sent colonies to settle in Peloponnesus, and give
the name of Ionia to that part which they possessed. Thus all the inhabitants of
Peloponnesus, though composed of different nations, were blended under the
general names of Acheans and Ionians.

About four centuries after the taking of Troy the Heracleidae, or descendants of
Heracles, invaded Peloponnesus with a design to recover that country, which of right
belonged to them. They were conducted in this enterprise by three chief leaders,
the

A A B R I A N , 1. 1. edid. 
A P U L I A N . int. 
Lacon. & Elia. L E R A T O S . edid CLEM. ALEX. from Appol. i. 2.
the sons of Arilomachus, namely Temenus, Cresphontes, and Arilochus; the last dying before the reduction of the country, his two sons Eurybiodes and Procles succeeded him. The expedition proved successful, and the Heraclidae, having recovered the possession of their ancient dominions, divided them among themselves; in which division Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Cresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Arilochus.*

Such of the Achaeans as were descended from Aeolus, and had inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who attended the Heraclidae into Peloponnesus, settled in part of Achaia Minor, which from them took the name of Aeolis, and built there Smyrna with eleven other cities; but Smyrna, as we have related above, was afterwards feigned by the Ionians. From Aeolis they sent colonies to the island of Lefkos, and there founded several cities. The Achaeans of Mycene and Argos, being expelled by the Heraclidae, feigned upon that part of Peloponneseus, which was held by the Ionians. The latter at first returned to Athens, their original country, and soon after departed from thence under the conduct of Nilus and Androcles, the two sons of Codrus, and possest themselves of the western coast of Achaia Minor, lying between Caria and Lydia, which from them was named Ionia.

There they built the cities, which we have described above.*

The power of the Athenians, who were then governed by Codrus, increasing daily, the Heraclidae thought proper to oppose their progress, but were defeated in a general engagement. Notwithstanding this overthrow they maintained themselves in possession of Megara, where they built the city of Megara, placing there the Dorians, who had affiliated them, in the room of the Ionians whom they had driven out. Of these Dorians some continued in Megara after the death of Codrus, others paffed over into Crete; but the greatest part, being perpetually harried by the Athenians, abandoning their country, settled in that part of Achaia Minor, which was from them called Doris, and built there Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities mentioned above. The Ionic migration is said by all chronologers, except Eusebius and his followers, to have happened an hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy, and fifty after the return of the Heraclidae into Peloponneseus; that is, about seven hundred and ninety-four before the Christian era. The Ionic migration preceded the Ionic about fifty-two years, and that of the Dorians was posterior to the Ionic near seventy.

This is the account, which profane writers give us of these migrations; but their authority in matters of so remote a date is not much to be depended on. There were scarce any records in those rude and illiterate ages, even among the Greeks; whence they have obscured their origin with idle tales, and poetical fictions, there being scarce any thing related by their historianns concerning their origin that deserves credit, or carries in it the least appearance of truth. Others, perhaps upon better grounds, take the Ionians to be descended from Javan, the fourth son of Japheth, and indeed the Greek translators of the holy scripture instead of Javan read Javan, and those who are by other writers called Janes, are by Homer named Iones. Now Javan and Javan found to like each other, that one may conclude they were the same. This opinion receives no small confirmation from holy writ, where the name of Javan is used for Greece (M). Javan is said to have come into Greece after the conclusion of Babel, and to have settled in Attica, whence the Attics were named Iones and Jenes. This name the inhabitants of Attica, as we have observed above, laid aside, but these who paffed into Achaia retained the same appellation. According to this opinion the Ionians were a colony from Attica; but Heceatens, as quoted by Strabo, tells us, that the Athenians or Iones of Greece were a colony of


(M) Two inferences we have in Daniel: And when I am gone forth, behold the prince of Greece shall come (11). And again, He shall fill up all against the realm of Greece (12). Where though the vulgar translators do not render it Javan, yet that is the word in the original. And in Isaiah: And I will send those that escape of them to the nations in the sea in Italy and in Greece. Where the Septuagint version and that of Genes retain the Hebrew words, using the names of Tubal and Javan, instead of Italy and Greece.

of those in Asia. As the parts of Asia possessed by the Greeks lye directly in the way from the valley of Shinar into Greece, it is not without foundation, that some have believed the Ionians to have first settled in Asia, and from thence, not having room enough on the coast, to have sent colonies into Greece, at that time uninhabited, under the conduct of his eldest son Elida, who founded, according to them, the city of Elis in Peloponnesus. From Elida Theseus supposed the Aetolians to be descended, and therefore calls them Elidas. 6

The Ionians, Aetolians, and Dorians were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over Greece. Besides, Herodotus tells us in express terms, that some of the Ionians chose only Lydian kings of the race of Glauceus, others fuch only as were sprung from Cedorus, and that some indiscriminately raised to the throne princes of either of these families. 5 But the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was settled in almost all the Greek cities of Asia Minor, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no-ways dependent on one another. However, in most of these states fome private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence, sacrificing to their own security all those, whom merit, rank, zeal for liberty, or love of their country rendered obnoxious to them. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these usurpers so obnoxious to the people, and furnished such ample matter for the declamations of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

The Ionians, on their arrival in Asia, divided themselves into twelve small states or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited Peloponnesus, as were afterwards the Aetolians who drove them out. Of these twelve states composed the Ionian confederacy, so often mentioned by the ancients. The chief and most powerful city of the whole confederacy was Miletus. To those we have already described Tuccuclius adds the cities of the islands of Lemnos and Imbroes, 4 and Velleius 5 those of Delos, Paros, Andros, Temnos, which were all, according to that writer, peopled by the Ionians. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the Ionians, others they possessed themselves of after driving out the ancient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of Greece, they forced those of Caria away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations as opposed them; in revenge of which violence and cruelty the Carians women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as sacred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names. 6 The Ionians being thus established in the most fruitful and pleasant part of all Asia, their number increased, new adventurers joining them from other countries of Greece; the Athenians from Euboea, who had nothing in common with the Ionians, were no inconsiderable part of this colony; the Myrians, Orcomenusians, the Cademeans, Dryopians, and Methyphians, with the Pelopians of Arcadia, the Dorians, Ependaurians, and many others of the several states of Greece, were, as Herodotus informs us, 7 intermixed with the Aetolians, who were sent by the Persian council. The latter, who were true and genuine Ionians, as deriving their original from Athens, built a temple, which from themselves they called the Pan-Ionian (N). The privileges of this place they communicated to no other Ionians; neither did the others, as we read in Herodotus, 8 ever desire to be admitted, except the Sipyrons, most of them being of the name of Ionians, that people having foun degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, and given themselves up to all manner of vice. The Pan-Ionian was a sacred place on the promontory of Mycale, dedicated by the Ionian confederacy to Nepos, firnamed Heliconus. Here the Ionians met to perform solemn exercises in honour of that deity, and to hold their general assemblies. This festival was peculiar to the

2 Joseph. Antiq. 1. 1. 
3 Herodot. I. 1. 
4 Tucculx. 1. 7. 
5 Vell. 1. 2. 
6 (N) The temple was called Pan-Ionian, from the concourse of people that flourished there, from all the cities of Asia. A festival was kept here by all the Ionians in honour of Nepos, firnamed Heliconus, from Helles, a city of Aetolia, which afterwards perished by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this festival, viz. that if the bull offered happened to be boar, it was considered a good omen, because that god was thought to be acceptable to Nepos.
The History of Ionia.

**Book I.**

The Albanian Ionians; but the Apuratorian solemnity (O) was common to all those of the Ionian name, except the Ephesians and Colophonians, who were excluded under pretence of a murder committed in their cities. The Dorians, on their arrival in Asia, formed themselves into six independent states or small republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of so many cities; these were Lindus, Jatzus, Camirus, Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called Doris, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine Dorians, were admitted into their temple at Triope, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of Apollo Triopius. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to Apollo, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When Apelles of Halicarnassus won the prize, he transfigured this custom, and carried the tripod to his own house: Wherefore the city of Halicarnassus was ever afterwards excluded from the Dorian confederacy; so that the Dorians were from that time known by the name of the five cities. The Ebolians were divided, like the Ionians and Dorians, into several small states or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy or league. They possessed at first twelve cities; but Smyrna, as we have related above, was taken from them by the Ionians of Colophon. Their country was of greater extent than that of the Ionians, but far inferior to it in all other respects. Ionia being, in the opinion of Herodotus, the most fruitful and agreeable region of all Asia. The Dorians, before the cities which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of Lefkas, one in Tenedos, and another in the hundred islands, which we shall have occasion to speak of in a more proper place. Thus the Greek states in Asia were governed much after the same manner as those in Europe, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their respective general assemblies or diets.

The religion and laws of the Greek colonies in Asia were much the same with those of Greece. Their principal deities were Ceres, Apollo, Diana, and Neptune. The Ionians, who came from Athens, celebrated, every fifth year, the mysteries of Ceres Elhenina, which we have already described. The Milesians worshipped Apollo Didymnus as their tutelary god, whence he was likewise called Apollo Malefus. Near the city of Miletus was a famed oracle of Apollo, called the oracle of Apollo Didymus, and also the oracle of the Brancibas; the former denomination it had from Apollo or the sun, who was surnamed Didymus, as Macrobius informs us, from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon; the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to Apollo himself, who was called Brancibus, from one Brancus the reputed son of Macareus, but begotten, as was believed, by Apollo (P). This oracle was, as we are assured by Herodatus, very antient, and the first

* H. Herodot. ibid. 1 Idem ibid. x Idem ibid. 1 p. 731. 2 Arnoa. 1. 1.

4 (O) This festival was first instituted at Athens, and from thence derived to the Albanian Ionians. It was so called from the Greek word ἀφρος signifying deceit, having been first instituted in memory of a stratagem, by which Melanippos, king of Athens, overcame Xanthus, king of Bessus. For a controversy arising between the Albanians and Bessiotes about a piece of ground lying on the confines of Asia and Bessia, Xanthus proposed, that an end should be put to the dispute by a single combat between himself and the Athenian king. Bessus, at that time king of Athens, declined the fight, and was defeated. In his room was chosen one Melanippos, king of Attica, who, having accepted the challenge, met his enemy at the appointed place. But before they began the fight, Xanthus pretending to see one behind Xanthus, habituated to a black gent's skin, cried out, that the articles were violated: Upon this Xanthus, looking back, was treacherously slain by his adversary. In memory of this success

4 (P) Perus tells us, that the mother of Bessus, being with child, dreamed, that the sun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called Bessus from ἐξερχεσθαι, that is, to spring forth, in a civil sense, it not being till that time that the Ionians naturally recorded, to whom they belonged. The Aphiacis was celebrated in the month Pyanopis, and lasted three days (14).
a best of all the Grecian oracles, except that of Delphos. In the time of the Persian war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the Barbarians by the Branchidae, or priests, who had care of it. Xerxes in requital of their service allowed them to settle, and build a city, in a remote part of A sia, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But for all this, their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for Alexander, having conquered Darius and possessed himself of all Asia, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers.

An annual feast was celebrated by the Ionians in honour of Diana Tricaria, to appease whose wrath for an insent committed in her temple, men and women used to walk bare-footed to it. This solemnity was initiated by the Athenians, who, till after the Trojan war used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a maid and a female child.

Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies, not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in Gaul, and beyond the pillars of Hercules.

They soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a moth superfluous, effeminate, and voluptuous people; insomuch, that the Ionians, in the time of Herodotus, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military service. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or desserts. Maximus Tyrius, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various Greek nations and colonies, tells us, that the Crotomantes loved the Olympic sports, the Spartiates fine armour, the Crotons hunting, the Sybarites pompous drees, and the Ionians lascivious dances. The Ionians and Dorians, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of Asia; they were accustomcd no ways inferior to the European Greeks, till they were subdued by the Persians. But having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness, and in a short time became quite unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other Astartes.

The Greek colonies settled in Asia enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of Croesus king of Lydia, to whose superior power they were forced to submit, after having baffled all the attempts of his predecessors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and mariners in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land-forces when required; but at the same time were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquility under his mild government. This made them oppose Cyrus when he first invaded Lydia, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince. But, after the defeat of Croesus and taking of Sardis, they sent embassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by Croesus. Cyrus having heard them with attention, returned an answer in the following apologue: A Piper seeing numerous holes of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ahome by his music, began to play; but finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing

from ơhe to kis, because he was supposed to have imparted the spirit of prophecy to Branchidae by a kis. This temple was burnt by the Persians, but afterwards rebuilt with such magnificence, that it surpassed all the other Greek temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no less than five furlongs in compass (15).
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ing at all. With this answer the Greek embassadors returned home, and having communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved in a general assembly to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send embassadors to solicit succours from the Lacedemonians. Pythoermus, a Phocean, was sent in the name of all the Greeks in Asia, but the Spartans could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance. However, they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of Cyrus, and interpose their good offices with him in behalf of their countrymen. These, putting in at Phocaea, sent Lariniae, the most considerable person among them, to Sardis, with instructions to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed any hostilities against the Grecian cities, the republic of Lacedemon would resent them as offered to herself. Cyrus, hearing them speak in this strain, inquired of the Greeks about him, who the Lacedemonians were, and what number of men they could bring into the field? Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputies, that he was no ways afraid of a people, who in the midst of their cities had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual oaths; and that if the gods preferred his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the Asiatics. These words were levelled at the Greeks in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade, a custom unknown to the Persians.

Cyrus, having dismissed the Lacedemonian embassador with this answer, left Sardis, and, setting out for Euchates, charged Mazarae one of his lieutenants with the reduction of Aeolis, Deris, and Ionia. Mazarae, purgant to his commission entering Ionia, took and destroyed the city of Priene, laid waste the fertile plains that were watered by the Maeander, and advancing to Magnesia, laid that city likewise in ashes. From Magnesia he marched to Phocaea, but before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell sick and died. Upon his death Harpagus, being appointed to command the army in Ionia, laid close siege to Phocaea. The Phocaeans, declining a treaty, chose rather to abandon their native country, than submit to the Persian yoke; and accordingly, having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of Chios, leaving the Persians in possession of an empty city. The example of the Phocaeans was followed by the Telians, who, after Harpagus had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to Thrace, where they settled in the city of Abdera, which had been founded by the Greeks of the Ionia confederation, under the conduct of Timeus, a native of Clazomenae. The other cities of Ionia were all reduced by Harpagus, and likewise the Dorians, Aelians, and all the inhabitants of the upper Asia, except the Milesians, who, distrustful of their own strength and that of the Ionians, had made a separate peace with Cyrus, and by a timely submission obtained the same terms, which had been formerly granted them by Croesus. The rapidity of these conquests struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted of their own accord. Thus all the Greek states, both in the islands and on the continent of Asia, were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the Persian monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency than they had ever proved before. In the reign of Darius Hystaspis, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their ancient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the Persian monarchy, for the space of six years; but were again, in spite of their united efforts, brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to ascertain the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the Greek states in Asia Minor, we have already given a particular and distinct account in the history of Persia, to which we refer the reader.

The Ionians affixed Xerxes in his expedition against Athens with an hundred ships; but as the king had undertaken this war for no other end but to be revenged on the Athenians for having sent some ships to the assistance of the Ionians when they attempted to flake off the Persian yoke, Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, imagined, that the Ionians served in this expedition against their will, and might there-

Ibid. ibid.
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a therefore be easily prevailed upon to defeat the Persians, and join their ancient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or sending messengers, he failed in person to the place where they used to take in fresh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: “Men of Ionia, you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting against your fathers; and helping to enslave Greece. Resolve therefore to come over to us; or if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the enemy, and persuade the Carians to imitate your example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an absolute necessity of continuing in the Persian fleet, favour us at least when we come to an engagement; and remember, that you are not only defended

b “from us, but are the original cause of the Barbarians enmity against us.” Tobiocles had in so doing a double view; he believed that this invitation, if not discovered to the king, would induce the Ionians to come over to the Greeks; and on the other hand, if it should come to the king’s ears, he hoped it would make him distrust the Ionians, and dismis them. The Ionians coming afores the next day as usual, read on the rocks the invitation of Tobiocles, and resolved to comply with it; purport to which resolution when the two fleets engaged, the Ionians instead of falling upon the Athenians tacked about and made to sea. Their flight, which was soon followed by that of the Phoenicians, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the Athenians at Salamis.” Diocrates Siculus tells us, that the Ionians

c by means of a certain Samian gave private notice to the Athenians of all that passed in the enemy’s fleet, affurting them, that as soon as the battle was joined they would defeat the Barbarians. This, according to our author, so encouraged the Greeks, before disheartened, that they attacked the Persian fleet, contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is so famous in his story.

The fame stratagem was used by Leostycides; commander of the Greek fleet, before the battle of Mycale. The Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and the inhabitants of the islands made no small part of the Persian army, which was drawn up along the shore in order to prevent the Greeks from making a descent into the country. Leostycides therefore, standing in the shade as near as he could, ordered a herald
d to speak thus to the Ionians in his name: “Men of Ionia, hearken with attention to my words, for the Persians will not understand the advice I give you; when the battle begins, every one of you ought in the first place to remember liberty; and the next, that the word agreed upon is Hebe, if any of you hear me not, let those who hear inform him.” These words had such an effect on the Greeks, that in the heat of the engagement they deserted the Persians, and joined their countrymen, which occasioned the total overthrow of the Persian army. Before the engagement the Persian generals had appointed the Miletians to guard the passes leading to the eminences of Mycale, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the Miletians

e being well acquainted with the country. But they, acting quite contrary to their orders, brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled; by which means few Persians escaped the general slaughter of that day. Thus the Astatic Greeks revolted a second time from the Persians, and their behaviour on this occasion was so pleasing to the Lacedaemonians, that they were for transplanting them out of Asia into Greece. For they were well apprised, that if the Ionians continued in Asia, they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy that far excelled them in strength, and was near to them; whereas their friends, who were at a great distance, could not be affianent to them so opportunely, and at such feasons, as their necessity might require. The Peloponnesians proposed to drive those nations out of Greece, which

f had sided with the Persians, and to bestow their territories and effects on the Ionians. Upon these promises the Ionians and Aeolians were preparing to convey themselves and their effects over into Europe. But the Athenians persuaded them to remain in Asia, faithfully promising to affix them on all occasions to the utmost of their power. The Athenians were afraid that if the Ionians should settle in Europe, by the common concurrence of the Greeks, they would not for the future own Athens as their metropolis, and place of their original. The Peloponnesians readily yielded to the Athenians; and the Ionians upon second thoughts determined not to remove out of Asia;


s Herodot. i. ix. Diodor. Sicul. i. xi. c. 4. p. 261.
but upon the conclusion of the peace between the Greeks and Persians, which happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, one of the articles, sworn to by both parties, was, that all the Greek states of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. The Ionians, being thus delivered from the Persian yoke, entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who came by degrees to treat them as subjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute all the charges of the Peloponnesian war, no otherwise than if they had been their vassals. Nay, Euphemus, who was sent in the time of the Peloponnesian war to draw the Camarinaeans into an alliance with Athens, owned that the Athenians had subjected both the Ionians and Ionians, for having joined, said he, the Persians against their mother city. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory which the Athenians gained at Salamis, was in great measure owing to the Ionians and other Greeks, who served on board the Persian fleet, as we have seen above. In the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, we find them again subject to the Persians, and governed by Tissaphernes, from whom they revolted to Cyrus the younger. Upon the death of Cyrus they sent embassadors to the Lacedaemonians, imploring their assent and protection against Tissaphernes, who was returning to his government at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The Lacedaemonians, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the Athenians, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the Persians, and sent first Tissaphernes and lastly Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by distributing large sums among the leading men in Greece, found means to rekindle the war there, which obliged the Lacedaemonians to recall their king, and conclude a peace with the Persians equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Greek name. For one of the articles was, that all the Greek cities in Asia should be subject to the king of Persia, and besides the islands of Cyprus and Clazomenae. Thus were all the Greeks settled in Asia, with the utmost injustice and baflenees, given up to the Persians, whose yoke they bore till they were delivered by Alexander, who restored all the Greeks in Asia to the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges. After the death of Alexander, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the kings of Syria, and continued subject to them till the Romans, after having delivered Greece from the oppression of Philip king of Macedon, obliged Antiochus III. furnished the great, to grant the same liberty to the Greek colonies in Asia, which they had procured for the Greek states in Europe. Being thus again reinstated in their ancient rights, most of the free cities entered into an alliance with Rome, and enjoyed such liberty as the Romans used to grant, till they were again brought under subjection by the famous Mithridates king of Pontus, whom they joined against the Romans, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to Rome. By his order they massacred, without distinction, all the Romans and Italians, whom either trade or the sweetness of the climate had drawn into Asia. On this occasion the Ephesians distinguished themselves above the rest, not suffering even their famous temple of Diana to be an asylum to such Romans as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of Mithridates did not exempt them from the most tyrannical oppression. No wonder then, that upon Sylla’s arrival in Asia they abandoned Mithridates, and declared for the Romans, as they had formerly deserted the Romans to side with Mithridates. Ephesus was the first that revolted, and the example of that metropolis was soon followed by Smyrna, Colophon, Sardis, Tralles, Hypaepae and Mopsus. The revolt of these cities made the king change his conduct. In hopes of keeping the Greek cities steady in his interest, and supporting his faction on the coasts of Asia, he restored all the Greeks to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring that even the slaves should have their share of this universal freedom. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king out of a selfish policy bestowed upon them. Sylla, having routed the several armies of Mithridates, and reduced all the Lesser Asia, revenged on the Asiatics the death of so many thousand Romans, whom

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6 Diidor. ibid. p. 74. Thucyd. i. 1.  
7 Thucyd. i. vii.  
8 Xenoph. anab. i. 1.  
9 Diidor. i. vii. Plut. in Agesilaos.  
10 Herodot. i. xvii. c. 2. Arrian. i. iii.  
11 Liv. i. xxxv. c. 16.  
12 Arrian. in Mithridat.
a whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying such heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary. The city of Ephesus was treated with most severity, Sylla having suffered his soldiers to live there at discretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every soldier sixteen denarii a day. The whole sum, which the revolted cities of Asia paid Sylla, amounted to twenty thousand talents, that is, 3875001. sterlings, for the raising of which they were forced to sell not only their moveables, but even great part of their lands b. This was the most fatal blow Asia ever received, nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their ancient splendor, notwithstanding the favour shewn them by many of the emperors, under whose protection they enjoyed, for many years at least, some shew of liberty.

b Idem ibid, & Plut. in Sylla.

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