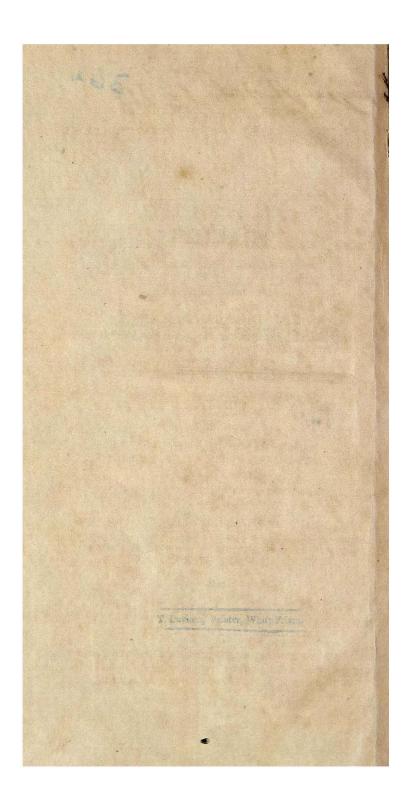
TRAVELS

OF

Anacharsis the Younger.

VOL. IV.



TRAVELS

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY
BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA:

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE REEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES;

AND AN EIGHTH, IN QUARTO; CONTAINING MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THE FOURTH EDITION:

Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by the last improved Paris Edition prepared for the Press by the Author; with Memoirs of the Life of J. J. Barthelemy,

Written by Himself, and embellished with his Portrait.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; W. J. AND J. RICHARDSON; T. PAYNE; CADELL AND DAVIES; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; G. ROBINSON; J. AND A. ARCH; AND J. MAWMAN,

1806.

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAP, XXXIX.

Continuation of the Journey into Elis. Xenophon at Scillus.

XENOPHON had a house at Scillus, a small town, situate at the distance of twenty stadia from Olympia. The troubles of Peloponnesus had once obliged him to leave it, and go to reside at Corinth, where I found him on my arrival in Greece. As soon as these were appeased, he returned to Scillus; and, on the day after the games, we visited him, in company with his son Diodorus, who had never quitted us during the whole time that these had lasted.

^a Xenoph, Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. * About three quarters of a league.

Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. p. 53. † See chap. ix. of this work.

[‡] See note I. at the end of the volume.

The estate which Xenophon possessed here was considerable. He was indebted for one part of it to the generosity of the Lacedæmonians, and he had purchased the other to consecrate it to Diana, and thus acquit himself of a vow which he had made when returning from Persia. He reserved the tenth of its produce for the maintenance of a temple which he had erected to that goddess, and to defray the expense of a sumptuous sacrifice which he offered every year.

Near the temple is an orchard which produces various kinds of fruits. The Selinus, a small river abounding with fish, slowly rolls its limpid waters at the foot of a fertile hill, and through meadows in which the animals destined to sacrifice feed undisturbed. Within and without the sacred grounds are woods distributed in the plain or on the mountains, which are the retreats of roebucks, stags, and wild boars.

In this delightful abode it was that Xenophon composed the greater part of his works, and for a number of years dedicated his days to the study of philosophy, to benevolence, agriculture, the chace, and those exercises which best maintain the freedom of the mind, and preserve the health of the body. His first care was to

c Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 388. Dinarch. ap. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 52.

^d Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. ^e Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 388.

f Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605. Diogen. Laërt, lib. 2. § 52.

procure us the amusements suitable to our age, and those which the country offers to a more advanced period of life. He showed us his horses, his plantations, and gave us a particular account of his household œconomy; and we every where perceived that he had reduced to practice the precepts which he has given in his different works. At other times he advised us to take the diversion of the chace, which he never ceased to recommend to young persons as the exercise most proper to accustom them early to the labours and fatigues of war.

His son Diodorus frequently took us with him to catch quails, partridges, and various other kinds of birds. We carried with us some of the same species, which we took out of their cages, and fastened in the middle of the nets; and these, by their chirping and cries, drew others of the same kind into the snare, where they lost either their lives or their liberty.

These sports were introductory to others more animated and more varied. Diodorus had several packs of hounds; one trained to course the hare, another the stag, and a third, of the Laconian or Locrian breed, the wild boar.

⁸ Xenoph. p. 818 et 932.

h Id. de Venat. p. 974 et 995.

i Id. Memorab. p. 784.
Aristoph. in Av. v. 1083. Schol. ibid.

He knew all the dogs of every pack by their names,* and was acquainted with all their defects and good qualities.^m No person better understood the tactics of this species of war, and he conversed on the subject with as much accuracy as his father had written on it.^m The following is the manner in which the hare was hunted.

Nets of different sizes were placed in the paths and secret passages by which the animal might escape. We went out to the chace in a light dress, and with staves in our hands. The huntsman let loose one of the dogs, and, as soon as he perceived he had taken the scent, uncoupled the others, and presently the hare was roused. At this moment every object concurred to interest and animate us; the cries of the dogs, the shouts of the huntsmen who encouraged them, and the windings and stratagems of the hare, which we saw in the twinkling of an eye cross the plains and hills, leap ditches, plunge down precipices, appear and disappear several times, and at length end his career by entangling himself in one of the nets placed to intercept him. A man stationed near the spot seized

^{*} The ancients were careful to give to their dogs names that were very short, and commonly consisting of two syllables; such as Thymos, Lochos, Phylax, Phonex, Bremon, Psyche, Hebe, &c. (Xenoph. de Venat. p. 987.)

^m Id. ibid. p. 987 et 996.

<sup>Id. ibid. p. 972.
Id. ibid. p. 983.
Id. ibid. p. 983.
Id. ibid. p. 985.</sup>

the prey, and held it up to the huntsmen, to whom he signified their victory both by his shouts and gestures. In the joy of triumph we began a new chace, and hunted several more hares in the course of the day, some of which escaped from us by swimming over the river Selinus.

We soon after engaged in a more noisy and dangerous kind of hunting, in consequence of the sacrifice which Xenophon offered every year to Diana." During the days which he dedicated to this festivity, all his neighbours, both men and women, repaired to Scillus. He welcomed his friends to his own house:x the treasures of the temple were expended to provide for the remainder of the guests. They were furnished with wine, bread, meal, fruits, and a part of the victims which were sacrificed. Among them likewise were distributed the wild boars, stags, and deer, which had been killed in hunting, by the youth of the neighbouring country, who, to participate in the various sports, had resorted to Scillus some days before the festival.2

For the chace of the wild boar we were pro-

^{&#}x27; Xenoph. de Venat. p. 984.

³ Id. ibid. p. 986. ⁴ Id. ibid. p. 980.

[&]quot;Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.

^{*} Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. \$ 52.

y Xenoph, Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.

² Id. ibid.

vided with spears, javelins, and large nets. The footsteps of the animal newly imprinted on the ground, the mark of his teeth in the bark of trees, and other indications of the way that he had taken, led us to a very thick wood. We let loose a Laconian dog, who followed the traces, and quickly arrived at the haunt of the beast. He immediately opened and informed us of the discovery. We directly drew him off, prepared nets to prevent the escape of the animal, and took our several posts. The boar endeavoured to break out on my side. Far from entangling himself in the net, he stopped, and for some minutes sustained the charge of the whole pack, who made the forest resound with their barking, and that of the hunters, who assailed him with darts and stones. A moment after he rushed furiously on Moschion, who waited for him with firmness, intending to pierce him; but the spear, glancing on the shoulder of the animal, slipped from the hands of the hunter, who immediately had recourse to the expedient of falling flat with his face to the ground.b

I imagined his destruction inevitable. The boar, finding no hold by which he could raise him, trampled him under his feet; when he perceived Diodorus, who had hastened to the

b Id. ibid. p. 993.

^a Xenoph. de Venat. p. 992.

assistance of his companion. Immediately he flew on this new enemy, who, more dexterous or more fortunate than Moschion, pierced him with his spear at the joint of the shoulder. We now witnessed a terrifying proof of the ferocity of this animal. The boar, though mortally wounded, continued to rush furiously on Diodorus, and staked himself on the spear quite up to the guard. Several of our dogs were killed or wounded in this action, though fewer than in a second, in which the boar maintained the fight during a whole day. Other wild boars, chased by dogs, fell into pitfalls, which had been covered with branches of trees.

On the following days stags were killed in the same manner; we wounded several others, and our dogs fatigued them so much, that they would stand still within reach of our javelins, and throw themselves sometimes into ponds, and sometimes into the sea.

During the whole time that these huntings lasted, the conversation turned only on the sports in which we were engaged. Our companions described to us the various methods employed in different countries to take lions, panthers, bears, and other wild beasts. We were told, that in some places they mix poison

c Xenoph. de Venat. p. 993.

^d Id. ibid, p. 994. ^e Id. ibid, p. 990.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 991.

with the stagnant waters and the food with which these creatures assuage their hunger and thirst. In others, horsemen form a circle during the night round the animal, and attack him at the break of day, often at the risk of their lives. In others they dig a wide and deep pit, leaving only a kind of pillar of earth, to which they fasten a she goat, and place around it an impenetrable palisade. The wild beast, brought thither by the cries of the goat, leaps the barrier, and falls into the pit, from which he is unable to extricate himself.

We were likewise told, that, in a certain district of Thrace, a kind of partnership has been formed between the hawks and the inhabitants; that the former pursue the small birds, and force them to alight on the ground, where the latter kill them with sticks, or take them in nets, and divide their prey with their associates. I doubt the fact; but, were it true, it would not be the first time that irreconcileable enemies have united to deprive the weak of all resource.

As nothing is so pleasing and instructive as to study a great man in his retirement, we passed a part of the day in conversing with Xenophon, in listening to him, questioning him, and following him through every circumstance of his

⁸ Xenoph. de Venat. p. 995.

^h Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 36. t. i. p. 940.

Ælian de Nat. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 42.

private life. We found in his conversation all that mildness and elegance which are so conspicuous in his writings. He possessed at once the courage necessary for affairs of moment, and that requisite for things of lesser consequence, a much rarer and more necessary virtue. The former was in him an unshaken fortitude, and the latter an invincible patience.

Some years before, his resolution had been put to the severest proof that a heart of sensibility can experience. Gryllus, his eldest son, who served in the Athenian cavalry, was killed at the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death was brought to Xenophon, at the moment when, surrounded by his friends and domestics, he was offering a sacrifice. In the midst of the ceremonies, a confused and plaintive murmur was heard, and the courier approached. The Thebans, said he, have conquered, and Gryllus -... A flood of tears prevented him from proceeding. How! is he dead? said the unhappy father, taking off the crown from his brow. After having performed the bravest actions, and lamented by the whole army, replied the messenger. At these words Xenophon resumed his crown, and finished the sacrifice. I one day said something to him concerning his loss; but he only

i Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 54. Ælian Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 3. Stob. Serm. 7. p. 90.

answered, Alas! I knew that he was mortal; and immediately turned the discourse to some other subject.

On another occasion we inquired of him in what manner he first became acquainted with Socrates. I was very young, said he, when I met him in an extremely narrow street in Athens. He stopped the way with his staff, and asked me where the necessaries of life were to be bought. I replied, In the market. But where, continued he, may any one learn to become a good and virtuous man? Perceiving that I hesitated, he added, Follow me, and I will teach you. I followed him, and from that time never left him till I went into the army of Cyrus. On my return, I learned that the Athenians had put to death the most just of men. I had no other consolation but to transmit in my writings the proofs of his innocence to the nations of Greece, and perhaps also to posterity. At present I know no greater pleasure than recalling him to mind, and meditating on his virtues.

As we all sincerely participated in the lively and affectionate esteem which he expressed for this great man, Xenophon afterwards entered into a circumstantial account of the system of life which Socrates had embraced, and explained

^k Val. Max. lib, 5. cap. 10. extern, N° 2.

Diogen, Laërt, lib. 2. § 48.

to us his doctrine, such as it really was, confined entirely to morals, without any mixture of foreign dogmas, or those physical and metaphysical discussions which Plato has attributed to his master. How was it possible that I should blame Plato, for whom I shall ever preserve the most profound veneration? Yet must it be confessed, that the real opinions of Socrates are less to be studied in his Dialogues than in those of Xenophon. In the course of this work I shall endeavour to explain what these opinions were; in which attempt I shall be principally indebted to the information I derived from the conversations which I had with Xenophon at Scillus.

With a mind adorned with every kind of useful knowledge, and long habituated to reflection, Xenophon wrote to render men better by his instructions; and so great was his love of truth, that he did not treat the subject of politics till he had carefully investigated the nature of governments; nor publish his histories, but to relate facts, to the greater part of which he had been an eye-witness. He did not write on the military art, until after he had both served and commanded with the greatest dis-

^m Aristot. Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 848.

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 847. Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 508.

Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 35. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 11

et 697. Moshem in Cudw. t. i. p. 241 et 600.

tinction; nor on morals, till he had practised the lessons which he gave to others.

I have known few philosophers so virtuous, and few men so amiable. With what a graceful and obliging affability did he reply to all our questions! Diodorus, Philotas, and myself, were one day walking on the banks of the Selinus, and had entered into a warm dispute on the tyranny of the passions. They affirmed, that love itself could not enslave us against our will. I maintained the contrary. Xenophon happened to join the company, and we immediately agreed to refer the question to his decision; upon which he related to us the following history.

After the battle which the great Cyrus gained against the Assyrians, the plunder was divided, and a superb tent, and a female captive who surpassed all the others in beauty, reserved for that prince. This captive was Panthea, queen of Susiana. Abradates her husband was then in Bactriana, whither he had gone to bring up some succours to the Assyrian army.

Cyrus refused to see the princess, and confided her to the custody of a young Median nobleman, named Araspes, who had been educated with him. Araspes described the humiliating situation in which she was found. She

^{*} Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 114.

was, said he, in her tent, sitting on the ground, surrounded by her women, in the habit of a slave, with her head bowed down and covered with a veil. We desired her to arise, and all her attendants rose at the same time. One of us wishing to comfort her, said to her: We know that your husband deserved your love by his illustrious qualities; but Cyrus, to whom you are destined, is the most accomplished prince of the East. P At these words she tore her veil, and her sighs and tears, and the cries of her women, painted in the liveliest manner her distressful situation. We had then more time to observe her, and are enabled to assure you, that Asia has never produced a beauty comparable to her: but of this you will soon judge for yourself.

No, said Cyrus, what you have said is an additional motive why I should avoid her. Were I to see her once, I should wish to see her again, and should be in danger of forgetting in her company the care of my fame and future conquests. And can you really believe, then, replied the young Median, that beauty exercises her power with so imperious a sway as to force us to neglect our duty in despite of ourselves? Why then does she not equally tyrannize over

P Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 115.

all hearts? Why do we not sigh with incestuous passion for those from whom we have received, or to whom we have given, life? Because the laws prohibit us. The laws therefore are more powerful than love. But were they to command us to be insensible to hunger and thirst, to cold and heat, they would be universally disobeyed. Nature therefore is more powerful than the laws. Love in like manner would be irresistible, if it were invincible in its own nature. We therefore do not love but when our will permits us to love.

If we could impose on ourselves this yoke at will, replied Cyrus, at will might we throw it off; yet have I seen lovers shed tears of anguish at the loss of their liberty, and vainly shake those chains which they were unable either to break or to support.

These, replied the young man, were feeble and inert minds, who imputed to the power of love what was merely the consequence of their own weakness: generous souls are ever able to subject their passions to their duty.

Araspes, Araspes, said Cyrus, as he left him, beware how you see the princess too often.

To the beauties of her person, Panthea added qualities which her sorrows and misfortunes

^q Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 116. r Id. ibid. p. 117.

rendered still more attractive. Araspes thought it his duty to bestow on her every care and attention, and, without perceiving it, continually increased his assiduity towards her; and as she could not but return his kindness by civilities, he mistook the emotions of gratitude for the wish to please, and soon conceived for her so ungovernable a passion, that he could no longer refrain from declaring it. She rejected without hesitation the offer of his love, but did not inform Cyrus of what had passed, till Araspes threatened to proceed to the last extremities.

Cyrus then caused it to be signified to his favourite, that he expected he should only employ the methods of persuasion, and by no means have recourse to violence. This intimation was a thunder-stroke to Araspes. He blushed at the remembrance of his conduct; and the fear of having displeased his master so overwhelmed him with shame and grief, that Cyrus, moved at his situation, sent for him into his presence. Why, said he, when he came, do you fear to approach me? I know too well that Love at once makes his sport of the wisdom of men and the power of the gods! I myself am only able by avoiding him

Xenop Instit. Cyr. lib, 5. p. 117.
 Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 153.

to escape his tyranny. I cannot impute to you a crime of which I was the first occasion; for I, by confiding the princess to your care, exposed you to a danger superior to your strength. Oh, my sovereign! exclaimed the young Median, while my enemies triumph over me, while my friends in consternation advise me to shun your anger, while all around me conspire to complete my ruin, do you offer me consolation? Oh, Cyrus! you are ever the same! ever are you indulgent to frailties in which you do not participate; and you pardon because you know mankind.

Let us profit, replied Cyrus, by circumstances. I wish to be informed of the forces and projects of my enemies. Depart for their camp; your pretended flight will have all the appearance of a real disgrace, and you will obtain their confidence. I fly to obey your commands, replied Araspes; too happy to expiate my fault by so trivial a service. But can you, answered Cyrus, bear to absent yourself from the beautiful Panthea? I confess, replied the young Median, that my heart is rent with the most cruel pangs; and I now feel but too forcibly that we have within us two souls, by one of which we are incessantly urged to evil, while the other inclines us to good. I have

[&]quot; Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 154.

hitherto been under the dominion of the former; but, strengthened by your assistance, the latter shall soon triumph over its rival. Araspes, having then received secret instructions, departed for the army of the Assyrians.

Xenophon, having proceeded thus far in his narrative, remained silent; at which we appeared surprised. Is not the question then determined? said he. Yes, replied Philotas; but the story is not concluded, and that now engages our attention much more than the question. Xenophon smiled, and continued as follows:

Panthea having been informed of the departure of Araspes, caused it to be signified to Cyrus, that she was able to procure him a more faithful, and perhaps a more useful friend than that young favourite. The friend she meant was her husband Abradates, whom she proposed to detach from the service of the king of Assyria, with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. Cyrus having consented to this negotiation, Abradates arrived in the camp of the Persians, at the head of two thousand horse; and Cyrus immediately caused him to be conducted to the apartment of Panthea,y who, with that confusion of ideas and feelings which a felicity long denied and almost un-

X Xenoph. Inst. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 154. Y Id. ibid. p. 155.

expected occasions, related to him the history of her captivity, her sufferings, the attempts of Araspes, and the generosity of Cyrus. Her husband, impatient to express his gratitude, ran instantly to the Persian prince, and grasping his hand, exclaimed: Oh, Cyrus! for all that I owe you, I can only offer my friendship, my services, and my soldiers; but be well assured, whatever may be your designs, Abradates will always exert his utmost powers to support and render them successful. Cyrus received his offers with transport, and they immediately concerted together the dispositions of the approaching battle."

The troops of the Assyrians, Lydians, and a great part of Asia, were within sight of the army of Cyrus. Abradates was appointed to attack the formidable phalanx of the Egyptians. This dangerous post had been assigned him by lot: he had himself solicited it, but the other generals had at first refused to resign it to him.2

When he was about to mount his chariot, Panthea came to present him with the arms which she had privately caused to be made, and on which were seen the jewels that had sometimes adorned her person. "You have then sacrificed to me even your ornaments," said the prince affectionately. "Alas!" replied

² Xenoph. Inst. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 155. ^a Id. ibid. p. 168.

she, "I wish no other ornament than that you should this day appear to all beholders as you constantly appear to myself." Thus saying, she put on him his resplendent armour, while her eyes involuntarily shed tears, which she anxiously endeavoured to conceal.

When she saw him take the reins, she requested the attendants to step aside, and thus addressed him: "If ever a wife loved her husband a thousand times more than herself, that wife is doubtless yours; and my conduct has surely been a better proof of this than my words: yet, notwithstanding the ardour of my passion, I would rather choose, and I swear by the tender bonds by which we are united, I would rather choose to expire with you in the bosom of honour, than to live with a husband in whose shame I must participate. Remember the obligations we have to Cyrus; remember that I was a captive, and that he gave me liberty; that I was exposed to insult, and that he defended me; remember, in fine, that I have deprived him of his friend; and that, relying on my word, he has believed that he shall find one more brave, and doubtless more faithful, in my beloved Abradates."c

The prince, delighted to hear these words, stretched forth his hand on the head of his

c Id. ibid.

^b Xenoph. Inst. lib. 6. p. 169.

spouse, and lifting his eyes to heaven: "Gracious gods!" cried he, "grant that I may this day show myself worthy to be the friend of Cyrus; and, above all, worthy to be the husband of Panthea." Immediately he leaped into his chariot, to which the anxious princess had only time to apply her trembling lips. In the agitation of her mind she followed him with hasty steps along the plain, till Abradates perceiving her, conjured her to retire, and arm herself with fortitude. Her eunuchs and women then approached, and drew her from the eyes of the multitude, which, constantly fixed on her, had been unable to pay the least attention either to the beauty of Abradates, or the magnificence of his dress and armour.d

The battle was fought near the river Pactolus: the army of Cræsus was entirely defeated, the vast empire of the Lydians overturned in a moment, and that of the Persians raised on its ruins.

The day following the victory, Cyrus, astonished that he had not seen Abradates, inquired after him with solicitude, and was informed by one of his officers, that, deserted almost in the beginning of the action by a part of his troops, he had nevertheless attacked the Egyptian phalanx with the greatest bravery; that

^d Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 170. ^e Id. lib. 7. p. 184.

he had been killed, after having seen all his friends fall around him; and that Panthea had caused his body to be conveyed to the banks of the Pactolus, and was then employed in erecting a tomb.

Cyrus, overwhelmed with grief, immediately gave orders that the necessary preparatives for the funeral of the hero should be conveyed to that place. He himself preceded them; and, when he arrived, beheld the unhappy Panthea seated on the ground, near the bloody corpse of her husband. His eyes overflowed with tears. He attempted to grasp that hand which had fought for him: it remained in his own, for the keen blade had separated it from the body in the bloody conflict. The emotion of Cyrus redoubled, and Panthea uttered the most piercing cries. She again took the hand; and, after having covered it with a flood of tears and ardent kisses, endeavoured to rejoin it to the arm; and at length pronounced these words, which expired on her lips: "Alas! Cyrus, you see the calamity by which I am persecuted, and why do you wish to be a witness of it? For me, for you, has he sacrificed his life. Wretch that I was, I wished he should merit your esteem; and, too obedient to my counsel, he regarded less his own safety than your service! He has died gloriously, I know; but he is dead, and I yet live."

Cyrus, after having wept a while in silence, replied: "Victory has crowned his life, and his end could not be more glorious. Accept these ornaments for his tomb, and these victims to be immolated in his honour. I will take care to erect a monument which shall eternise his memory. You also I never will forsake nor forget; I too much respect your virtues and your misfortunes: only point out to me the place to which you would wish to be conducted."

Panthea, having assured him that of this he should soon be informed, and Cyrus having taken his leave, commanded her eunuchs to retire, and sent for a woman who had attended her from her earliest years, to whom she thus spoke: "Be careful, as soon as my eyes are closed, to cover my body, and that of my husband, with the same veil." The slave endeavoured to divert her from her purpose by her entreaties; but as these only served to increase her too just affliction, she sat down, shedding a flood of tears, by the side of her mistress. Panthea then seized a poniard, and plunged it into her breast; and, when expiring, still possessed sufficient strength to lay her head on the bosom of her husband,f

Her women and all her attendants instantly uttered the most piercing cries of grief and

f Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 185.

despair. Three of her eunuchs sacrificed themselves to the manes of their mistress; and Cyrus, who had hastened to the place at the first report of this new calamity, again wept over the amiable pair, and caused a tomb to be erected for them, in which their ashes were mingled.⁵

* Xenoph, Inst. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 186.

CHAP. XL.

Tour of Messenia.*

WE left Scillus, and, after having crossed Triphylia, arrived on the banks of the Neda, which separates Elis from Messenia.^h

As we intended to make the tour of the coasts of the latter province, we embarked at the port of Cyparissia, and the next day landed at Pylos, situate under Mount Ægaleus. Vessels find a safe retreat in the road near this town, which is almost entirely shut in by the island Sphacteria. The environs present on all sides only woods, steep rocks, a barren soil, and an undisturbed solitude. The Lacedæmonians, who were in possession of Messenia during the Peloponnesian war, had entirely neglected Pylos; but the Athenians, having made themselves masters of it, immediately fortified it, and repulsed both by sea and land the troops of

^{*} See Map of Messenia.

h Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 327. Strab. lib. 8. p. 348. i Strab. lib. 8. p. 350.

Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 113. Thucyd. ibid. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 372.

Lacedæmon and her allies. From that time this city, like all other places in which men have massacred each other, has excited the curiosity of travellers.^m

We were shown a statue of Victory, which had been left here by the Athenians; and were told that the sage Nestor had reigned over this country. It was in vain for us to reply that, according to Homer, he reigned in Triphylia; we received no other answer, than by being shown the house of that prince, his portrait, and the cave in which he kept his oxen. We were still disposed to dispute the fact, but were soon convinced that both nations and individuals, proud of their claims to an illustrious origin, are seldom pleased that their title to it should be doubted.

Continuing to sail along the coast to the bottom of the Gulf of Messenia, we saw at Mothone* a well, the water of which, naturally impregnated with particles of pitch, has the smell and colour of balm of Cyzicus.⁴ At Colonides we remarked that the inhabitants, though they are strangers both to the manners and language of the Athenians, pretend to be descended from that people, because there is at Athens

n Id. ibid.

^m Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 372.

[°] Strab lib. 8. p. 350.

P Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 371.

^{*} Now Modon.

⁴ Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 35. p. 369.

an eminence named Colonos. Further on we saw a temple of Apollo, to which sick persons come to seek, and believe that they find, a cure. Still further we came to the city of Corone, lately built by order of Epaminondas; and, lastly, we arrived at the mouth of the river Pamisus, which we entered with all our sails set, as ships may proceed up it to the distance of ten stadia.

This river is the largest in Peloponnesus, though from its sourse to the sea the distance is not more than one hundred stadia. *† Its course is short, but is completed with distinction. It suggests the idea of a short and happy life. Its pure waters seem only to flow for the benefit of every object which it approaches. The best sea-fish delight in it in all seasons, and at the return of spring hasten to ascend it to deposit their spawn.

While we were landing we saw several vessels, which appeared to us of a foreign construction, and which made way both with sails and oars. They came up close to the shore, and immediately a number of persons, of all ages and

Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 34. p. 365. Id. ibid.

^{*} Now Coron.

t Pausan, ibid.

[&]quot; Id. ibid. p. 363.

^{*} Strab. lib. 8. p. 361.

[†] About three leagues and three quarters.

y Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 34. p. 363.

both sexes, leaped from them on the beach, threw themselves prostrate on the ground, and exclaimed: "A thousand and a thousand times blessed be the day that restores thee to our wishes; we water thee with our tears, O beloved land, which our fathers possessed! O sacred earth, which containest the ashes of our fathers!" I approached an aged man named Xenocles, who appeared to be the leader of this multitude, and asked him who they were, and whence they came. You behold, replied he, the descendants of those Messenians whom the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians formerly forced to abandon their country, and who, under the conduct of Comon, one of my ancestors, sought refuge in the extremities of Libya, in a country which has no intercourse with the nations of Greece. We were long ignorant that Epaminondas had, about fifteen years since, restored liberty to Messenia, and recalled its ancient inhabitants. When we were informed of it, our return was prevented by insurmountable obstacles; and afterwards the death of Epaminondas occasioned a still longer delay, but we are at length arrived to enjoy the fruit of his beneficence.

We joined these strangers, and, after having traversed fertile plains, arrived at Messene,

² Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342.

situate, like Corinth, at the foot of a mountain, and become, like that city, one of the bulwarks of Peloponnesus.a

The walls of Messene, built of hewn stone, crowned with battlements, and flanked with towers,* are stronger and higher than those of Byzantium, Rhodes, and the other cities of Greece. They include within their circuit Mount Ithome. Within the city we found a large public square or forum, ornamented with public temples, statues, and a plentiful fountain. On every side we beheld beautiful edifices; and from the first essays we may easily judge of the magnificence which Messene will hereafter display.c

The new inhabitants were received with the utmost respect, and the most eager welcome. The next day they went to offer up their homage in the temple of Jupiter, which stands on the summit of the mountain, and in the middle of a citadel, that unites the strength supplied by art to the advantages of situation.

The mountain is one of the loftiest, and the temple one of the most ancient in the Pelopon-

^{*} Polyb. lib. 7. p. 505. Strab. lib. 8. p. 361. * Thirty-eight of these towers were still remaining fifty years ago; the Abbé Fourmont saw them (Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hist. p. 355.)

^b Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 356.

Mem. de l'Acad des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hist. p. 355.

^d Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 33. p. 361. e Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 301.

nesus. There it was, as tradition relates, that the nymphs nurtured Jupiter in his infancy. The statue of that god, the work of Ageladas, is deposited in the house of a priest, who only exercises the functions of the priesthood, to which he is appointed by way of election, during the space of one year. The priest at the time we were there was named Celenus; he had passed the greater part of his life in Sicily.

On that same day was celebrated an annual festival in honour of Jupiter, which assembles the people of the neighbouring provinces. The sides of the mountain were covered with men and women, who eagerly pressed to gain the summit. We were present at the sacred ceremonies, and at the musical competitions, which had been instituted for a long series of ages.h The joy of the Messenians of Libya presented an affecting scene, the interest of which was increased by an unforeseen circumstance. Celenus, the priest of Jupiter, recognised a brother in the chief of these unfortunate families, and was unable to tear himself from his arms. They reminded each other of the fatal events by which they had formerly been separated. passed some days with these two respectable

Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 287.

^{*} Id. ibid. cap. 33. p. 361.

h Id. ibid.

old men, and with many of their kindred and friends.

From the house of Celenus the eye may embrace the whole of Messenia, and follow its boundaries through a space of about eight hundred stadia. ** The prospect extends to the north over Arcadia and Elis; to the west, and to the south, over the sea and the neighbouring islands; and to the east over a chain of mountains named Taygetus, which divide this country from that of Laconia. The eye at length reposes with pleasure on the rich landscape contained within these limits. We were shown, at different distances, fertile fields, intersected by hills and rivers, and covered with herds and young horses, which constitute the riches of the inhabitants.k From the small number of cultivators which we had seen, I could not refrain from remarking, that the population of the country did not appear to me to bear a due proportion to its fertility. That, replied Xenocles, is only to be imputed to those barbarians, the odious sight of whom is prevented by you mountains. During four entire centuries the Lacedæmonians have ravaged Messenia, and left to the inhabitants, for their

i Strab. lib. 8. p. 362.

^{*} Thirty leagues and a quarter.

* Euripid. et Tyr. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. Plat. in Alcib.

1. t. ii. p. 122. Pausan. lib. 4. p. 288 et 316. Plut. in Ages.

t i. p. 015.

whole inheritance, war or exile, death or slavery.

We had but a slight knowledge of these calamitous revolutions; which Xenocles perceiving, sighed, and addressed himself to his son: Take your lyre, said he, and sing those three elegies in which my father, immediately after our arrival in Libya, endeavoured to assuage his grief, and to eternise the memory of the woes our country has sustained.* The youth obeyed, and began as follows:

FIRST ELEGY.

On the first War of Messenia.+

Banished from Greece, strangers to other nations, we are only connected with mankind by the fruitless pity which they sometimes deign to bestow on our sufferings. Who could have foretold, that, after having so long wandered on the waves, we should arrive at the port of the Evesperidæ, in a country which both nature and peace enrich with their most valuable gifts! Here the earth, largely repaying the vows of the labourer, renders back the seed confided to it, increased an hundred fold. Tranquil rivers wind through the plain, near a valley

^{*} See note II. at the end of the volume.

[†] This war began in the year before Christ 743, and ended in the year 723 before the same æra.

Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342.

Merodot. lib. 4. cap. 198.

shaded by laurels, myrtles, pomegranates, and trees of every species." Beyond are burning sands, barbarous nations, and ferocious animals; yet we have nothing to fear, for among them are no Lacedæmonians.

The inhabitants of these delightful retreats, pitying our misfortunes, have generously offered us an asylum. Yet does grief consume our days, and our feeble pleasures only render our regret more poignant. Alas! how many times, while wandering in these enchanting groves, have I felt my tears involuntarily flow at the remembrance of Messenia! Oh happy banks of Pamisus, august temples, sacred groves, plains so often moistened by the blood of our ancestors, no, never can I forget you! But to you, ferocious Spartans, I swear, in the name of the fifty thousand Messenians whom you have dispersed over the earth, a hatred as implacable as your cruelty. I swear it in the name of their descendants, and in the name of all hearts of sensibility of every age and country.

Unfortunate survivors of so many heroes more unfortunate still, may my strains, imitating those of Tyrtæus and Archilochus, incessantly sound in your ears, like the trumpet which gives the signal to the warrior, like the thunder which disturbs the sleep of the coward! May they, night

ⁿ Scylac. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 46. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 249.

and day presenting to your eyes the menacing shades of your fathers, leave in your hearts a wound which shall bleed day and night!

The Messenians enjoyed, during many ages, an undisturbed tranquillity, in a country which sufficed to supply all their wants, and beneath the mild influences of a sky perpetually serene. They were free; they had wise laws, simple manners, kings who loved their people,° and joyous festivals to relax them after their labours.

On a sudden the alliance by which they were united to the Lacedæmonians received a mortal wound. The two states mutually accused and irritated each other, and menaces succeeded to complaints. Ambition, till then enchained by the laws of Lycurgus, seized the moment to break his fetters, and, loudly calling injustice and violence to his aid, entered with these infernal attendants into the hearts of the Spartans, and incited them to swear on their altars never to lay down their arms till they had enslaved Messenia. The destructive passion, elated with his first success, led them to one of the summits of Mount Taygetus, and, showing them the rich countries that lay before their eyes, introduced them into a fortified place which be-

[°] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 286.

^p Justin, lib, 3, cap. 4.

longed to their ancient allies, and served as a barrier to the two states.

At this news, our ancestors, unable to endure the insult, ran tumultuously to the palace of our kings. The sage Euphaes was then on the throne. He listened to the advice of the chiefs of the nation: he excited the ardent courage of the Messenians; but restrained it till it might be exerted with success. Whole years were scarcely sufficient to inure to military discipline a people too long accustomed to the inert enjoyments of peace. In that interval he learned to see, without a murmur, his harvests destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, and to make himself several incursions into Laconia.

Twice the moment of vengeance appeared to approach, twice the force of the two states met in the martial conflict; but victory dared not yet to decide the important dispute, and her indecision accelerated the ruin of the Messenians. Their army was enfeebled, from day to day, by the loss of a great number of warriors, by the garrisons which it was necessary to maintain in different places, by the desertion of the slaves, and by an epidemical disease, which hegan its dire ravages in a country formerly so flourishing.

Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 292. Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 295.

In this extremity, it was resolved to entrench the army on Mount Ithome, and to consult the oracle of Delphi. The priests, and not the gods, dictated this barbarous answer. "The safety of Messenia depends on the sacrifice of a young maiden, drawn by lot, and chosen from the family on the throne."t

Ancient prejudices blinded all eyes to the atrocious crime of obeying such an injunction. The fatal urn was brought, and the lot condemned to death the daughter of Lyciscus; but her father, suddenly withdrawing her from every eye, fled with her to Lacedæmon. The warrior Aristodemus instantly advanced, and, in despite of the tender affection which, from the bottom of his heart, pleaded against the deed, offered his own to the altar. She had been affianced to one of the favourites of the king, who ran to protect her. He maintained that her father could not dispose of his spouse without his consent. He went further: to save her he ventured even to cast an imputation on her innocence, and declared that the rites of Hymen had already been consummated. The horror of such a falsehood, the dread of dishonour, paternal love, the safety of his country, the sanctity of his word, a multitude of contrary emotions, agitated with such violence the mind

⁵ Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 301. ¹ Id. ibid. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 27. p. 223.

of Aristodemus, that the stroke of despair was necessary to afford him relief. He seized a poniard, and his daughter fell dead at his feet, in view of the shuddering spectators. The priest, unsated with blood, exclaimed: "It was not piety but madness which guided the hand of the murderer: the gods require another victim." And another they shall have, replied the furious multitude, who immediately fell upon the wretched lover, whom they would have torn to pieces on the spot, had not the king appeased the tumult, and persuaded them that the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled.

Sparta still inflexibly adhered to her projects of conquests, which were manifested by her frequent hostilities and bloody conflicts. In one of these battles king Euphaes was slain, and Aristodemus succeeded to the throne. In another, in which several of the states of Peloponnesus had joined the Messenians, our enemies were defeated, and three hundred of them, taken with arms in their hands, were sacrificed on the altars of Jupiter.

The siege of Ithome was nevertheless continued with vigour. Aristodemus prolonged

^e Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 10. p. 304. ^x Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 305.

Myron. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 294. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 157. Plut. in Rom. t. i. p. 33. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 105.

the duration of it by his vigilance, his courage, the confidence his troops had in him, and the cruel recollection of the fate of his daughter. At length fallacious oracles and terrifying prodigies shook his constancy; he despaired of the safety of Messenia, and, having stabbed himself with his own sword, yielded his last breath on the tomb of his daughter.²

The besieged, however, still defended themselves for many months; but, after having lost their generals and their bravest soldiers, seeing themselves without provisions and without resource, they abandoned the place. Some retired to the neighbouring states, others remained in their ancient dwellings, where the conquerors forced them to swear to observe the following articles:

"You shall undertake nothing against our authority; you shall cultivate your lands, but you shall bring us every year the half of the produce; at the death of our kings and principal magistrates you shall, both men and women, wear mourning." Such were the humiliating conditions which, after a war of twenty years, Lacedæmon imposed upon our ancestors.

² Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 311. ^a Tyrt. ap. Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1.

SECOND ELEGY

On the Second War of Messenia.*

Again I resume the lyre, again I prepare to sing the glory of a hero who long fought on the ruins of his country. Ah! were it permitted to mortals to change the decrees of destiny, his victorious arms would doubtless have repaired the injuries of a destructive war, and a peace no less hateful.

What a peace! Just heaven! during the space of nine-and-thirty years it never ceased to render more heavy the iron yoke which bowed down the heads of the vanquished, and to oppress them with every species of servitude. Subjected to toilsome labours, sinking beneath the weight of the tributes which they carried to Lacedæmon, forced to mourn at the funerals of their tyrants, and not daring to utter their impotent hatred, they bequeathed to their children only woes to suffer and insults to revenge. So extreme were their miseries, the aged had no longer any evil to fear in death, nor the youthful any good to hope in life.

^{*} This war began in the year before Christ 684, and ended in the year 668 before the same æra.

^b Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 315. ^c Tyrt. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 300.

Their eyes, continually fixed on the ground, were at length raised towards Aristomenes, who was descended from our ancient kings, and who, from his earliest youth, had exhibited in his countenance, his words, and actions, the distinguishing characteristics of an elevated mind. This prince, surrounded by ardent and impatient youths, whose courage he by turns inflamed or tempered, consulted the dispositions of the neighbouring states; and, having learned that those of Argos and Arcadia were ready to furnish him with succours, called the Messenians to arms, and from that moment the cries of oppression and the shouts of liberty were heard on all sides.

The first battle was fought in a village of Messenia. The victory was long doubtful; but Aristomenes so distinguished himself by his valour, that the army, with one voice, proclaimed him king on the field of battle; yet he refused an honour to which he had a legitimate title by his birth, and a still more just claim by his virtues.

Placed at the head of the troops, he wished to intimidate the Spartans by a signal act of courage, and to deposit in the heart of their capital the pledge of the hatred he had vowed against them from his infancy. He repaired

^d Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 314.

to Lacedæmon, and, having secretly entered the temple of Minerva, affixed to the wall a buckler, on which these words were inscribed: "Aristomenes has consecrated this to the goddess from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians."

Sparta, conformably to the answer of the oracle of Delphi, then demanded of the Athenians a general to conduct the war. Athens, who feared to contribute to the aggrandisement of her rival, sent Tyrtæus, an obscure poet, who compensated the disadvantages of his person and the meanness of his fortune by a sublime talent which the Athenians regarded as a species of phrenzy.

Tyrtæus, called to the assistance of a warlike nation, which soon received him into the number of her citizens, helt his soul expanded, and, following where his high destiny called, gave the reins to his genius. His ardent songs inspired the contempt of dangers and of death: he recited them to the troops; and the Lacedæmonians eagerly flew to the combat.

The common colours of language would be inadequate to express the sanguinary rage which

e Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 316.

Lycurg, in Leocrat. p. 162. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 5. Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 316. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. viii. p. 144, t. xiii. p. 284.

⁶ Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 43. ^h Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 629.

Plut. in Agid. t. i, p. 305. Horat. Art. Poet. v. 402.

animated the two nations; new ones must be created. As when the celestial fires fall, and inflame the gulfs of Ætna; the volcano trembles and roars; it raises its boiling waves, pours them forth from its opening sides, and hurls them towards heaven, which it dares to brave: the thunderbolt, fraught with new fires, which it has drawn from the clouds, again descends. swifter than the lightning, strikes with reiterated shocks the summit of the mountain, and, after having shivered its smoking rocks, imposes silence on the abyss, and leaves it covered with ashes and eternal ruins: thus did Aristomenes at the head of the Messenian youth fall on the chosen bands of Sparta, commanded by their king Anaxander. His warriors, imitating the example of their chief, rushed on the foe like furious lions; but their utmost efforts were ineffectual against that immoveable phalanx, clad in iron, inflamed with the most violent passions, and whence the weapons of death incessantly flew on the assailants. Covered with blood and wounds, they despaired of victory; when Aristomenes, redoubling his exertions, and inspiring his soldiers with his own heroism, forced the brave Anaxander and his formidable. warriors to give ground, rapidly pierced the battalions of the enemy, put to flight some by

² Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 318.

his courage and others by his presence, dispersed, pursued, and left them in their camp, buried in unutterable consternation.

The women of Messenia celebrated this victory by songs which we still repeat; their husbands raised their heads, and on their menacing brow the god of war imprinted terror and courage.

But now, O goddess of memory! it should be thine to declare how days so glorious were suddenly overshadowed by a thick and gloomy veil; but thy pictures almost always only present imperfect strokes and faded colours, as the waves of the ocean only cast on shore the shattered fragments of the vessel which was once the sovereign of the seas. Listen, young Messenians, to a testimony more faithful and more respectable. I saw him; I heard his voice; in the midst of that stormy night which dispersed the fleet I led into Libya. Cast on an unknown shore, I exclaimed: "O earth! thou shalt at least serve us for a grave, and our bones shall not be trampled on by the Lacedemonians."

At that fatal name I saw torrents of flame and smoke pour forth from a funeral monument near me, while from the bottom of the tomb a shade arose, and uttered these words: What mortal comes to trouble the repose of Aristo-

¹ Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 319.

menes, and to rekindle in his ashes the hatred he still retains against a barbarous nation? It is a Messenian, replied I with transport. It is Comon, the heir of a family formerly united with yours. O Aristomenes! O greatest of mortals! is it then permitted me to see and hear thee? Oh, ye gods! I bless you, for the first time in my life, for having brought to Rhodes the unfortunate Comon. My son, replied the hero, thou shalt bless them during thy whole life. They have declared to me thy arrival, and have granted me permission to reveal to thee the secrets of their high wisdom. The time approaches, when, like the luminary of day, whose glorious beams have dispersed the envious clouds, Messenia shall again appear on the stage of the world with new-born lustre. Heaven, by its secret counsels, shall guide the hero who is to effect this prodigy, and thou shalt be informed of the time when my prediction is to be accomplished." Farewell! thou mayst depart. Thy companions await thee in Libya; bear to them the momentous tidings.

Stop, generous shade, cried I instantly; deign to add to hopes so delicious, consolation still more delightful. Our fathers were unfortunate; it is therefore easy to believe them culpable. Time has destroyed the proofs of their innocence, and the surrounding nations propagate

^m Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342 et 343; cap. 32. p. 359.

suspicions derogatory to our honour. Aristomenes betrayed, wandering from city to city, and dying alone in the island of Rhodes, seems to fix a stigma on the Messenians.

Go, depart, fly, my son! replied the hero, raising his voice; declare to all the earth that the valour of your fathers was more ardent than the fires of the dog-star, and their virtues more pure than the light of heaven; and if men are yet susceptible of pity, force tears from them by the recital of our misfortunes. Listen to me.

Sparta could not support the shame of her defeat. She said to her warriors, Avenge me; to her slaves, Protect me; to a slave still more vile than her own, and whose head was adorned with a diadem, Betray thy allies. This was Aristocrates, who reigned over the powerful nation of the Arcadians, and had joined his troops to ours.

The two armies advanced as two thunder-clouds approach to dispute the empire of the air. At the sight of their conquerors our enemies vainly sought in their hearts some remains of courage, while in their disturbed eyes was depicted the sordid desire of life. Tyrtæus then presented himself to the soldiers with the confidence and authority of a man on whom the safety of his country depends. He successively

^a Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 319. ^o Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 321.

displayed before them p the most lively and animated images; that of a hero who has repulsed his enemy; the intermingled shouts of joy and love which honour his triumph, the respect which his presence ever after inspires, and the honourable repose which his old age enjoys. He painted the still more affecting scene of a young warrior expiring in the field of glory; the august ceremonies which accompany his funeral; the sorrow and regret of a whole people at the sight of his bier; the old men, women, and children, who weep and roll in the dust around his tomb, and the immortal honours which await his memory. Such objects and such sentiments, pourtrayed with an impetuous and rapid eloquence, inflame the warriors with an ardour till then unknown; they fasten to their arms their names and those of their families, too happy in the hope that they may obtain a distinguished sepulchre, and that posterity may one day say, repeating their names, Lo! these are those who died for their country !9

While a poet wrought this wondrous change in the army of the Lacedæmonians, a king completed his perfidy in ours. Unfavourable rumours, propagated by his orders, had prepared the terrified troops for his base treachery.

P Tyrt. ap. Stob. Serm. 49. p. 354.

Justin. lib. 3. cap. 5.
 Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 322.

The signal of battle was for them the signal of flight. Aristocrates led the way in the path of infamy, which he traced out through our battalions, at the moment when they were attacked by the phalanx of the enemy. In an instant the flower of our warriors were extended in the dust, and Messenia was enslaved. Yet no; liberty reserved to herself an asylum on Mount Eira. Thither retired the soldiers who escaped from the carnage, and the citizens who disdained to bend their necks to servitude. The conquerors formed a blockade at the foot of the mountain, and with terror saw us above their heads, as the pale mariners behold in the horizon the dark clouds which bear the tempest in their bosom.

Then began the siege, less renowned, but no less worthy to be celebrated, than that of Ilium. Then were repeated or realised the exploits of the ancient heroes. The rigours of the seasons, eleven times renewed, were insufficient to weary the ferocious obstinacy of the besiegers, or the unshaken constancy of the besieged.

Three hundred Messenians of distinguished valour accompanied me in my expeditions. We easily passed the barrier at the foot of the mountain, and carried terror to the environs of

^s Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 323.

Rhian, ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 323.
Id. ibid. cap. 18. p. 323.

Sparta. One day, when loaded with plunder, we were surrounded by the army of the enemy. We rushed on the foe, though we despaired to conquer. A deadly wound deprived me of all sense; and, oh! that it had never been again restored! In what a situation did I return to life! Had black Tartarus suddenly presented itself to my sight, it had inspired me with less horror. I found myself extended on a heap of the dead and the dying, in a dark and deep pit, where only were heard the piercing cries and stifled groans of my companions and my friends who had been cast into it before me. I called them by name; we wept together, and my presence seemed to lighten their miseries. He whom most I loved, oh cruel remembrance! oh too fatal image! oh, my son! thou wilt not hear me without shuddering, was one of thy ancestors. I knew, by some words that escaped him, that my fall had hastened the moment of his death. I pressed him in my arms, I covered him with my burning tears, and, unable to arrest the fluttering breath of life hovering on his lips, my soul, steeled by its sufferings, ceased to seek relief in complaints and tears. My friends successively expired around me. By the varied accent of their failing voices I was able to presage the moments of life which yet remained to each, and saw without emotion that instant arrive which concluded their sufferings. At

length I heard the final groan of the last among them, and the silence of the grave reigned through the cavern.

Thrice had the sun begun his course since I had been no longer numbered among the living.x Motionless, extended on the bed of woe, and wrapped in my mantle, I impatiently expected that death who seemed to estimate his favours at so high a price, when my ear was struck by a slight noise. It was occasioned by a wild animal,* which had entered the cave by a secret passage. I took hold of him; he endeavoured to escape, and drew me after him. I know not by what motive I was actuated, for life then appeared to me the most cruel of sufferings. Some divinity, doubtless, directed my motions, and inspired me with strength. I long crept through a number of oblique windings, till I saw the light, when I restored liberty to my guide; and, continuing to open myself a passage, left the region of darkness. I found the Messenians weeping my loss. At sight of me the mountain shook with shouts of joy, and, at the recital of my sufferings, with cries of indignation.

Vengeance closely followed, vengeance cruel as the wrath of the gods. The countries of Messenia and Laconia were day and night ravaged

^{*} Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 18. p. 324.

by enemies thirsting for the blood of each other. The Spartans overspread the plain as the flame devours the harvest, and we as the torrent which both destroys the harvest and extinguishes the flame. We had received secret information that the Corinthians were approaching to the succour of the Lacedæmonians; we entered their camp under cover of the darkness, and they passed from the embraces of sleep to those of death. Vain exploits! deceitful hopes! From the immense receptacle of years and ages, Time produces, at the precise moment, those great revolutions which have been conceived in the bosom of eternity, and sometimes announced by That of Delphi had declared that our oracles. ruin should closely follow certain presages which were now fulfilled; and the augur Theoclus warned me that we now approached the catastrophe of all these bloody scenes.2

A shepherd, formerly the slave of Emperamus, the general of the Lacedæmonians, daily led his flock to the banks of the Neda, which flows at the foot of Mount Eira. He loved a Messenian woman whose house was situate on the brow of the mountain, and who received him there as often as her husband was on duty in our camp. One night, during a dreadful storm, the Messenian unexpectedly came home, and told his

^y Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 325. ^a Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 327. ^a Id. ibid. p. 329.

wife, who was astonished at his return, that the tempest and the darkness sufficiently defended the place from an assault, that the posts were all abandoned, and that I was confined to my bed by a wound. The shepherd, who had not been seen by the Messenian, heard all that he had said, and immediately carried the information to the Lacedæmonian general.

Exhausted with fatigue and pain, I had resigned myself to the arms of sleep, when the Genius of Messenia appeared to me, in a long mourning habit, and with his head covered with a veil. Thou sleepest, Aristomenes, said he, thou sleepest! and already the menacing scaling ladders are affixed around the walls, and already the youthful Spartans have mounted to the assault. The Genius of Lacedæmon prevails over me. I have seen him from the summit of the ramparts calling forward his ferocious warriors, and, stretching forth his hand, assign them their several posts.

I started from my sleep, with my soul oppressed, my mind distracted, and in the same astonishment and dismay as if the thunderbolt had fallen at my feet. I threw myself on my arms. My son arrived. Where, exclaimed I, are the Lacedæmonians?—In the forum, at the foot of the ramparts. Astonished at their daring attempt, they hesitate to advance. It is enough, replied I; follow me. We found, as

we went, Theoclus the augur, the valiant Manticlus, his son, and other chiefs, who joined us. Run, said I, spread the alarm. Tell the Messenians that at the break of day they shall see their general in the midst of the enemy.

The fatal moment arrived.^b The streets, the houses, the temples, deluged with blood, resounded with dreadful cries. The Messenians, unable to hear my voice, listened only to their rage. The women animated them to the combat, and, arming themselves with a thousand instruments of death, rushed upon the enemy, and, expiring, fell on the bodies of their husbands and their children.

During three days these disastrous scenes were renewed at every step, and every instant, by the livid glare of lightning, and to the continued roar of thunder. The Lacedæmonians, superior in number, acquired fresh strength in the intervals of repose; while the Messenians, fighting without cessation, had at once to contend with hunger, thirst, sleep, and the sword of the enemy.

At the end of the third day, the augur Theoclus thus addressed me: "Alas! what can so much valour or labours so severe avail! Messenia is no more: the gods have decreed her destruction. Save yourself, Aristomenes; save

our unfortunate friends; it is for me to be buried beneath the ruins of my country."

He said, and throwing himself into the thickest of the conflict, died free, and crowned with glory.

It had been easy for me to have imitated him; but, submitting to the will of the gods, I believed my life might be necessary to that multitude of innocent victims which the sword might else destroy. I collected the women and children, and surrounded them with soldiers. The enemy, persuaded that we intended a retreat, opened their ranks, and suffered us to proceed unmolested to the country of the Arcadians.* I shall not speak either of the design I had formed to march to Lacedæmon and surprise that city while her soldiers were enriching themselves with our spoils on Mount Eira, nor of the perfidy of king Aristocrates, who betrayed our secret to the Lacedæmonians. The treacherous prince was condemned by the assembly of his nation; his subjects themselves became his executioners; he expired beneath a shower of darts; his body was carried into a foreign land, and a column erected which perpetuated his infamy and his punishment.d

By this unexpected stroke, Fortune clearly

^{*} The taking of Eira happened in the first year of the 28th Olympiad, in the year 668 before Christ. (Pausan. lib. 4. cap 23. p. 336. Corsin. Fast, Attic. t. iii. p. 46. Freret Defens. de la Chron. p. 174.)

d Polyb. lib. 4. p. 301. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 335.

manifested her determination. I resolved no longer to attempt to render her propitious, but singly to brave her utmost anger. I gave the tribute of my tears to those Messenians who had been unable to join me, but I refused to be prevailed on by those of my followers who wished to accompany me into distant climes. The Arcadians offered to share with them their lands, but I rejected all their offers. My faithful companions, confounded with a numerous nation, would have lost their name, and the memory of the wrongs they had endured. I gave to them my son, another Aristomenes, for their leader; and under his conduct they sailed to Sicily, where they are reserved till the day of vengeance. **

After this cruel separation, having no longer any thing to fear, and every where seeking to raise up enemies to the Lacedamonians, I travelled through various countries. At length I determined to go into Asia, and engage the powerful nations of the Medes and Lydiansh to interest themselves in our behalf. Death, which surprised me at Rhodes, prevented projects that, by bringing these nations into Peloponnesus, might perhaps have changed the face of that part of Greece.

Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 335.

f Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 333.

^{*} Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 335 et 336.

^{*} See note III. at the end of the volume.

^a Pausan, ibid. cap. 24, p. 338.

Having ended these words, the hero was silent, and descended into the darkness of the tomb. On the next day I departed for Libya.

THIRD ELEGY

On the Third War of Messenia.*

How painful is the remembrance of my country! It is bitter as wormwood; it is keen as the edge of the sword; it renders me alike insensible to pleasure and to danger. I this morning arose before the luminary of day, and wandered with uncertain steps over the plain; but the beauties of Aurora no longer afforded me delight. Two enormous lions rushed from the neighbouring forest. I insulted them not, and they left me unhurt. Cruel Spartans! how had our ancestors injured you? After the taking of Eira you inflicted on them punishments, and, in the intoxication of success, cruelly insulted their sufferings.

Aristomenes has promised us a happier futurity: but what can extinguish in our hearts the sense of the evils of which we have heard the recital, and of which we have been the victims? Happy wert thou, Aristomenes, that thou wert not a witness to them. Thou didst not behold the inhabitants of Messenia dragged to death

^{*} This war began in the year 464, and ended in the year 454, before Christ.

like the vilest criminals, and sold like herds of cattle; i nor didst thou see their descendants, during two centuries, transmit to their children only the opprobrium of their birth. Rest undisturbed in the tomb, shade of the greatest of mortals, and leave to me to declare to posterity the recent cruelties of the Lacedæmonians.

Their magistrates, the enemies of the gods as well as of mankind, put to death the suppliants whom they forced from the temple of Neptune.1 The offended deity struck with his trident the coasts of Laconia. The earth trembled, the abyss opened, and, one of the summits of Mount Taygetus rushing into the valley, Sparta was destroyed from the foundations, only five houses remaining standing, and more than twenty thousand men being buried beneath her ruins." Behold the signal of our deliverance! instantly exclaimed a multitude of slaves. Madly they ran toward Lacedæmon, without order, and without a leader. At the sight of a body of Spartans, who had been collected by their king Archidamus, they stopped, like the winds unchained by Æolus at the appearance of the god of the ocean. At the sight of the Athenians, and the different nations which had hastened to

ⁱ Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. ^k Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 338.

¹ Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 509. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ταίναρ.

^m Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 50.
t. iii, p. 41. Piin, lib. 2. cap. 79. t. 1. p. 111.

the succour of Lacedæmon," the greater part of them were scattered, as the thick vapours of a marsh are dissipated before the first rays of the sun. But it was not in vain that the Messenians took arms; a long slavery had not debased the generous blood that flows in their veins; and as the captive eagle, after having broken his bonds, soars to the skies, they retired to Mount Ithome, and vigorously repulsed the reiterated attacks of the Lacedæmonians, who were soon reduced to call to their assistance the troops of their allies.

Then appeared those Athenians so experienced in the conduct of sieges. They were commanded by Cimon; Cimon whom victory has so often crowned with immortal laurels. The renown of his glory, and the valour of his troops, inspired the besieged with fear, and the Lacedæmonians themselves with apprehension. They dared to suspect this great man of perfidy, and prevailed on him, under frivolous pretexts, to return with his army into Attica. He departed, and the goddess of Discord, who hovered over his camp, foreseeing the calamities ready to fall upon Greece, shook her terrific

<sup>Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101 et 128.
Pausan. lib. 3. p. 233; et lib. 4. p. 339. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Ælian. lib. 6. cap. 7. Polyæn. lib. i. cap. 41.
Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. 339.</sup>

P Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101 et 128. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 6. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489.

snakes, and, amid howlings of joy, uttered these dreadful words.

Oh Sparta, Sparta! who only knowest to reward services with injuries, behold those warriors who return to their country, with shame on their brow, and indignation in their hearts; they are the same who, lately associated with thine, defeated the Persians at Platæa. They flew to thy defence, and thou hast covered them with infamy. Thou shalt henceforth only see them as thy enemies. Athens, wounded in her honour, shall arm against thee the nations, whom thou shalt likewise excite against her. Thy power and hers shall incessantly renew the conflict, as impetuous winds contend with each other among the clouds. Wars shall bring forth wars, and peace shall only be a suspension of rage. I will march with the Eumenides at the head of the armies, and from our flaming torches we will shower on you plague, famine, violence, perfidy, and all the scourges of the wrath of heaven and of human passions. I will avenge me of thy ancient virtues, and delight in thy defeats as well as in thy victories. I will exalt, I will abase thy rival. I shall behold thee on thy knees, striking thy humbled forehead against the earth. Thou shalt solicit peace, and peace shall be denied thee. Thou shalt destroy

^q Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 102.

^{*} Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 41. Aristoph, in Pace, v. 637 et 664.
Schol, ibid.

the walls of thy rival; thou shalt trample her beneath thy feet, and you shall both fall together, like two tigers who, after having torn the entrails of each other, expire side by side. Then will I plunge thee so deep in the dust, that the traveller, unable to discern any traces of thee, shall be forced to stoop before he recognises thee.

Now mark the sign which shall prove to thee the truth of my words. Thou shalt take Ithome in the tenth year of the siege. Thou shalt wish to exterminate the Messenians; but the oracle of Delphi shall prevent thy sanguinary design. Thou shalt permit them to live, on condition that they enjoy life in another climate, and be loaded with chains if they dare to return to their native country. When this prediction shall be accomplished, remember what I have besides foretold, and tremble.

Thus spake the malevolent genius, who extends her powers from the heavens to the infernal shades. We soon after left Ithome. I was yet in my tenderest infancy, but the image of that precipitate flight is impressed on my memory in indelible characters. Still do I behold those scenes of horror and woe which then presented themselves to my view. A whole people, driven from their habitations, wandering whis

⁵ Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339. ¹ Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 103.

^u Polyb. Hist. lib. 4. p. 300.

ther chance might lead them, among nations terrified at their misfortunes, which they dared not to alleviate; warriors covered with wounds, carrying their aged parents on their shoulders; women, sitting on the ground, expiring with weakness, and clasping their wretched children in their arms; on this side tears and groans and the most violent expressions of despair, and on that a dumb woe and a profound silence. Were the most cruel of the Spartans to attempt to paint these scenes of misery, some remains of compassion would cause the pencil to drop from his hands.

After long and disastrous journeyings, we at length reached Naupactus, a city situate on the sea of Crissa, and belonging to the Athenians, who bestowed it upon us.* In gratitude for the favour, we more than once signalised our valour against the enemies of that generous people. I myself, during the Peloponnesian war, appeared with a body of troops on the coasts of Messenia. I ravaged the country, and extorted tears of rage from our barbarous persecutors. But the gods ever mingle a secret poison with their favours, and too frequently hope is only a snare which they spread for the unfortunate. We began to enjoy tranquillity, when the fleet of Lacedæmon triumphed over that of Athens,

^{*} Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 103. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 25, p. 339.

^y Id. lib. 4. cap. 41. Pausan. ibid. cap. 26. p. 342.

and came to insult us at Naupactus. We immediately hastened on board our ships, and on each side no other divinity was invoked but hatred. Never was victory drenched with more impure or more innocent blood. But what can the most intrepid valour effect against excessive superiority of numbers? We were conquered, and driven out of Greece as we had been from Peloponnesus. The greater part took refuge in Italy and in Sicily. Three thousand men confided their destiny to my guidance. I led them, through the midst of tempests and rocks, to these shores, which never shall cease to resound with my mournful songs.

Thus ended the third elegy: the youth laid down his lyre; and his father Xenocles added, that a short time after their arrival in Libya, a sedition having happened at Cyrene, the capital of that country, the Messenians took part with the exiles, and were almost all cut off in one battle. He afterwards inquired in what manner the revolution which had restored him to Messenia had been effected; to which question, Celenus replied as follows:

The Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas, had defeated the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra in Bæötia.* Completely to enfeeble

² Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 263.

a Diod. Sic. ibid.

^{*} The year 371 before Christ.

their power, and disable them from undertaking distant expeditions, that great man formed the project of placing near them an enemy who should have great injuries to revenge. He sent to the Messenians, wherever they were scattered, to invite them to return to the country of their fathers, and we readily obeyed the summons. I found him at the head of a formidable army, surrounded by architects, who traced the plan of a city at the foot of this mountain. A moment after, the general of the Argives approaching, presented to him a brazen urn, which, in consequence of a dream, he had dug out of the earth, where it was concealed under an ivy and a myrtle which interwove their slender branches. Epaminondas having opened it, found in it leaves of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which had anciently been written the rites of the worship of Ceres and Proserpine. He recognised the monument to which was attached the fate of Messenia, and which Aristomenes had buried in the least frequented part of Mount Ithome. This discovery, and the favourable answer of the augurs, impressed the stamp of religion on his enterprise, which was besides powerfully seconded by the neighbouring states, at all times jealous of Lacedæmon.

^b Pausan, lib. 4, cap. 26, p. 342. Plut, in Ages. t. i. p. 615. ^c Pausan, ibid, p. 343.

On the day of the consecration of the city, the troops being assembled, the Arcadians presented the victims; and the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians separately offered their homage to their tutelary divinities, and all conjointly called on the heroes of the country to come and take possession of their new habitation.d Among these names, so precious to the nation, that of Aristomenes excited universal plaudits. The first day was employed in sacrifices and prayers; and on the second the foundations of the walls, temples, and houses, were laid to the sound of flutes. The city in a little time was finished, and received the name of Messene.

The people of other nations, added Celenus, have long wandered far from their country, but none have suffered so long an exile; yet have we preserved, without alteration, the language and customs of our ancestors. I will even affirm, that our misfortunes have increased our sensibility. The Lacedæmonians had given some of our cities to strangers, who, on our return, implored our compassion. Perhaps they had just claims to obtain it; but even though they had not, how was it possible to refuse it to the unfortunate?

Alas! replied Xenocles, it was this mild and humane character which was formerly our ruin.

d Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 345. e Id ibid p. 346. f Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 338.

Our ancestors, neighbours to the Lacedæmonians and the Arcadians, only sunk beneath
the hatred of the former, because they had neglected the friendship of the latter: they were
doubtless ignorant that to ensure peace requires
as much activity as to extend conquests.

I put several questions to the Messenians concerning the state of arts and sciences among They replied they had not yet had time to cultivate them: on their present government; it had not yet taken any constant form: on that which subsisted during their wars with the Lacedæmonians; it was a mixture of royalty and oligarchy, but public affairs were discussed in the general assembly of the nation. I inquired concerning the origin of the last reigning family; and was answered that it was derived from Cresphontes, who came into Peloponnesus, with the other Heraclidæ, eighty years after the war of Troy. Messenia was allotted to him as his portion. He espoused Merope, the daughter of a king of Arcadia, and was assassinated, with almost all his children, by the chiefs of his court, because he too much loved his people.k History has considered it as a duty to eternise his memory as sacred, and to execrate that of his assassins.

^g Polyb. lib. 4. p. 300.

^h Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 338.

ⁱ Pausan. ibid. cap. 6. p. 294. ^k Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 286.

We left Messenia, and, after having crossed the Pamisus, visited the eastern coast of the province. Here, as in every other part of Greece, the traveller, at every step, meets with the genealogies of gods confounded with those of men. Not a city, river, fountain, wood, or mountain, but bears the name of a nymph, a hero, or some distinguished person, more celebrated at present than in the time in which he lived.

Among the numerous families which formerly possessed small domains in Messenia, that of Æsculapius holds a distinguished rank in the veneration of the people. In the city of Abia, we were shown his temple; at Gerenia, the tomb of Machaon his son; at Pheræ, the temple of Nicomachus and Gorgasus his grandsons, incessantly honoured by sacrifices, offerings, and a numerous concourse of sick persons labouring under every kind of disorder.

While we were listening to a long account of miraculous cures, one of these unfortunate wretches, ready to yield up his last breath, said to us: I had scarcely come into the world when my parents went to settle at the sources of the Pamisus, where it is pretended the waters of that river are extremely salutary for the diseases

¹ Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 30. p. 353.

^m Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 284. ^a Id. ibid. p. 287, et cap. 30. p. 353.

of infants. I have passed my life in the neighbourhood of beneficent divinities who distribute health to mortals, sometimes in the temple of Apollo, near the city of Corone, and sometimes in the place where I now am, observing all the prescribed ceremonies, and sparing neither for victims nor offerings. I have always been assured that I was cured; but I am dying. He expired the next day.

Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 31, p. 356.

⁹ Id. ibid. cap. 34. p. 365.

CHAP. XLI.

Journey through Laconia.*

bound for the port of Scandea, in the small island of Cythera, situate at the extremity of Laconia. At this port the merchant ships which come from Egypt and Africa frequently touch. From it an ascent leads to the city of Cythera, in which the Lacedæmonians maintain a garrison. They besides annually send into the island a magistrate as governor.

We were young, and had already formed an intimacy with some passengers of our own age. The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the most pleasurable ideas. In that island has subsisted from time immemorial the most ancient and most venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus. There was it that she for the first time showed herself to mortals, and, accompanied by the Loves, took possession of that land, still embellished by the flowers which hastened to disclose themselves

^{*} See the map of Laconia.

⁹ Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 53. Scyl. Caryand. ap. Georg. Mix.
t. i. p. 17.

^{qq} Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269.

Hesiod. Theog. v. 198.

at her presence. From that time have been known there the charms of the amorous interview and the tender smile. Ah! doubtless, in that fortunate region, hearts only seek to unite; and the inhabitants pass their days in plenty and in pleasure.

The captain, who heard us with the greatest surprise, said to us coldly: They eat figs and toasted cheese, they have also wine and honey; but they obtain nothing from the earth without the sweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky soil." Besides, they are so fond of money, that they are very little acquainted with the tender smile. I have seen their old temple, formerly built by the Phænicians, in honour of Venus Urania. Her statue is not very suitable to inspire love, as she appears in complete armour. I have been told, as well as you, that the goddess when she arose out of the sea landed on this island; but I was likewise told that she soon fled from it into Cyprus.

From these last words we concluded that the Phænicians, having traversed the seas, landed at the port of Scandea; that they brought thither

⁵ Hesiod. Theog. v. 205.

^{&#}x27;Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Thes. Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2830.

Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 97. Whel. book i. p. 47.

^{*} Heracl. ibid.

Herodot. lib. i. cap. 105.

² Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269.

Hesiod. Theog. v. 193.

the worship of Venus, which soon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated those absurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her rising out of the sea, and her arrival at Cythera.

Instead of proceeding with our captain to this island, we requested him to leave us at Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is sufficiently large to contain a great number of ships. It is situate near a cape of the same name, on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. These sacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, stands in the middle of a consecrated grove, which serves as an asylum to criminals. The statue of the god is at the entrance; and at the bottom opens an immense cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks.

It is affirmed that it was at first the haunt of an enormous serpent, which Hercules slew, and which has been confounded with the dog of Pluto, because its bite was mortal. This idea was associated with one already entertained, that the cavern led to the domains of the gloomy king, by subterranean passages, of which it

b Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 19.

Steph. in Taiv. Schol. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. v. 102.

^d Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 133. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275. Hecat. Miles ap. Pausan. ibid.

was impossible for us, when we visited it, to perceive the avenues.

You behold, said the priest, one of the mouths of the infernal shades. Several similar ones are found in different places, as at the city of Hermione, in Argolis; at Heraclea, in Pontus; at Aornus, in Thesprotia; and at Cumæ, near Naples. But, notwithstanding the pretensions of the inhabitants of these places, we maintain, that it was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light, and that Orpheus returned with his wife.

These traditions ought, however, less to engage your attention than a practice of which I am now about to speak. This cavern is in possession of a privilege which many other places enjoy. Hither our diviners come to call up the peaceful shades of the dead, or to banish to

⁸ Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275.

h Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 79. Schol. ibid. Eustath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 286 et 287. Mela, lib. 2. cap. 3.

Strab. lib. 8. p. 373.

^k Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 375. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 261. Plin. lib. 27. cap. 2. p. 419.

Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 30. p. 769. Hesych. in Θεοι Μολοτ.

m Symn. Chii. Orb. Descript. v. 248. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i

ⁿ Euripid. in Herc. Fur. v. 23. Strab. lib. 8. p. 363. Pausan, lib. 3. p. 275. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 131. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 368.

Orph. Argon. v. 41. Virg. Georg. lib. 4. v. 467,

P Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 252.

the remotest part of the infernal domains the spectres that disquiet the living.

These wonderful effects are produced by sacred ceremonies. Sacrifices and libations must first be made, and prayers and mysterious forms of invocation repeated; the night must then be passed in the temple, and the shade of the deceased person, it is affirmed, never fails to appear in a dream.^q

Expiatory ceremonies are especially performed here to appease those souls whom sword or poison has separated from their bodies. Thus was it that Callondas formerly repaired hither, by the command of the Pythia, to appease the incensed shade of the poet Archilochus, whom he had deprived of life." I shall relate a still more recent fact: Pausanias, who commanded the Grecian army at Platæa, by a fatal mistake, plunged his poniard into the bosom of Cleonica, whom he tenderly loved. The recollection of what he had done incessantly tormented him, and he continually saw her in his dreams, addressing him every night in these dreadful words: Punishment awaits thee. He repaired to Heraclea, in Pontus, and the soothsayers conducted him to the cave where they call up the spirits of the dead, when that of Cleonica

Plut. ibid. p. 555; et in Cim. t. i. p. 482.

^q Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 109.

^r Plut. de Serà Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ²P. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 5. p. 228. Suid. in Αςχιλ.

appeared to him, and told him that he should find at Lacedæmon the end of his sufferings. He immediately went thither, and, on his arrival, being judged guilty of crimes against the state, he took refuge in a small house, where all means of subsistence being denied him, he perished of hunger. A report was afterwards spread that his shade had been heard to groan in the sacred places; in consequence of which diviners were sent for from Thessaly, who appeared his ghost with the ceremonies customary on such occasions. I relate these prodigies, added the priest; I do not warrant the truth of them. Perhaps, as it is impossible to inspire too much horror for homicide, it has been wisely suggested that the disquietude of mind which is the consequence of guilt is occasioned by the cries of the ghosts who pursue the guilty.

I know not, replied Philotas, how far the multitude ought to be entrusted with the truth, but they ought at least to be guarded against the excess of error. The Thessalians in the last century might have been convinced of this by melancholy experience. Their army was in sight of that of the Phocians, who, during a light night, detached to the attack of the enemy's camp six hundred men, covered with plaster. However gross this stratagem, the

^t Plut. de Serà Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Id. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 1128. Bayle, Rep. aux Quest. t. i. p. 345.

Thessalians, accustomed from their infancy to stories of apparitions and phantoms, imagined these soldiers to be celestial genii, who had come to the assistance of the Phocians; they therefore made but a feeble resistance, and suffered themselves to be slaughtered like victims."

A similar instance of superstition and credulity, replied the priest, formerly produced the same effect in our army when in Messenia. The troops believed that Castor and Pollux had honoured with their presence the festival they celebrated to those deities. Two young and beautiful Messenians appeared at the head of the camp, mounted on superb horses, with their lances in the rest, and clad in a white tunic, a purple mantle, and a pointed cap with a star on the top; in the habit and ornaments, in short, in which those two heroes, the objects of our worship, are represented. They entered, and falling on the soldiers prostrate at their feet, made a dreadful slaughter of them, and retired unmolested.* The gods, irritated at this perfidy, soon after manifested their anger against the Messenians.

Is it possible, cried I, that you Lacedæmonians should mention the word perfidy; you who have been guilty of such flagrant injustice, and who are polluted with the blackest crimes

[&]quot;Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 27. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 801. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 18.

* Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 344.

of ambition! I had conceived a high idea of your laws; but your wars in Messenia have fixed an indelible stain on your nation. Have you, answered he, received an impartial account of them and their origin? If you have, it is the first time that the vanquished have done justice to their conquerors. Listen to me a moment.

When the descendants of Hercules returned into Peloponnesus, Cresphontes obtained by surprise the throne of Messenia. He was assassinated some time after, and his children, taking refuge at Lacedæmon, gave up to us the rights they inherited from their father. Though the validity of this cession was confirmed by the oracle of Delphi, we long neglected to enforce our claims,

In the reign of Teleclus we sent, according to ancient usage, a number of maidens, under the conduct of that prince, to present offerings at the temple of Diana Limnatis, situate on the confines of Messenia and Laconia. They were violated by some young Messenians, and killed themselves rather than survive their shame; the king himself lost his life in endeavouring to defend them. The Messenians, to justify so vile a crime, had recourse to the most absurd pretences, and Lacedæmon overlooked the injury rather than break the peace; till new insults

y Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 3 et 4.

Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 20.
 Strab. lib. 8. p. 62. Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 288.

having exhausted her patience, b she claimed her rights, and commenced hostilities. This was less a war of ambition than vengeance, as you may yourself judge from the oath by which the young Spartans engaged never to return to their country till they had subjugated Messenia. and by the ardour with which even our old men promoted the enterprise.c

After the first war the laws of Greece authorised us to make slaves of the vanguished; but we were contented with imposing on them a tribute. Their frequent revolts obliged us, after having conquered them in a second war, to load them with chains, and, after a third, to banish them from our neighbourhood. Our conduct appeared so conformable to the laws of nations, that, in the treaties prior to the battle of Leuctra, neither the Greeks nor Persians ever proposed to us to restore liberty to Messenia.d You will remember that I am a minister of peace. If my country is forced to take arms, I lament the occasion; and if she is guilty of injustice, I condemn her conduct. When war commences, I shudder at the calamities about to fall on my fellow mortals, and I ask why they are cruel; but it is the secret of the gods, and it behoves us to adore and be silent.

^b Pausan. lib. 4. ćap. 4 et 5. ^c Id. ibid. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 4. ^d Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 24.

We left Tænarus, after having visited in its environs some quarries from which is dug a black stone as valuable as marble. We proceeded to Gythium, a city encircled with walls, and very strong; with an excellent harbour in which the fleets of Lacedæmon ride secure, and find every requisite for their maintenance and safety.f It is distant from the city thirty stadia.

The history of the Lacedæmonians has rendered the small district they inhabit so renowned, that we visited the smallest villages and the most inconsiderable towns, both in the environs of the gulf of Laconia, and in the inland country. We were every where shown temples, statues, columns, and other monuments, the greater part of rude workmanship, and some of venerable antiquity.h In the gymnasium of Asopus our attention was attracted by human bones of a prodigious size.i

Having returned to the banks of the Eurotas, we ascended it through a valley which it waters, and afterwards through the middle of a plain which extends to the city of Lacedæmon. On our right we had the river, and on our left Mount Taygetus, at the foot of which Nature

e Plin. lib. 36. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 748. Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 752. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367.

1 Xenoph. His. Græc. lib. 6. p. 609. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 29.

^g Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.

h Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 22. p. 265.

^{&#}x27; Id. ibid. p. 267.

Strab. lib. 8. p. 343. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 28.

has hollowed out in the rock a number of spacious caverns 1

At Bryseæ we found a temple of Bacchus, which men are forbidden to enter, women alone being permitted to sacrifice in it, and to perform certain ceremonies which it is not lawful for them to reveal." We had before seen a city of Laconia where women are excluded from the sacrifices offered to the god Mars." From Bryseæ we were shown, on the summit of a neighbouring mountain, a place named the Taletum, where, among other animals, horses were sacrificed to the sun.° Farther on, the inhabitants of a small town boasted that they were the first inventors of mills to grind corn.P

We soon after came in sight of the town of Amyclæ, situate on the right bank of the Eurotas, and distant from Lacedæmon about twenty stadia. There we saw on a column the statue of an athleta who expired the instant after he had received the crown bestowed on him as victor at the Olympic games. Around this statue were several tripods, consecrated by the Lacedæmonians to different divinities, in memory of the victories they had gained over the Athenians and Messenians.

Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 75.

^m Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261. Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 267.
 Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 261.
 Id. ibid. p. 260.
 Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.

Pausan. lib, 3. cap. 18. p. 254.

We were impatient to visit the temple of Apollo, one of the most famous in Greece. The statue of the god, in height about thirty cubits, ** is of rude workmanship, and somewhat in the taste of the Egyptians. It might be taken for a pillar of brass, to which had been fastened a head with a helmet, two hands, armed with a bow and lance, and two feet, the extremities of which only appear. The statue is of very high antiquity, and, in succeeding times, was placed, by an artist named Bathycles, on a base, in form of an altar, standing on a throne supported by the Hours and Graces. The same artist has ornamented the faces of the base and every part of the throne with basreliefs, which represent so many different subjects, and contain so great a number of figures, that it is impossible to describe them without being disgustingly tedious.

The temple is served by priestesses, the principal of whom takes the title of mother. After her death, her name, and the years during which she exercised her functions, are engraven on marble. We were shown the tablets which contain this series of epochas so precious to chronology, and we read in them the name of Laodamia, the daughter of Amyclas, who reigned in this country more than a thousand years

Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 257.
About 42½ French (or 45 English) feet.

since. Other inscriptions, deposited here to render them more venerable, contain treaties between states, several decrees of the Lace-dæmonians relative to religious ceremonies or military expeditions, and vows addressed to the god by sovereigns or individuals.

Not far from the temple of Apollo is another temple, of which the building is not more than seventeen feet long by ten and a half broad. Five rude stones of a black colour, and five feet thick, compose the four walls and the roof, on which are laid two other stones retiring inwards. The edifice stands on three steps, each of a single stone. Above the entrance are engraven, in very ancient characters, these words: EUROTA KINGS OF THE ICTEUCRATES TO ONGA. This prince lived about three centuries before the Trojan war. The name of Icteucrates signifies the ancient inhabitants of Laconia; and that of Onga, a divinity of Phænicia or Egypt, the same, as is supposed, with the Minerva of the Greeks.a

This edifice, which we more than once recol-

" Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 18 et 28.

Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 402.

² Hesych, in 'Ικλευκο.

Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 406.

^{*} Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395; t. xvi. Hist. p. 104. Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

^{*} Steph. in 'Ογκ. Hesych. in 'Ογγα. Æschyl. in Sept. contra Theb. v. 170. Schol. ibid. et in v. 493. Seld. de Diis Syr. Syntag. c. 2. cap. 4. Boch. Geog. Sacr. part. 2. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 745.

lected during our travels in Egypt, is prior, by many centuries, to the most ancient in Greece. After having admired its simplicity and solidity, we sunk into a kind of thoughtfulness, of which we afterwards endeavoured to investigate the cause. It is only, said Philotas, the attention of surprise. We reflect on the number of ages which have elapsed since the foundation of this temple, with the same astonishment with which, when arrived at the foot of a mountain, we have often measured with our eyes its stupendous height. The extent of duration produces the same effect as that of space. Yet, replied I, the one leaves in our minds an impression of melancholy that we never experience from the other. Is it not in reality because we are more intimately connected with duration than with extension? All these ancient ruins are the trophies of destroying time, and, in despite of ourselves, enforce our attention to the instability of all human things. Here, for example, an inscription has presented to us the name of a people of whom neither you nor I had any knowledge. They have disappeared, and this small temple is the only testimony that they have existed, the only fragment that has remained of their wreck.

Smiling meadows and lofty trees embellish the environs of Amyclæ. The fruits there are

Stat. Theb. lib. 9. v. 769. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 28.

excellent. It is a very agreeable place of abode, tolerably populous, and always full of strangers, attracted by the splendor of the festivals, or by motives of religion. We left it to proceed to Lacedæmon.

We took up our residence at the house of Damonax, to whom we had been recommended by Xenophon. Philotas found three letters which obliged him to depart the next day for Athens. I shall not speak of Lacedæmon till I have given a general idea of the province of Laconia.

It is bounded to the east and south by the sea, to the west and the north by high mountains, or by hills which descend from them, and form between them pleasant valleys. The mountains to the west are named Taygetus. From some of their summits, which rise above the clouds, the eye may survey the whole of Peloponnesus. Their sides, almost every where covered with woods, are the asylum of a great number of goats, bears, wild-boars, and stags.

Nature, which has here delighted to multiply these species of animals, seems also to have produced, purposely to destroy them, certain races of dogs, which are every where in great estima-

[°] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.

d Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

Stat. Theb. lib. 2. v. 35.

^f Schol. Pind. in Nem. 10. v. 114. ^g Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 201.

tion, and especially valuable for hunting the wild boar. They are swift, spirited, impetuous, and endowed with an exquisite scent. The females possess these qualities in the highest degree: and they also have another advantage; for they live, in general, nearly twelve years, while the males seldom live longer than ten. To produce a breed more ardent and courageous, they are coupled with Molossian dogs; and it is affirmed that they sometimes will of themselves couple with foxes, and that from this mixture is generated a race of weak and ugly dogs, with thin short hair, a pointed nose, and inferior in quality to the others.

Among the dogs of Laconia, the black spotted with white are remarkable for their beauty, the fawn-coloured for their sagacity, and the Castorides and Menelaides for bearing the names of Castor and Menelaus, who multiplied their

Meurs. Miscel. Lacon. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991.

k Callim. Hymn. in Dian. v. 94. Senec. Trag. in Hippol. v. 35. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 405.

Plat. in Parmen t. iii. p. 128. Aristot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 5. t. i. cap. 2. p. 1139. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 8.

^m Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9 cap. 1. t. i. p. 922.

Id. Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 878. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 63. t. i. p. 578.

Aristot. ibid. lib. 9 cap. 1. p. 922.

Poll. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 39. Poll. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 39.

Xenoph. de Venat. p. 976. Themist. Orat. 21. p. 248.

Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 199. Horat. Epod. od. 0, v. 5.

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breed. For the chace was anciently the amusement of heroes, after it had ceased to be to them a labour of necessity. They were at first forced to defend themselves against ferocious animals, which they soon compelled to take refuge in wild and uncultivated regions. When they were no longer in danger from these, rather than languish in indolence, they sought new enemies for the pleasure of combating them: the blood of the innocent dove was shed, and the chace became their favourite diversion, since it presented to them the image of war.

On the land side Laconia is of difficult access." It can only be entered over steep hills and through defiles easy to defend. At Lacedæmon the plain widens; and, advancing toward the south, we find some fertile districts; though, in certain places, on account of the inequality of the ground, cultivation requires great labour. Through the plain are scattered eminences, raised by the hand of man, and more frequently found in this country than in the neighbouring provinces. They were con-

* Xenoph. ibid. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 150. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 28; lib. 35. cap. 27.

^{*} Poll. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 38.

Lurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607.

y Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 31.

² Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii, p. 122. Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.

Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.

a Europ. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366.
b Athen, lib. 14, cap. 5. p. 625.

structed before the birth of the arts, and intended for the tombs of the principal chiefs of the nation.* According to all appearance similar heaps of earth, raised for the same purposes, were afterwards succeeded, in Egypt, by the pyramids. Thus is it that in every age and country the pride of man has constantly associated itself with his insignificance and annihilation.

As to the productions of Laconia, we shall observe that we find there a number of plants useful in medicine, as also a light kind of corn which affords little nourishment; that fig-trees there must be frequently watered, without fear of injuring the quality of the fruit; that figs ripen sooner there than in other countries; and, lastly, that on all the coasts of Laconia, as well as on those of Cythera, a considerable fishery is carried on, of that kind of shell-fish from which is obtained a much esteemed purple dye approaching to a rose colour.

Laconia is subject to earthquakes. It is

^{*} Similar hills are found in many countries inhabited by the ancient Germans.

Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 367.

⁴ Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 932. ⁵ Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 92.

Id. de Caus. Plant. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 77. Plin. lib. 16. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 20.

⁵ Aristot. ap. Steph. in Κύθης. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 21. P. 264. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 208.

h Plin. lib. 21. cap. 8.

Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294:

asserted that it formerly contained a hundred cities; but this was at a time when the most inconsiderable town assumed that title: all we can say at present is, that it is extremely populous.1 The Eurotas traverses it through its whole extent, and receives the streams, or rather the torrents, which descend from the neighbouring mountains. During a great part of the year this river cannot be forded; but it every where flows in a narrow channel, and, when at the highest, its merit is that it has more depth than breadth.

At certain seasons it is covered with swans of a dazzling whiteness," and it almost every where abounds with reeds in great request, because they are straight, tall, and of different colours.º Among other purposes for which they are employed, the Lacedæmonians make mats of them, and crown themselves with them at certain festivals. I remember, on this oceasion, that an Athenian, one day declaiming against the folly of men, said to me: A feeble reed is all that is necessary to subject, to instruct, and to sooth them. I requested him to explain himself, and he added: Of this frail material are

Sosib. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 674.

^R Strab. lib. 8. p. 362. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 419.

¹ Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 125.

^m Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369.

ⁿ Stat. Sylv. lib. 1. v. 143. Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 97. ° Euripid. in Hel. v. 355 et 500. Theogn. Sent. v. 783. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 470.

made arrows, pens to write with, and instruments of music.4 *

To the right of the Eurotas, at a small distance from the river, is the city of Lacedæmon, otherwise named Sparta. It is not surrounded with walls; its only defence is the valour of its inhabitants, and some eminences, on which soldiers may be posted in case of an attack. The highest of these eminences serves as a citadel: its summit is a spacious flat ground, on which are erected several sacred edifices.

Around this hill are ranged five towns, separated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each occupied by one of the five tribes of Spartans.† Such is the city of Lacedæmon, the quarters of which are not joined like those of Athens. Formerly the cities of Peloponnesus were only composed of villages, which were afterwards united by including them within one common inclosure. 2

The great square, or forum, in which several

^q Plin. lib. 16. cap. 36. t. ii. p. 27.

^{*} Flutes were commonly made of reeds.

Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369.

⁸ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Id. in Ages. p. 662. Nep. in Ages. cap. 6. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 37.

^t Justin. lib. 14. cap. **5**.

^u Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 613. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 38.

^{*} Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 250.

[†] See note IV. at the end of the volume.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 10.

² Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 40. ‡ See the plan of Lacedæmon, and note V. at the end of the volume.

and statues. It likewise contains the edifices in which the senate, the ephori, and other bodies of magistrates, assemble; as also a portico which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Platæa, at the expence of the vanquished, whose spoils they had shared. The roof is not supported by columns, but by gigantic statues, representing Persians habited in flowing robes. The other parts of the city likewise present us with a great number of monuments in honour of the gods and ancient heroes.

On the highest of the eminences stands a temple of Minerva, which has the privilege of asylum, as likewise has the grove which surrounds it, and a small house belonging to it, in which the king Pausanias was left to expire with hunger. This was resented by the goddess as a profanation, and the oracle commanded the Lacedemonians to erect to that prince two statues, which are still seen near the altar. The temple was built of brass, as formerly was that of Delphi. Within are engraven, in basrelief, the labours of Hercules, the achievements of the Tyndarides, and various groupes of figures. To the right of this edifice is a statue

² Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

Vitruv. lib. 1. cap. 1. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 134.

^a Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 253.

^{*} Thucyd. ibid. Liv. lib. 35. cap. 36. Suid. in Χαλχ.

Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 5. p. 810.
Id, lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 250.

of Jupiter, perhaps the most ancient statue of brass existing. It is of the same date with the re-establishment of the Olympic games, and is only an assemblage of pieces fitted to each other, and fastened together with nails.^h

The tombs of the two reigning families at Lacedæmon are in two different quarters. We every where meet with heroic monuments, which is the name given to edifices and groves consecrated to ancient heroes. There sacred rites perpetuate and honour the memory of Hercules, Tyndarus, Castor, Pollux, Menelaus, with a number of others more or less known to history, and more or less deserving to be known. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the answers of oracles, formerly obtained them these distinctions; but the most noble motives have united to raise a temple to Lycurgus.

Similar honours were afterwards more rarely bestowed. I have seen columns and statues erected for Spartans crowned at the Olympic games,^m but never for the conquerors of the enemies of their country. Statues may be decreed to wrestlers, but the public esteem should be the rewards of soldiers. Among all those

h Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 251.

Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 237; cap. 14. p. 240.

k Id. ibid. p. 230, &c.

Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Pausan. ibid. cap. 16. p. 248.

Plut in Lycurg t. i. p. 50.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.

Pausan. lib. 3 cap. 13. p. 240; cap. 14. p. 241; cap. 18.
p. 254.

who during the last century signalised their valour against the Persians or against the Athenians, four or five only received funeral honours in the city, and it is probable that this distinction was not granted them without difficulty. In fact, it was not till forty years after the death of Leonidas, that his bones were conveyed to Lacedæmon, and deposited in a tomb near the theatre; then also was it that the names of the three hundred Spartans who had fallen with that immortal man were, for the first time, inscribed on a column."

The greater part of the monuments I have mentioned inspire the more reverence, as they display no ostentation, and are almost all of a rude workmanship. In other cities I have frequently detected my admiration wholly directed to the artist, but at Lacedæmon it was entirely engrossed by the hero. An unshapen stone sufficed to recall him to my memory; but that remembrance was ever accompanied with a splendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houses at Lacedæmon are small, and without ornament. Halls and porticoes have been erected, to which the citizens resort to converse together or transact business. On the south side of the city is the hippodromus or course for foot and horse races; and, at a little

ⁿ Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240.
^o Id. ibid. cap. 14 et 15, Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 27.

distance from that, the platanistas, or place of exercise for youth, shaded by beautiful plane trees, and enclosed by the Eurotas on one side, a small river which falls into it on the other, and a canal by which they communicate on the third. It is entered by two bridges, on one of which is the statue of Hercules, or all subduing Force; and on the other that of Lycurgus, or all regulating Law.

From this slight sketch we may judge of the surprise which must be felt by an admirer of the arts, who, invited to Lacedæmon by the fame its inhabitants have acquired, should only find, instead of a magnificent city, some poor villages; instead of sumptuous houses, obscure cottages; and instead of impetuous and turbulent warriors, men of a peaceable disposition, and commonly wrapt in a coarse cloak. But how would his surprise increase, when Sparta, better known, should offer to his admiration one of the greatest of men, and one of the most noble of the works of man; Lycurgus and his institutions!

^A Pausan, cap. 14. p. 242. Lucian, de Gymnas, t. ii, p. 919.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Inhabitants of Laconia.

THE descendants of Hercules, supported by a body of Dorians, having possessed themselves of Laconia, resided there undistinguished from the ancient inhabitants of the country. A short time after, they imposed on them a tribute, and deprived them of a part of their rights. The cities which submitted to their will preserved their liberty: that of Helos resisted, but, being soon overcome, its inhabitants were reduced to a condition little differing from slavery.

Dissensions afterwards took place among the Spartans, and the most powerful drove out the weaker party into the country or the neighbouring towns. A distinction is still made between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and those of the province, and between both these and that prodigious number of slaves who are dispersed through the country.

⁵ Strab. lib. 8. p. 365. Plut. in Lyc. t, i. p. 40. ⁶ Isocr. Panathen. t, ii. p. 274.

The former, who are often called Spartans, form that body of warriors on whom depends the fate of Laconia. Their number, it is said, anciently amounted to ten thousand.^t In the time of Xerxes it was eight thousand.^u The late wars have so reduced them that we now find very few ancient families at Sparta.^x I have sometimes seen not less than four thousand persons in the forum, among whom I could scarely discover forty Spartans, even including the two kings, the ephori, and the senators.^y

The greater part of the new families are descended from Helots, who have been first rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizens. They are not called Spartans, but have various names according to the difference of the privileges they have obtained, all of which intimate their former condition.

Three great men, Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, born in this class, were educated with the children of Spartans, as are all the sons of the freed Helots; but it was not till they had

^t Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

[&]quot; Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 234.

^{*} Aristot. ibid. Plut. in Agid: t. i. p. 797.

 ⁷ Xenoph, Hist. Græc. lib. 3 p. 494.
 ² Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. Id. lib. 7. cap. 58. Hesych. in Nεοδαμ. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 83.

^a Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 43.

b Athen. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 271. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 6. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 1. cap. 5.

signalised themselves by great services that they were admitted to all the rights of citizens.

The title and privileges of a citizen were formerly rarely granted, except to those who were born of parents both Spartans.c They are an indispensable qualification for the offices of magistracy, and the command of the army.d But a part of these privileges may be lost by a flagitious action. The government is in general watchful over the preservation of those who are invested with them, and particularly careful of the lives of the Spartans by birth. Lacedæmon has been known, in order to recover some of them who were blocked up in an island by the Athenian fleet, to sue to Athens for a disgraceful peace, and sacrifice her navy to her rival.º But a small number of them are ever exposed to the dangers of war. In these latter times the kings Agesilaus and Agesipolis frequently had not more than thirty of that class of citizens with them in their expeditions.f

Notwithstanding the loss of their ancient privileges, the cities of Laconia form a confederation, the object of which is to unite their forces in war, and to maintain their rights in time of peace. When the interests of the whole state

Herodot lib. 9. cap. 33. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. cap. 17. t. i p. 270.

d Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

^{&#}x27;Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 15 et 19. ^f Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 496; lib. 5. p. 562.

are to be discussed, they send their deputies to the general assembly, which is always held at Sparta.^g There are settled the contributions which each city shall pay, and the number of troops it shall furnish.

The inhabitants of these cities do not receive the same education as those of the capital. Their manners are more rude, and their courage less conspicuous. Hence it is that the city of Sparta has obtained the same ascendance over the other cities of Laconia, as the city of Elis over those of the district of Elis, and that of Thebes over those of Bæötia. This superiority excites their jealousy and hatred. In one of the expeditions of Epaminondas, several of them joined their forces to those of the Thebans.

There are more domestic slaves at Lacedæmon than in any other city of Greece. They serve their masters at table, dress them and undress them, execute their orders, and preserve cleanliness in the house. In the army a great number are employed to carry the baggage. As the Lacedæmonian women must

^b Liv. lib. 34. cap. 27.

Thucyd, lib. 8. cap. 40.

^{*} Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579.

Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 31.

^k Xenoph. Hist, Græc. lib. 3. p. 494. ¹ Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 607 et 609.

[&]quot; Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 633.
Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 586.

not labour, they employ female servants to spin wool.4

The Helots have received their name from the city of Helos. They must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors, with the slaves properly so called. They rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens.

A particular kind of dress, a cap made of skin, severe treatment, and sentences of death frequently pronounced against them on the slightest suspicions, incessantly remind them of their condition; but their servile situation is recompensed by real advantages. Like the vassals of Thessaly, they farm the lands of the Spartans; and that they may be attached to the service of their masters by the allurement of gain, they are only required to pay a rent which has long been fixed, and is by no means corresponding to the produce; and this rent it would be considered as disgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increase.

Some of them employ themselves in the me-

⁴ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.

F Hellan. ap. Harpoer. in Είλωτ. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261. S Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 23.

^t Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. ^u Poll. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 83.

^{*} Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.

Suid. et Harpocr. in Tevé.

² Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 216. Id. Instit, Lacon. p. 289. Myron. ibid.

chanical arts with so much success, that the keys, beds, tables, and chairs, that are made at Lacedæmon, are every where in the greatest request. The Helots likewise serve as sailors on board the fleet; and in the army every oplites, or heavy-armed soldier, is accompanied by one or more of them. At the battle of Platæa every Spartan had seven of them to attend him.

In times of imminent danger they have been encouraged to exert themselves by the hope of liberty, which numerous bodies of them have sometimes obtained for their services. This benefit they can only receive from the state, because they belong more to that than the citizens whose lands they cultivate; and hence it is that the latter can neither give them their freedom, nor sell them into foreign countries. Their enfranchisement is performed by a public ceremony, in which they are led from one temple to another, crowned with flowers, and exposed to the sight of the people. They are afterwards

² Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 480. Bisset, ibid.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 615.

d Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Herodot, lib. 9. cap. 10 et 28. Plut, in Arist, t. i. p. 325. Id. de Malign. Herodot, t. ii. p. 871.

f Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 26. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608;

⁵ Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 124.

h Strab. lib. 8. p. 365. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Thucyd, lib. 4. cap. 80. Plut, in Lycurg, t. i. p. 57.

permitted to dress in what manner they please, and by new services may be raised to the rank of citizens.

From the time they were first subjected, these vassals, impatient of their servitude, had often endeavoured to break their yoke; but when the Messenians, after having been conquered by the Lacedæmonians, were reduced to the same disgraceful condition, revolts became more frequent." Excepting a small number who remained faithful," the rest, placed as it were in ambuscade, in the midst of the state, took advantage of its misfortunes to seize on an important post,° or to go over to the enemy. The government endeavoured to retain them in their duty by rewards, but more often by the most cruel severities. It is even said that, on a certain occasion, two thousand of them, who had given proofs of too much courage, suddenly disappeared, and that it was never known in what manner they perished. Other instances

k Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34.

¹ Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 297; cap. 23. p. 335. Æliam. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1.

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 435.

[&]quot; Hesych. in Apyeiot.

^o Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 101. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Cym. t. i. p. 489. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 339.

P Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117. Plat. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

of barbarity, no less execrable, are recorded, and have given occasion to the proverb, that, "at Sparta the free man is the freest of all men, and the slave the greatest of slaves." I have never witnessed these severities; I have only seen that the Spartans and the Helots, full of mutual distrust, observe each other with fear; and that the former, to make themselves obeyed, have recourse to severities which circumstances seem to render necessary. For the Helots are extremely difficult to govern; their number, their courage, and especially their riches, render them daring and insolent; and hence it is that intelligent authors are divided with respect to this species of slavery, which some condemn, and others approve.t

⁹ Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.

^{*} See note VI. at the end of the volume.

Plut, in Lyeurg. t. i. p. 57.

Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 318.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.

CHAP. XLIII.

General Ideas on the Legislation of Lycurgus.

HAD been some days at Sparta, where my appearance excited no surprise, the law which formerly rendered it difficult for strangers to enter the country being no longer enforced with the same rigour. I was introduced to the two princes then on the throne; these were Cleomenes, grandson of the king Cleombrotus, who was killed at the battle of Leuctra, and Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Both were men of understanding: the former loved peace; the latter breathed only war, and enjoyed great credit and influence. I likewise knew that Antalcidas, who, about thirty years before, had negotiated a treaty between Greece and Persia. But of all the Spartans, Damonax, at whose house I lodged, appeared to me the most communicative and intelligent. He had travelled in foreign countries, but was not the less acquainted with his own.

One day, when I overwhelmed him with questions, he said to me: To judge of our laws

by our present manners, would be to judge of the beauty of an edifice by a heap of ruins. Let us then, replied I, place ourselves at that point of time when they flourished in their full vigour: do you think we shall thus be able to discover their true connection and spirit? do you imagine it can be easy to justify the extraordinary and whimsical regulations they contain? Reverence, replied he, the work of a genius, whose views, ever new and profound, only appear extravagant because those of other legislators are too timid and bounded. They were contented to adapt their laws to the character of their people: Lycurgus, by his, gave a new character to the nation for which he framed them. They have departed from Nature, while they believed themselves to approach her; but he became more closely united to her the more he appeared to wander from her.

A sound body and a free mind are all that Nature requires to render man happy in solitude. These therefore are the advantages which, according to Lycurgus, ought to be made the foundation of our happiness. You already conceive why he has forbidden us to marry our daughters at a premature age; why they are not brought up beneath the shade of their rustic roofs, but exposed to the burning rays of the sun, in the dust of the gymnasium, and habituated to the exercises of wrestling, running,

and throwing the javelin and discus." As they were to give healthy and vigorous citizens to the state, it was necessary that they should acquire a sound and strong constitution that they might transmit the same to their children.

You also conceive why our children at their birth undergo a solemn examination, and are condemned to perish if they are found of a bad conformation of body.* Of what use, indeed, would they be to the state, or what comfort could they derive from life, if they only dragged on a painful and wearisome existence?

From our most early infancy, an uninterrupted succession of labours and combats bestows on our bodies agility, suppleness, and strength; and a strict regimen prevents or dispels the maladies to which we are liable. All artificial wants are here unknown, and the laws have been careful to provide for all real ones. Those objects of terror, hunger, thirst, pain, and death, are viewed by us with an indifference which philosophy seeks to imitate in vain. The most rigid sects have never been able to manifest that contempt for pain with which it is treated even by children at Sparta.

But these men to whom Lycurgus has wished to restore the blessings of nature cannot, per-

[&]quot; Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675 et 676. Plut. in Lycurge t. i. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77.

x Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49.

haps, be expected long to enjoy them; they will approach and associate with each other; passions will take birth, and the edifice of their happiness be overthrown in an instant. Here it is that we behold the triumph of genius. Lycurgus knew that a violent passion subdues all the rest. He therefore will give us the love of our country, in all its energy, its plentitude, its transports, nay even its delirium. This love shall be so ardent and so imperious, that in it shall concentre all the interests and all the emotions of our hearts. Then shall there remain in the state but one will, and, by consequence, one spirit; for, in fact, wherever there is but one sentiment, there is but one idea.

Throughout the rest of Greece, the children of the free man are confided to the care of the man who is not, or deserves not, to be free. But slaves and mercenaries may not aspire to educate Spartans. Our country herself takes upon her this important charge. She leaves us, during the first years of our infancy, in the hands of our parents; but no sooner does reason dawn, than she loudly asserts the rights she has over us. Until that moment her sacred name had never been pronounced in our presence without the strongest demonstrations of love and respect; and now her eyes seek us and

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

² Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

follow us every where. From her hand we receive our nourishment and clothing; and by her injunctions is it that the magistrates, the aged men, and all the citizens, are present at our sports, discover inquietude at our faults, endeavour to develope some germ of virtue in our words or actions, and in fine teach us, by their tender solicitude, that the state possesses nothing it holds so precious as ourselves; and that, now the children of our country, we are one day to become her consolation and her glory.

How is it possible that attentions which descend on us from such an elevation should not make on our souls profound and durable impressions? How is it possible not to adore a constitution which, promoting our interests both by sovereign goodness and supreme power, so early gives us such an exalted idea of ourselves?

From this lively interest which our country takes in us, and from this tender affection which we begin to conceive for her, naturally results, on her side, an extreme severity, and on ours an implicit submission. Lycurgus, nevertheless, not contented to confine himself to the natural order of things, has made an obligation of our sentiments. No where are the laws so imperious or so well observed, or the magistrates less indulgent or more respected. This happy harmony, absolutely necessary to retain in subjec-

tion men educated in the contempt of death, is the fruit of that education which is no other than the apprenticeship of obedience, and, if I may venture the expression, the tactics of all the virtues. During that we learn, that without order there can be neither courage, honour, or liberty; and that order cannot be maintained, unless we are masters of our will. Hence so many lessons, examples, painful sacrifices, and minute observances, that all concur to procure us this empire over ourselves, which is no less difficult to preserve than to obtain.

One of the principal magistrates keeps us continually assembled under his eye. Should he be obliged to absent himself for a moment, any citizen may supply his place, and put himself at our head. So essential is it forcibly to impress our imagination with a reverence for authority.

Our duties increase with our years, and the nature of the instructions we receive is proportioned to the progress of our reason; while the rising passions are either repressed by the multiplicity of exercises, or ably directed towards objects useful to the state.

At the time when these passions begin to display their violence, we never appear in public but in silence, with modesty in our counter-

^{*} Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.

nances, our eyes cast down, and our hands concealed in our mantles; in the attitude, in fine, and with the gravity of Egyptian priests, and as if newly initiated in, and set apart for, the ministry of virtue.

The love of their country must introduce a spirit of union among the citizens, and the desire of pleasing and benefiting that country the spirit of emulation. Here this union will not be disturbed by those storms which are elsewhere its destruction. Lycurgus has secured us from almost all the sources of jealousy, because he has rendered almost every thing common and equal among the Spartans.

We are every day assembled at public repasts, at which decency and frugality preside. By this regulation both want and excess, and the vices which are the consequence of these, are banished from the houses of individuals.

I am permitted, when circumstances require, to make use of the slaves, carriages, horses, or whatever else appertains to another citizen; and this species of community of goods is so general, that it in some measure extends to our wives and children. Hence, if unfruitful bonds unite an old man to a young woman,

^b Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679.

FId. ibid. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

^d Xenoph. ibid. 681. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 317.

^e Plut. ibid. p. 50. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

the obligation prescribed to the former to choose a young man distinguished for the beauties of his person and the qualities of his mind, to introduce him to his bed, and adopt the fruits of this new union.f Hence also, if an unmarried man wishes to have an offspring in whom he may survive, the permission granted him to borrow the wife of his friend, and to have by her children, which the husband brings up with his own, though they never share in the inheritance. On the other side if my son should dare to complain of having been insulted by any person, I should conclude him culpable, and should chastise him a second time, for having rebelled against that paternal authority which is divided among all the citizens.h

In depriving us of that property which produces so many divisions among men, Lycurgus was but the more attentive to favour emulation, which was become necessary to prevent the disgust which must ensue from too perfect an union, to fill up that void which the exemption from domestic cares; had left in the mind, to animate us during war and during peace, at every moment, and in every period of life.

This desire of preference and superiority,

f Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

g Xenoph. ibid.

h Plut, Instit. Lacon, t. ii. p. 237. Id. ibid. p. 239.

which so early manifests itself in youth, is considered as the germ of a useful rivalry. Three officers, named by the magistrates, select three hundred young men distinguished by their merit, form of them a separate class, and declare the motive of their choice to the public.k From that instant those who have been excluded, league against a promotion which seems to redound to their dishonour. Two bodies are then formed in the state, all the members of which, continually employed in watching each other, give information to the magistrate of every fault of their adversaries, publicly engage in competitions of generous and virtuous actions, and surpass themselves, the one to attain to the distinguished rank to which their rivals have been raised, and the other to preserve the honours that have been conferred upon them. It is from a similar motive that they are permitted to attack each other, and try their strength, almost whenever they meet. But these contests never have fatal consequences; for, as soon as any signs of rage appear in them, the meanest citizen may suspend them with a word; and if, by chance, his voice is not listened to, he may carry the parties before a tribunal, which, in this instance, will punish anger as a disobedia ence to the laws.1

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced, p. 679. ¹ Id. ibid. p. 680.

The institutes of Lycurgus prepare us for a kind of indifference for those goods, the acquisition of which costs us more anxiety than the possession can procure us pleasure. Our money is only of copper, the size and weight of which would betray the avaricious man who should endeavour to conceal it from his slaves." We consider gold and silver as the poisons most to be dreaded in a state. If an individual should secrete them in his house, he could neither escape the continual researches of the public officers, nor the severity of the laws. We are neither acquainted with arts, commerce, nor any of the other means employed to multiply the wants and unhappiness of a people. What use, in fact, could we make of riches? Other legislators have endeavoured to increase their circulation, and philosophers to prevent their abuse. Lycurgus has rendered them useless to us. We have cottages, clothing, and bread; we have iron, and hands for the service of our country and our friends; and we have free and vigorous minds, incapable alike of supporting the tyranny of men, or that of our passions. These are our treasures.

We consider the excessive love of glory as a weakness, and the inordinate desire of fame as a crime. We have no historian, no orator, no panegyrist, nor any of those monuments which

[&]quot; Xenoph, de Rep. Laced, p. 682, Plut, in Lycurg. t. 1. p. 44.

only attest the vanity of a people. The nations we have conquered will transmit our victories to posterity. We teach our children to be as brave and virtuous as their fathers. The example of Leonidas, incessantly present to their memory, will excite them to emulation by day and night. You have only to ask them, and they will repeat to you, by rote, the names of the three hundred Spartans who died with that hero at Thermopylæ."

We never can call by the name of grandeur that independence of the laws which in other countries the principal citizens affect. Licentiousness, certain of impunity, appears to us a meanness, which at once renders contemptible both the individual who is guilty of it, and the state by which it is tolerated. We believe that we are the equals of all other men, of whatever country or rank they may be, not excepting the great king of Persia himself. Yet the moment that our laws speak, all our haughtiness bows itself down, and the most powerful of our citizens hastens to obey the voice of the magistrate with as much submission as the meanest.º We fear our laws alone, because, Lycurgus having procured them to be approved by the oracle of Delphi, we have received them as the commands of the gods themselves; p and because,

[&]quot; Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 224.

^{*} Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.

P Id. ibid.

that wise lawgiver having adapted them to our real wants, they are the true foundation of our happiness.

From this first sketch you will easily perceive that Lycurgus ought not to be considered as a simple legislator, but as a profound philosopher, and an enlightened reformer; that his legislation is at once a system of morals and politics; that his laws have a never-ceasing influence on our manners and sentiments; and that, while other legislators have confined themselves to the prevention of evil, he has constrained us to effect positive good, and to be virtuous.⁴

He was the first who had a just knowledge of the strength and weakness of man, which he has so employed and adapted to the duties and wants of the citizen, that, among us the interests of individuals are always inseparable from those of the republic. Be not then surprised that one of the most inconsiderable states of Greece is become the most powerful. Here every thing is employed so as to produce its effect. There is not the smallest degree of power which is not directed toward the general good, nor a single act of virtue which is lost to our country.

The system of Lycurgus could not but pro-

⁹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Xenoph. ibid. p. 675. Isocrain Archid, t. ii. p. 53.

duce just and pacific men; it is nevertheless & melancholy reflection, that, unless they could be transported to some distant and inaccessible island, they must at length be enslaved by the vices or the arms of the neighbouring nations. The legislator endeavoured to prevent both these evils. He did not permit foreigners to enter Laconia except on certain days,3 nor the inhabitants to go out of it but for very important reasons. The situation of the country was favourable to the enforcing of this law. Surrounded by seas and mountains, we have only some defiles to guard, to stop corruption on our frontiers. The prohibition of commerce and navigation was the consequence of this regulation," and from this prohibition resulted the inestimable advantage of having but a very few laws, since it has been remarked that only one half the number is necessary to a city not engaged in commerce.x

It was still more difficult to conquer than to corrupt us. From the rising of the sun to his going down, from our earliest years to the close of life, we are continually under arms, continually prepared for the enemy, even observing

Aristoph. in Av. v. 1014. Schol. ejusd. in Pac. v. 622. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 144; lib. 2. cap. 39. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. in Agid. p. 799. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
 Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842.

a more exact discipline than if we were within sight of an invading army. On whichever side you turn your eyes, you will less imagine yourself in a city than in a camp; you will see nothing but marches, evolutions, attacks, and battles; you will only hear the shouts of victory or the recital of great actions. These formidable preparations are not only the recreations of our leisure but our security, by spreading far and wide the terror and respect which constantly accompany the name of Lacedæmonian.

Many of our laws are suited to inspire and encourage this military spirit. While young, we every morning take the exercise of the chace; and afterwards, as often as the duties we have to fulfil leave us intervals of leisure. Lycurgus has recommended to us this exercise, as the image of danger and of victory.

While our youth are engaged with ardour in this sport, it is permitted them to range the country, and carry off whatever they may find which suits their convenience. They are permitted the same in the city, and are esteemed to have committed no crime, but to be deserving of praise, if they are not detected; but are blamed and punished if discovered. This law, which appears to be borrowed from the Egyp-

P. 54. Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 665. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i...

² Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291. ³ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. ⁴ Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.

tians, has brought much censure on Lycurgus. It seems, in fact, as if its natural consequence must be to inspire our youth with an inclination to disorder and robbery; but it in reality only produces in them more address and activity, in the other citizens more vigilance, and in all a greater aptitude to foresee the designs of an enemy, to prepare snares for him, or to avoid those which he may prepare.

Before we conclude, let us recur to the principles from which we set out. A healthy and vigorous body, and a mind free from anxiety and wants, constitute the natural happiness of men in solitude; and the union and emulation of citizens, that which ought to be his object in society. If the laws of Lycurgus have fulfilled the views of nature and society, we enjoy the best of constitutions. But you will examine it in detail, and be able to judge whether in fact it ought to inspire us with pride.

I then asked Damonax how such a constitution could subsist; for, said I, since it is equally founded on the laws and on manners, the same punishments ought to be inflicted for offences against the one as for crimes against the other; and would you condemn to death, like criminals, those citizens who have forfeited their honour?

^e Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 72. Aul. Gell. lib. 11. cap. 18.

d Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291. e Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677. Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. v. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

We condemn them, replied he, to a severer punishment; we suffer them to live, and render them miserable. In corrupted states the man who dishonours himself is every where blamed, and every where received: with us ignominy follows, and torments him wherever he goes. We punish him both in himself and what is most dear to him. His wife, condemned to waste her days in tears, is not allowed to appear in public; and if he himself ventures abroad, he must, by the negligence of his dress, confess his shame, and keep at a respectful distance from every citizen he meets. At our games, he is banished to a place where he is exposed to the view and contempt of the public. A thousand deaths are not to be compared to this punishment,

Another difficulty, said I, likewise presents itself. I cannot but fear lest Lycurgus, by thus weakening your passions, and depriving you of all those objects of interest and ambition which set in motion other nations, should have left in your minds a vast vacuity. What in fact can remain in them? The enthusiasm of valour, replied he; the love of our country, carried even to fanaticism; the sense of our liberty; the delicious pride which our virtues inspire; and the esteem of a people of citizens sovereignly estimable. Can you imagine that, under the

f Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.

influence of emotions so lively, our minds can sink into inactivity and torpor?

I know not, replied I, whether a whole people are capable of sentiments so sublime, or whether they can be sustained at such an elevation. He answered: When it is wished to form the character of a nation, the beginning should be made by the principal citizens. When these are once put in motion, and their efforts directed toward great objects, they draw after them the great body of the people, who are rather led by examples than principles. A soldier who behaves cowardly when he follows a timid general, will perform prodigies when commanded by a hero.

But, added I, by banishing luxury and the arts, have you not deprived yourselves of the enjoyments they procure? We shall always find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the best means to arrive at happiness is to proscribe pleasures. In fine, to judge of the merit of your laws, we ought to know whether, with all your virtues, you are equally happy with the other Greeks. We believe ourselves to be much more so, replied he, and that persuasion is sufficient to render us so in reality.

Damonax, as he concluded, requested me not to forget, that, according to our agreement, our conversation had only turned on the spirit of the laws of Lycurgus, and on the manners of the ancient Spartans.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Life of Lycurgus.

HAVE said, in the introduction to this work, that the descendants of Hercules, formerly expelled from Peloponnesus, returned thither eighty years after the taking of Troy. Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the three sons of Aristomachus, brought with them an army of Dorians, and made themselves masters of this part of Greece. In the division of the country Argolis fell to Temenus, and Messenia to Cresphontes.⁵ The third brother dying in the mean time, Eurysthenes and Procles his sons possessed themselves of Laconia. From these two princes sprang the two families which, for about nine centuries, have reigned conjointly at Lacedæmon.

This rising state was often shaken by intestine factions or daring enterprises. It was threatened with speedy destruction when one of its kings, named Polydectes, died without issue. Lycurgus his brother succeeded him. It was not then known that the queen was pregnant. As soon

⁸ Plat, de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 683.

as Lycurgus was informed that she was so, he declared that if she gave an heir to the throne, he would be the first to acknowledge his right, and, as a proof of his sincerity, only administered the government of the kingdom in quality of guardian to the young prince.

The queen, however, caused it to be signified to him, that if he would consent to marry her, she would not hesitate to destroy her child. To prevent the execution of so horrid a project, Lycurgus amused her with vain hopes. She brought forth a son; Lycurgus took him in his arms, and showing him to the magistrates of Sparta, "See," said he, "the king who is born to you."

The joy which he testified at an event that deprived him of the crown, added to the wisdom with which he had administered the affairs of the state, procured him the respect and love of the greater part of the citizens; but these virtues were a subject of alarm to some leading men. They were seconded by the queen, who, to revenge the supposed injury she had suffered, excited against him his relations and friends. They alleged that it was dangerous to confide the life of the young prince to the care of a man whose principal interest it was to shorten his days. These murmurs,

h Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40.

though feeble at first, at length gathered so much strength, that, to silence them, he was obliged to leave his country.

In Crete, the laws of the sage Minos long engaged his attention. He admired the harmony which they maintained in the state, and among individuals. Among the intelligent persons who assisted him with their knowledge and abilities, he had formed an intimate connection with a poet of the name of Thales, whom he judged worthy to promote the great designs he revolved in his mind. Thales, by his advice, went and resided at Lacedæmon, where he recited poems which invited and prepared the minds of men to obedience and concord.

The better to judge of the effects which are produced by different governments and manners, Lycurgus visited the coasts of Asia. He there only saw laws and minds without vigour. The Cretans, under a simple and strict government, were happy: the Iönians, who pretended to be so, were the slaves of pleasure and licentiousness. An inestimable discovery recompensed him for the disgusting scene before his eyes. The poems of Homer fell into his hands, and in them he saw, with surprise, the noblest maxims of morals and politics embellished by

ⁱ Strab. lib. 10. p. 482.

the charms of fiction. With this work he therefore resolved to enrich Greece.k

While he continued to travel through distant lands, every where studying the genius and the work of legislators, and gathering the seeds of happiness which were scattered through different countries, Lacedæmon, wearied of her divisions, sent to him, more than once, deputies who pressed him to return to the succour of the state. He alone was able to guide the reins of government, which had been, by turns, in the hands of the kings and in those of the multitude. He long refused, but at length yielded to the united and ardent solicitations of all the citizens of Lacedæmon.

On his return to Sparta, he soon perceived that the reformation necessary was not to repair the edifice of the laws, but to pull it down and erect another entirely new. He foresaw all the obstacles to this design, but was not intimidated. He had in his favour the respect paid to his birth and virtues, his genius, his knowledge, that majestic courage which impels the minds of men, and that conciliatory spirit which attracts them: he had, in fine, the approbation of heaven, which, after the example of other legislators, he had always been careful to

k Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 42.

^m Id. ibid.

secure. On consulting the oracle at Delphi, he had received for answer: "The gods accept thy worship, and under their auspices thou shalt frame the most excellent of political constitutions." Lycurgus afterwards never neglected to maintain a correspondence with the pythia, who successively impressed on his laws the seal of divine authority."

Before he began his operations, he submitted his plan to the examination of his friends and the most distinguished citizens. From these he chose thirty, who were to attend him completely armed in the general assembly. This guard was not, however, always sufficient to prevent tumults. In a commotion which happened in consequence of a new law, the rich citizens rose upon him with so much fury, that he determined to take refuge in a neighbouring temple; but as he retired he received a violent blow, which, it is said, deprived him of an eye. He contented himself with showing to those who pursued him his face covered with blood. At this sight, the greater part of them, ashamed of what they had done, accompanied him home with every mark of respect and grief, expressing the utmost detestation of the action, and delivering the person who had committed it into his hands, to dispose of him as he should

Polyæn, Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 16.

please. This was a violent and impetuous youth. Lycurgus, without loading him with reproaches, or uttering the least complaint, took him to his house, and having caused his friends and domestics to retire, directed him to serve him. and dress his wound. The young man silently obeyed, and, witnessing every moment new proofs of the goodness, patience, and great qualities of Lycurgus, changed his hatred into love, and corrected the violence of his own character after so noble a model.°

The new constitution was at length approved by all orders of the state. The parts of it were so well combined, that, on the first trials, it was judged that nothing was wanting. P Yet, notwithstanding its excellence, it was not assured of duration. Lycurgus, therefore, when the people were assembled, thus addressed them: "It still remains for me to lay before you the most important article of my legislation, but I wish first to consult the oracle of Delphi. Promise me that, until my return, you will make no alteration in the laws already established." They promised him. "Swear it," said he. The kings, senators, and all the citizens, called the gods to be witnesses to their words.4 This solemn engagement could not

[°] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.

P Id. ibid. p. 57.
4 Id. ibid. Nicol. Damasc. in excerpt. Vales. p. 446.

but be irrevocable, for it was his resolution never more to return to his country.

He immediately repaired to Delphi, and inquired whether the new laws were sufficient to ensure the happiness of the Spartans. The pythia having answered that Sparta would be the most flourishing of cities so long as she could continue to observe them, Lycurgus sent that oracle to Lacedæmon, and condemned himself to voluntary banishment." He died far from the country of whose happiness he had been the cause.

It has been said that Lacedæmon has not rendered sufficient honours to his memory, no doubt because it is impossible she should ever render too many. She has dedicated to him a temple, in which a sacrifice is offered every year.t His relations and friends formed a society" which has been perpetuated to our days. and which meets from time to time, to renew the memory of his virtues. One day, when this assembly was held in the temple, Euclidas addressed the following discourse to the tutelary genius of the place.

We celebrate thee without knowing by what name to call thee. The pythia doubted if thou wert not rather a god than a mortal; in this

^{*} Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

^{*} Aristot. apud Plut. ibid. p. 59. * Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 248.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.
Herodot, lib. 1, cap. 65. Plut. ibid. p. 42.

uncertainty she named thee the friend of the gods, because thou wert the friend of men.

Thy great soul would feel a just indignation, should we attribute to thee as a merit that thou didst not procure to thyself the crown by a crime; and little would it be flattered should we add, that thou hadst exposed thy life and renounced repose to do good. Those sacrifices which cost an effort are alone to be praised.

The greater part of legislators have gone astray by following the beaten track. Thou sawest that to procure happiness to a nation it must be conducted through a new and unusual path. We praise thee for having better known the human heart in the time of ignorance, than it has been understood by philosophers in this enlightened age.

We thank thee for having provided a check to the authority of the kings, to the insolence of the people, to the pretensions of the rich, to our passions, and even to our virtues.

We thank thee for having placed above us a sovereign power which sees every thing, can effect every thing, and which nothing can corrupt. Thou hast placed the laws upon the throne, and our magistrates at their feet; while in other states a mortal is on the throne, and the laws under his feet. The laws are like a palm tree, which nourishes equally with its fruit

y Xenoph, de Rep. Laced, p. 675.

all who repose beneath its shade; while the despot is like a tree planted on a mountain, and surrounded only by vultures and serpents.

We thank thee that thou hast left us only a small number of rational and just ideas, and that thou hast prevented us from having more desires than wants.

We thank thee for having presumed so well of us as to believe that we should need to request no other courage of the gods, but that which may enable us to endure injustice, when it is necessary.²

When thou sawest thy laws, resplendent in grandeur and beauty, act, if I may so speak, of themselves, without clashing or disjoining, it has been said that thou wast transported with a pure joy, resembling that of the Supreme Being, when he beheld the universe, immediately after its creation, execute all its motions in perfect harmony and regularity.^a

Thy course on earth has only been marked by benefits: happy shall we be, if, recalling them incessantly to memory, we may be able to transmit to our sons the deposit committed to our care such as it was received by our fathers.

² Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

¹ Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Government of Lacedæmon.

has every where been the constant endeavour of sovereigns to extend their prerogative, and that of their subjects to circumscribe and contract it. The troubles which are the consequence of this struggle have been more felt at Sparta than in any other state. On the one side are two kings, whose interests are frequently distinct, and who are always supported by a great number of partisans; and on the other a warlike and untractable people, who neither knowing to command or obey, have by turns precipitated the government into the extremes of tyranny and democracy.

Lycurgus had too much understanding to abandon the administration of public affairs to the caprices of the multitude, or to leave it entirely to the will of the two princes on the throne. He sought a mean by which he might

^b Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. ^c Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 228.

temper power by wisdom, and believed that he had found it in Crete, where a supreme council moderates the authority of the sovereign. He established one nearly similar at Sparta. Twentyeight aged men, of consummate experience, were appointed to share with the kings the plenitude of power.e It was regulated that the great interests of the state should be discussed in this august senate; that the two kings should preside in it, and that every question should be decided by the plurality of voices; that the determinations of this council should afterwards be laid before the general assembly of the state, which should have the right to approve or reject them, but not be permitted to make in them the smallest alteration,

Whether this latter clause was not expressed with sufficient clearness, or whether the discussion of the decrees naturally inspired the desire of making alterations in them, the people insensibly assumed to themselves the right of altering them by additions or retrenchments. This abuse was finally abolished by Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. These princes caused a new article to be added by the pythia

^d Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332.

^e Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. f Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 264.

⁸ Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. h Plut. ibid.

of Delphi to the oracle which had regulated the distribution of power.i

The senate had till then maintained an equilibrium between the kings and the people;k but the places of the senators as well as the authority of the kings being held for life, it was to be feared that, in time, these might too closely unite, and no longer find any opposition to their will. A part of their functions therefore were transferred to five magistrates, named ephori, or inspectors, appointed to defend the people in case of oppression. This new intermediary body was instituted, with the consent of the state, by the king Theopompus.1*

If we may believe philosophers, this prince, by limiting his authority, rendered it more solid and durable." If we judge by the event, we shall see that by preventing one danger he prepared the way for another, which sooner or later could not but arise. The constitution of Lycurgus contained a happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Theopompus added to these an oligarchy," which in our time has become tyrannical.°

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43.

^{*} Id. ibid. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 459. Aristot. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407. Plut. ibid. Id. ad Princip. inerud. t. ii. p. 779. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. i. in extern. No. 8. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 36. p. 565. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. iii. p. 164.

^{*} See note VII. at the end of the volume.

<sup>Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Aristot. ibid.
Archyt. ap. Stob. p. 269. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6.</sup> º Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. p. 712. p. 321.

Let us now cast a rapid glance over the different parts of this government, such as they are found at present, and not as they formerly were, for they have almost all undergone several changes.^p

The two kings must be of the house of Hercules, and cannot marry a foreign woman. The ephori watch over the conduct of the queens, that they may not give children to the state that are not the offspring of that august house. If they are convicted, or strongly suspected, of infidelity to their husbands, their children are degraded to the class of private persons.

In each of the two reigning branches the crown descends to the eldest of the sons, or, if there are no sons, to the brother of the king. If the eldest dies before his father, it passes to the next son; but if he leaves a son, that son is preferred to his uncles. In default of the nearer heirs in a family, distant relations are called to the throne, and never persons of another house.

P Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.

^q Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800. ^r Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 121.

^s Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 63. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 212.

Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 224.

'Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 42. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agesil. p. 596.

[&]quot; Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 796.

x Nep. in Ages. cap. 1.

All differences concerning the succession are discussed and terminated in the general assembly! When a king has no children by a first wife, he must divorce her. Anaxandrides had married the daughter of his sister, whom he tenderly loved. Some years after, the ephori cited him before their tribunal, and said to him: It is our duty not to suffer the royal families to become extinct; repudiate your wife, and make choice of another who may give us an heir to the throne. On the refusal of the king, after having deliberated on the matter with the senators, they thus addressed him: Follow our advice, and do not force the Spartans to have recourse to violent measures. Without dissolving bands which are too dear to your heart, enter into new ones which may be favourable to our wishes. Nothing could be more contrary to the laws of Sparta, nevertheless Anaxandrides obeyed. He married a second wife, by whom he had a son; but his affections were always fixed on the first, who some time after brought forth the celebrated Leonidas.a

The presumptive heir is not brought up with the other children of the state. A fear is entertained lest too much familiarity should pre-

b Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 596.

Y Xenoph. His. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. Id. in Ages. p. 652. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 224.

² Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 68. ^a Id. lib. 5. cap. 39. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 211.

judice that respect they will one day owe to him. His education, however, is not the less carefully attended to. He is impressed with a just idea of his dignity, and one still more just of his duties. A Spartan once said to Cleomenes: "A king ought to be affable." "No doubt," replied that prince, " provided he does not expose himself to contempt." Another king of Lacedæmon said to his relations, who pressed him to commit an act of injustice: "By teaching me that the laws are more binding on the sovereign than the other citizens, you have taught me to disobey you on this occasion "d

Lycurgus has limited the authority of the kings, but he has left them honours and prerogatives which they enjoy as the heads of religion, the administration, and the army. Besides certain priesthoods, which they exercise themselves, they regulate every thing which concerns the public worship, and appear at the head of the religious ceremonies.f To enable them to address their vows to heaven, either as individuals, or in behalf of the republic, the state assigns them, on the first and seventh day

[°] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 223.

d Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 431. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii,

Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 56.

f Id. ibid. cap. 57. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 356. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264. 8 Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493.

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of every month, a victim, with a certain quantity of wine and barley meal. Both have a right to be attended by magistrates or augurs, who are never to leave them, and who are called Pythians. The sovereign, in cases of necessity, sends them to consult the pythia, and carefully preserves the oracles they bring back. This privilege is perhaps one of the most important in the possession of royalty, as it enables those who are invested with it to maintain a secret correspondence with the priests of Delphi, the authors of those oracles which often decide the fate of an empire.

As head of the state he may, when he ascends the throne, annul the debts which a citizen has contracted either with his predecessor or with the republic.** The people assign to him, for himself, certain portions of inheritances, which he may dispose of during his life in favour of his relations."

The two kings preside in the senate, and propose the subjects for deliberation. Each gives his suffrage, or, in case of absence, sends it by a senator who is related to him. This suffrage

i Herodot, ibid. Xenoph, ibid.
i Herodot, lib. 6. cap. 59.

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.

h Herodot, lib. 6. cap. 57. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.

^{*} This was also the custom in Persia. (Herodot, ibid.)

[&]quot; Id. in Agesil. p. 665.

" Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman.
lib. 2. t. i. p. 264.

" Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57.

is equivalent to two. P All causes brought before the general assembly are decided by the majority of votes. When the two kings propose in concert any project of manifest utility to the republic, no person is permitted to oppose it. The liberty of the state has nothing to fear from such an unanimity, since, besides the secret jealousy which exists between the two royal families, it is rare that their heads possess the same degree of knowledge to discern the true interests of the state, or the same degree of courage to defend them. All causes relative to the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, or the choice of the kinsman who shall be obliged to marry an orphan heiress, are submitted to the decision of the kings.t

The kings must not be absent during peace," nor both at once in time of war; except there be two armies in the field. They have by right the command of the army, and Lycurgus has wished them to appear there with that splen-

P Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20. Schol. ibid. Lucian. in Harmon. cap. 3. t. i. p. 855. Meurs. de Regn. Lacon. cap. 23.
^a Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264.

^{*} Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800. ⁵ Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.

^{&#}x27; Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57.

<sup>Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 800.
Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 75. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 562.
Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Arist. de Rep. lib. 3.</sup> cap. 14. t. ii. p. 356.

dour and authority which may ensure them respect and obedience.

On the day of his departure for the army, the king offers a sacrifice to Jupiter. A young man takes a flaming brand from the altar, and carries it, at the head of the troops, to the frontiers of the state, where a new sacrifice is offered.

The state provides for the maintenance of the general and his household, consisting, besides his usual guard, of the two pythians or augurs of whom I have spoken above, the polemarchs, or principal officers, with whom he may advise on every emergency, and three subaltern officers, who attend on his person.² Thus freed from every domestic care, he is at liberty to give his whole attention to the operations of the campaign. These it appertains to him to direct, as also to sign truces with the enemy, and to give audience to and answer the embassadors of foreign powers. The two ephori who accompany him have no other function than to prevent any corruption of manners, and never interfere in any affairs, except such as he thinks proper to communicate to them.d

In these modern times the general has some-

² Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.

a Id. ibid.

^b Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 60. ^c Xenoph. ibid. p. 689.

^d Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 477 et 478. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.

times been suspected of having conspired against the liberty of his country, either by suffering himself to be corrupted by bribes, or misled by evil counsels. These crimes have been punished, according to the circumstances, by very heavy fines, by banishment, or even by the loss of the crown and of life. Among the princes who have been thus accused, one was obliged to fly, and take refuge in a temple; another asked forgiveness of the assembly, who granted him a pardon, but on condition that for the future he should conduct himself by the advice of ten Spartans, who should follow him to the army, and who should be appointed by the assembly.8 As the confidence between the sovereign and the other magistrates becomes less from day to day, he will soon be only surrounded in his expeditions by spies and informers chosen from among his enemies.h

During peace, the kings are only the first citizens of a free city. As citizens they appear in public without a retinue, and without ostentation; as first citizens they are honoured with the first place, and every person rises in their presence, except the ephori sitting in their tri-

^e Herodot, lib. 6. cap. 82. Thucyd, lib. 1. c. 132. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 221.

lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 221.

f Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 21; lib. 5. cap. 16. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 221.

Thucyd, lib. 5. cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 126.
Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.

bunal.i When they cannot be present at the public repasts, a measure of wine and meal is sent them; but they do not receive these when they are absent without necessity.

In these repasts, as well as in those which they are allowed to take at the houses of private persons, they receive a double portion, which they share with their friends.^m These minute circumstances are by no means indifferent. Distinctions are every where only signs of convention, suited to times and places. Those that are granted to the kings of Lacedæmon procure them no less respect from the people than if they were attended by the numerous army which composes the guard of the king of Persia.

Royalty has always subsisted at Lacedæmon, 1st, because being divided between two families, the ambition of the one is soon repressed by the jealousy of the other, as well as by the watchful cares of the magistrates: 2dly, because the kings having never attempted to extend their prerogative, have never given any umbrage to the people. This moderation has secured to them the love of their subjects during

Xenoph, de Rep. Laced, p. 690. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. Apophth. Lacon, t, ii, p. 217.

Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57.
Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

The Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 665.

Xenoph. in Ages. p. 651.

their lives,° and their regret after their death. As soon as one of the kings has breathed his last, women run through the streets, and make known the public misfortune by striking on vessels of brass. P The forum is covered with straw. and nothing is allowed to be sold there during three days. Men on horseback are sent out to carry the news into the country, and to give notice to those freemen or slaves who are to attend the funeral, and who throng to it by thousands. They cut and mangle their faces, and repeatedly exclaim, amid their long lamentations, that, "among all the princes that ever lived, a better never existed." F Yet do these wretches regard as a tyrant him whose death they are thus obliged to lament. The Spartans are not ignorant of this, but, compelled by a law of Lycurgus' to refrain on this occasion from tears and lamentations, they have been desirous that the feigned grief of their slaves and subjects might, in some measure, express the real sorrow which they themselves feel.

When the king dies on a military expedition, his effigy is exposed on a bed of state, and, during ten days, it is not permitted either to

^o Isocr. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 269. Id. de Pace, p. 431.

^p Herodot. lib, 6. cap. 58. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2. v. 36.

^q Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

^{*} Herodot. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. Pausan.

lib. 4. cap, 14. p. 313.

Plut. Institut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

convene the general assembly, or to open the tribunals of justice. When the body, which care is taken to preserve in honey or wax, arrives, it is buried in the quarter of the city in which are the tombs of the kings.*

The senate, consisting of the two kings and the twenty-eight gerontes, or aged men, is the supreme council, in which are discussed, in the first instance, all questions relative to declaring war, concluding peace, entering into alliances, and other high and important affairs of state.

To obtain a place in this august assembly is to ascend the throne of honour. This dignity is never granted but to the citizen who, from his earliest youth, has been distinguished for consummate prudence and eminent virtues. He cannot arrive at it until he is of the age of sixty years, and he retains it to his death. No fear is entertained of any decay of his rational faculties; since, from the regular kind of life led at Sparta, both the mind and body

Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 58.

x Pausan. lib. 3, cap. 12. p. 237. Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 240.

y Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 2. cap. 3. ² Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

[&]quot; Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 564. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 618.

^a Demosth, in Leptin, p. 556. Ulpian, ibid, p. 589. Æschin, in Timarch, p. 288. ^b Plut, in Lycurg, t. i. p. 55.

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Polyb, lib. 6. p. 489.

are there less enfeebled by age than in other countries.

When a senator dies, several candidates offer themselves to succeed him, and they must openly declare their wish to obtain this honour. Lycurgus then intended to favour and promote ambition?d Yes, that ambition which, as a reward for services rendered to the country, ardently solicits to be permitted to render it still more.

The election takes place in the forum, in which the people are assembled, with the kings, senators, and the different classes of magistrates. Each candidate appears in the order assigned by lot.f He walks through the forum, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and in profound silence. As he passes, he is honoured with shouts of approbation, more or less numerous, and more or less frequent. These shouts are heard by persons concealed in a neighbouring house, from which they can see nothing, and whose business it is to observe the difference of the successive plaudits, and afterwards to declare that, at such a time, the wish of the public was manifested by the most lively and continued marks of approbation.

^d Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331. ^e Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

After this combat, in which virtue only yields to virtue, begins a kind of triumphal procession. The victor is conducted through all the quarters of the city, with his head bound with a garland, and followed by a number of boys and maidens, who celebrate his virtues and his victory. He repairs to the temples, where he offers incense, and to the houses of his relations, where cakes and flowers are spread on a table. "Take," say they, "these presents, with which the state honours you, by our hands." In the evening all the women who are related to him assemble at the door of the hall in which he takes his repast. He causes her whom he most esteems to approach, and presenting to her one of the two portions which have been served up to him: "On you," says he, "I bestow the honourable reward I have just received." All the other women applaud his choice, and conduct home her whom he has thus distinguished with the most flattering marks of respect.g

From that moment the new senator is obliged to dedicate the rest of his days to the functions of his office. Of these some respect the state, and have been pointed out above; others concern certain particular cases, the judgment of which is reserved to the senate. On this tribunal

F Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

depend not only the lives of the citizens, but also their fortune; I mean their honour, for the true Spartan knows no other possession.

Several days are employed in the investigation of crimes which are punished with death, because an error on these occasions cannot be repaired. The accused is never condemned on simple presumptions; but though acquitted, he is again prosecuted with rigour, if new proofs are afterwards obtained against him.

The senate has a right of inflicting a kind of stigma which deprives the citizen of a part of his privileges; and hence, in the presence of the senator, the respect claimed by the virtuous man is mingled with the salutary fear inspired by the judge.

When a king is accused of having violated the laws, or betrayed the interests of the state, the tribunal which must acquit or condemn him is composed of the twenty-eight senators, the five ephori, and the king of the other family. He may however appeal from them to the general assembly of the people.

The ephori, or inspectors, so named because they extend their care over every part of the

h Plut, in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 217.

^{*} Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288.

Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 215.

Plut, in Agid, t. ii. p. 804. Crag. de Rep. Laced, lib. 4. cap. 8.

administration," are five in number, and change ed every year, to prevent their abusing their authority. Phey enter on their office at the beginning of the year, which is fixed at the new moon that follows the autumnal equinox,9 The first of them gives his name to that year; and thus, to assign the date of any event, it suffices to say that it happened under such an ephorus.

The people possess the right of electing these magistrates from among the citizens of every rank, whom, as soon as they are invested with their dignity, they consider as their defenders, and therefore have never failed, on every occasion, to enlarge their prerogatives.

I have already intimated that the office of the ephori did not enter into the plan of the constitution of Lycurgus: it only appears that, about a century and a half after his time, the kings of Lacedæmon divested themselves of several prerogatives in its favour, and that its power was afterwards increased by a chief of this tribunal named Asteropus.t Successively enriched by

<sup>Suid, in Έφος. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 86.
Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332. Pausan.</sup>

lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

P Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 36. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 597.

Dodwell, de Cycl. Dissert. 8. § 5. p. 320. Id. in Annal.

Thucyd. p. 168.

^r Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232.

⁵ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330; lib. 4. cap. 9. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.

the spoils of the senate and of royalty, it now unites in itself the most eminent privileges; such as the administration of justice, the maintenance of manners and the laws, the inspection of the other magistrates, and the execution of the decrees of the general assembly.

The tribunal of the ephori is held in the forum.^u Those magistrates repair thither every day to pronounce judgment on certain accusations, and to terminate the differences of individuals.^x This important function was formerly exercised only by the kings; y but during the first war of Messenia, when they were frequently obliged to be absent, they delegated it to the ephori.^x They have, however, always preserved their right to be present, and to give their suffrages.^a

As the Lacedæmonians have only a small number of laws, and vices before unknown are every day making their appearance among them, the judges are frequently obliged to determine according to the dictates of their own understanding; and as, in our times, several persons of no great knowledge and abilities have been advanced to this dignity, there is

^u Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

^{*} Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 807. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 221.

y Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 209.

² Plut. ibid. p. 808.

^{*} Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 63.

frequently reason to doubt of the equity of their decisions.^b

The ephori take an extreme care of the education of youth. They every day examine personally whether the children of the state are not brought up with too much delicacy. They choose for them leaders who may excite their emulation, and appear at their head in a military and religious festival which is celebrated in honour of Minerva.

Other magistrates watch over the conduct of the women. The authority of the ephori extends to all the citizens. Whatever may, in the remotest manner, be prejudicial to public order, or received usages, is subject to their censure. They have often been known to prosecute persons who have neglected their duties, or tamely suffered themselves to be insulted; they reproached the former with having forgotten the respect due to the laws, and the latter with having disregarded that which they owed to themselves.

More than once they have punished the abuse which foreigners, whom they have admitted to

^b Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 330. ^c Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550.

d Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. p. 679.

Polyb. lib. 4. p. 303.

f Hesych. in Aguos.

Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 84.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

their games, have made of their talents. An orator once offered to discourse a whole day on any subject that should be assigned him. For this they banished him from the city. Archilochus underwent the same punishment for having admitted into his writings a maxim that encouraged cowardice; and almost in our own time, the musician Timotheus, having delighted the Spartans with the harmony of his airs, one of the ephori came to him holding a knife in his hand, and thus addressed him: "We have condemned you to have four strings cut from your lyre; tell me from which side you would choose to have them taken."

We may judge by these examples of the severity with which this tribunal formerly punished those faults which immediately attacked the laws and manners. Even at this day, when corruption is beginning to become general, it is no less formidable, though less respected; and those individuals who have lost their ancient principles, neglect nothing that may conceal them from the eye of these censors, who are the more severe to others as they are sometimes more indulgent to themselves.¹

To compel the greater part of the magistrates to give an account of their administration, to

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

k Id. ibid. p. 238.

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 230.

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330.

suspend from their functions those among them who have transgressed the laws, to throw them into prison, to accuse them before a superior tribunal, and to prosecute them to capital conviction, are the exclusive privileges of the ephori." They exercise them in part against the kings, whom they keep in dependence on themselves, by an extraordinary and whimsical custom. Every nine years, they choose a night in which the weather is calm and serene, and, seating themselves in an open plain, observe the motion of the stars. If any fiery exhalation should shoot through the air, it is a star that has changed its place, and indicates that the kings have offended the gods. A public prosecution is commenced against them, they are deposed, and cannot be restored to their authority till they are absolved from their supposed crimes by the oracle of Delphi.º

The sovereign, when strongly suspected of a crime against the state, may indeed refuse to appear before the ephori at the two first summonses, but he must obey the third. They may besides secure his person, and bring him to trial. When his offence is less serious, they may themselves inflict the punishment. The

[&]quot; Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.

[°] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.

P Id. in Ages. t. 1. p. 809.

^q Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 131. Nep. in Pausan, cap. 3.

last instance of this kind was, when they condemned king Agesilaus to pay a fine because he had sent a present to every senator at his entrance into office.r

The executive power is entirely in their hands. They convene the general assembly, and collect its suffrages.t We may judge of the power with which they are invested by comparing the decrees which originate in this assembly with the sentences they pronounce in their own tribunal. In the latter the judgment is preceded by this form of expression: "It has seemed good to the kings and to the ephori;"" and in the former by this: "It has seemed good to the ephori and the assembly.x"

To them the ambassadors of nations at war or in alliance with the state address themselves: they are charged with the care of levying troops and sending them to the place of their destination; they expedite orders to the general of the army, which he is to follow; they appoint two of their number to accompany him and

Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 482.

^{*} Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 87. Boeth. de Mus. lib. 1. cap. 1. Not. Bulliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295.

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 491.

^y Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 459 et 460. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 801. ² Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 503; lib. 5. p. 556, 566, 568, 574, &c. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.

a Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 479.

watch over his conduct, sometimes interrupt his progress in the middle of his conquests, and recal him, according as their personal interest or that of the state seems to require.

So many prerogatives obtain them a respect, which they justify by the honours they have decreed to illustrious actions, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, in our times, they have defeated the plots that threatened the public tranquillity.

They have, during a long series of years, combated against the authority of the senators and kings, and never ceased to be their enemies till they became their protectors. These attempts and innovations would, in other countries, have occasioned torrents of blood to be poured forth. By what chance is it that in Sparta they have only produced some slight fermentations? Because the ephori promised the people liberty, while their rivals, no less poor than the people, were unable to promise them riches; because the spirit of union, introduced by the laws of Lycurgus, has so prevailed over all private considerations, that the ancient magistrates, emulous of giving great

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 211.

f Id. ibid. p. 494.

^{*}Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 478.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 131. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 657.

^d Plut, in Ages. t. i. p. 615. * Xenoph. ibid. lib. 3. p. 496.

examples of obedience, have always thought it their duty to sacrifice their privileges to the claims of the ephori.

By a consequence of this spirit, the people have not ceased to respect those kings and senators whom they have deprived of their power. An august ceremony, which is repeated monthly, continually reminds them of their duty. The kings, in their own name, and the ephori, in the name of the people, engage, by a solemn oath, the former to govern according to the laws, and the latter to defend the royal authority so long as it shall not violate the laws.

The Spartans have interests which are peculiar to themselves; they have also others which are common to them with the deputies of the different cities of Laconia. Hence there are two kinds of assemblies, at which are always present the kings, the senate, and the different classes of the magistrates. When the succession to the throne is to be regulated, when magistrates are to be chosen or deposed, when sentence is to be pronounced on public crimes, or the great objects of religion or legislature to be decided on, the assembly is only composed of Spartans, and is called the lesser assembly.

Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 690. ¹ Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494.

The ordinary assembly of this kind is held every month, at the full of the moon; the extraordinary when ever circumstances require. Its deliberations must be preceded by a decree of the senate, except the equal division of voices has prevented that body from coming to any conclusion, in which case the ephori lay the question before the assembly.

Every one present has a right to give his opinion, provided he has passed his thirtieth year, for, before that age, no one is permitted to speak in public. His manners also must be irreproachable. The case of an orator who had captivated the people with his eloquence is still remembered. His advice was excellent; but, as it proceeded from an impure mouth, a senator arose, and, after loudly expressing his indignation against the easy compliance of the assembly, caused the same measures to be proposed by a virtuous man. Let it not be said, added he, that the Lacedæmonians suffered themselves to be guided by the counsel of an infamous orator.

The general assembly is convoked whenever the question relates to making war or peace, or contracting alliances. The deputies of the cities

k Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 67. Schol. ibid.

¹ Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agid. p. 798 et 800.

^m Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 799. Argum. in Declam. 24 Liban. t. i. p. 558.

^{*}Æschin, in Timarch, p. 288. Plut. de Andit. t. ii. p. 41.

of Laconia are then admitted to it; P as are also, frequently, those of the allied states, and of the nations who come to implore the succour of Lacedæmon. In it are discussed their claims and mutual complaints, the infractions of the treaties committed by the other states, the modes of reconciliation, the projects of the future campaign, and the contributions to be furnished. The kings and senators frequently speak, and their authority is of great weight; but that of the ephori is of still greater. When the question has been sufficiently debated, one of the ephori asks the opinion of the assembly. Immediately a thousand voices loudly exclaim either for the affirmative or the negative. When, after repeated trials, it is impossible to distinguish which has the majority, the same magistrate ascertains it by numbering the two parties, which he causes to divide, one on the one side, and the other on the other.

P Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579.

^{*} Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 554, 556, 558, 590. 7 Id. ibid. p. 554; lib. 6. p. 579.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 87.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the Laws of Lucedæmon.

NATURE is almost always in opposition to the laws, t because she labours only for the happiness of the individual, without regard to the other individuals who surround him; while the laws only direct their attention to the relations by which he is united to them; and because she infinitely diversifies our characters and inclinations, while it is the object of the laws to bring them back to unity. The legislator, therefore, whose aim it is to annihilate, or at least to reconcile these contrarieties, must consider morals as the most powerful spring, and most essential part, of his political institutions. He must take the work of Nature almost at the first moment she has produced it, retouch its form and proportions, and soften without entirely effacing its great outlines; till at length he has converted the independent man into the free citizen.

Demosth. in Aristog. p. 830.

That men of enlightened minds may formerly have been able to unite savages scattered through woods and forests, and that, every day, sage preceptors may, in some measure, fashion at will the characters and dispositions of children committed to their care, is not difficult to be conceived; but how powerful must have been that genius who could new-model a nation already formed! What courage must he not have displayed who could dare to say to a people, I will restrain your wants to the indispensable demands of necessity, and exact from your passions the most severe mortifications; you shall no longer know the allurements of pleasure, but exchange the softer enjoyments of life for laborious and painful exercises. I will deprive some of you of your possessions to distribute them to others, and the poor shall be raised to an equality with the rich. You shall renounce your ideas, your tastes, your habits, your claims, and even those tender and precious sentiments which Nature has profoundly engraven on your hearts!

Yet this, nevertheless, is what Lycurgus effected, by regulations which differ so essentially from those of other nations, that the traveller, on his arrival at Lacedæmon, is ready to imagine himself transported into a new world. Their singularity invites him to reflect, and he is soon lost in admiration at that profundity of views,

and elevation of sentiment, that shines conspicuous in the work of Lycurgus.

This legislator ordained, that the magistrates should not be appointed by lot, but elected by suffrages." He deprived riches of the influence and respect annexed to them, and divested even love of jealousy. Though he granted some distinctions, the government, which had deeply imbibed his spirit, never prodigally lavished them, and virtuous men dared not solicit them. Honour became the most valuable reward, and opprobrium the most cruel punishment. Death was sometimes inflicted, but such a sentence must be preceded by a careful and vigorous examination, since nothing is so precious as the life of a citizen. Execution was performed in the prison, and during the night, that the firmness of the criminal might not move the commiseration of the people; and his life was taken away by the cord, for it appeared useless to multiply his sufferings.

I shall point out, as I proceed, the greater part of the regulations of Lycurgus; I here mean to speak of the division of the lands.

[&]quot;Isocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 261. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374.

^{*} Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

Jid. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii.
p. 217.

Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 146. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6.

b Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 803 et 804.

The proposition which he made to this purpose met with great opposition; but, after the most violent contests, the district of Sparta was divided into nine thousand portions of land,* and the rest of Laconia into thirty thousand. Each portion assigned to a head of a family must produce, besides a certain quantity of wine and oil, seventy measures of barley for himself, and twelve for his wife.

After having effected this, Lycurgus thought it advisable to absent himself, and give time for the passions of the people to subside and cool. On his return, he found the fields of Laconia covered with clusters of sheaves, all of the same size, and placed at distances nearly equal. He seemed to himself to behold a large domain, the productions of which had been divided among brethren; while the Lacedæmonians believed they saw in him a father who had manifested no more fondness for one than for the rest of his children.

But how may this equality of property be preserved? Before Lycurgus, the legislator of Crete had not ventured to establish it: since he permitted acquisitions. After Lycurgus, Pha-

e Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.

^{*} See note VIII. at the end of the volume.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
Id. ibid. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226. Porphyr. da
Abstin. lib. 4. § 3. p. 300.

leas at Chalcedon, Philolaus at Thebes, Plato, and other legislators and philosophers, have proposed different ineffectual methods of solving this problem. It was given to Lycurgus to attempt the most extraordinary and reconcile the most opposite things. In fact, by one of his laws, he has regulated the number of inheritances by the number of citizens; and by another, in which he has granted certain exemptions to those who have three children, and still greater to those who have four, he has risked destroying the proportion he wished to establish, and restoring the distinction between the rich and the poor that he proposed to destroy.

When I was at Sparta, the regularity of the possessions of individuals had been deranged by a decree of the ephorus Epitades, who wished to avenge himself of his son; k and as I neglected to inform myself of their ancient state, I shall only be able to explain the views of the legislator on this subject, by recurring to his principles.

According to the laws of Lycurgus, the head

⁸ Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 337.

f Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 322.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 740.

h* Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.

i Aristot, de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.
k Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.

of a family could neither buy nor sell a portion of land; he could neither give it during his life, nor bequeath it by will, to whom he pleased. He was not even permitted to divide it. The eldest of his children was entitled to the inheritance, in the same manner as in the royal family the eldest son succeeded by right to the crown. What provision then was made for the other children? Did the laws which ensured their subsistence during the life of their father, entirely abandon them after his death?

1st, It appears that they might inherit slaves, the savings of their father, and moveables of every kind. The produce of the sale of these effects was doubtless sufficient to supply them with clothing, for the cloth which they wore was of so low a price that the poorest persons were able to procure it. 2 2d, Each citizen had a right to partake of the public repasts, and furnished for his contingent a certain quantity of barley-meal, which may be estimated at about twelve medimni. But the Spartan who possessed one of the portions of land derived from it every year seventy medimni, and his

m Plut. ibid.

Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

P Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 42, &c.

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 329.

^{*} Emm. Descript. Reip. Lacon. in Antiq. Græc. t. iv. p. 483.

⁹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

wife twelve. The surplus of the husband was then sufficient for the maintenance of five children; but Lycurgus could not suppose that every father of a family would have so many. We may therefore presume that the eldest son was to provide for the wants not only of his children but of his brothers. 3d, It is not improbable that the younger sons only could espouse the daughters, who, in default of male issue, inherited a portion of land; for without this precaution the inheritances would have accumulated in one person. 4th, After the examination which followed the birth of children, the magistrates assigned them portions of land, become vacant by the extinction of some families. 5th, In these modern times, frequent wars have destroyed a great number of the Spartans, and in former ages they planted colonies in distant countries. 6th, The settlement of daughters cost nothing, as it was forbidden to give them any marriage portion. 7th, The spirit of union and disinterestedness rendering, in some measure, all things common among the citizens, the one class had often no other advantage over the other, than that of preventing and gratifying their desires.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

Justin. l. 3. c. 3. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.

* Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2.

cap. 5. p. 317. Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

While this spirit remained undiminished, the constitution was proof against those shocks which it now begins to feel. But what shall hereafter support it, since, by the decree of which I have spoken, every citizen is permitted to give portions to his daughters, and to dispose at pleasure of his share of the lands? The inheritances pass every day into different hands, and the equilibrium of fortunes, as well as that of equality, is entirely destroyed.

I return to the regulations of Lycurgus. The lands as well as the persons of the Spartans were to be free from all impositions. The state had no treasure." On certain occasions the citizens contributed according to their abilities,* and on others had recourse to means which evince their excessive poverty. The deputies of Samos once came to Lacedæmon to solicit the loan of a sum of money. The assembly of the people, having no other resourse, ordered a general fast to be observed by the free citizens, slaves, and domestic animals, and gave the sum they had thus saved to the Samians.y

Every thing bowed before the genius of Lycurgus. The desire of exclusive property began to disappear, and violent passions no longer

Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 80. Pericl. ap. eumd. lib. 1. cap. 141. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217s

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.

* Id. de Cura Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 503.

disturbed the public order. But this calm would only be an additional evil if the legislator were unable to ensure its duration. The laws alone could not produce this great effect. If the citizens accustom themselves to contemn those regulations which are the least important, they will soon proceed to neglect those which are of the greatest consequence. If the laws are too numerous; if they are silent in many cases, and in others speak with the obscurity of oracles; if every judge be permitted to interpret their sense, and every citizen to complain of them; if, even on the most trivial points, they add to the constraint on our liberty the degrading tone of menace; in vain may they be engraven on marble, they can never be imprinted on the heart

Lycurgus, attentive to the irresistable power of the impressions which man receives in his infancy, and during his whole life, had been long confirmed in the choice of a system which had been approved by experience in Crete. Let all the children be educated in common, in the same discipline, and in the same invariable principles, under the eyes of the magistrates and the whole people. They will learn their duties by practising them, and will afterwards love because they have practised them, and will never cease to revere them since they see them practised by all around them. These customs,

the longer they subsist, will receive an invincible strength from their antiquity and universality. An uninterrupted succession of examples given and received will render each citizen the legislator of his neighbour, to whom he will be a living rule. He will acquire the merit of obedience by yielding to the force of habit, and will imagine himself to act freely since he acts without an effort.

It will therefore be sufficient for the institutor of a nation to frame a small number of laws for each part of the administration, which will dispense from the desire of a greater number, and contribute to maintain the authority of rites and usages, much more powerful than that of the laws themselves. He will forbid them to be committed to writing, that they may not set bounds to virtues, and lest the people, imagining they have done all their duty requires, should desist and not do all they are able to perform. But he will not conceal them: they shall be transmitted from mouth to mouth, cited on all occasions, and known to all the citizens, the witnesses and judges of each individual. It shall not be permitted to youth to censure them, nor even to submit them to examination, since they

² Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

^a Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. b Id. ibid. p. 227. Id. in Lycurg. ib.

c Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634.

have been received as the commands of Heaven, and since the authority of the law is only founded on the profound veneration they inspire. Neither shall it be allowed to praise the laws and usages of foreign nations, since, unless the people are persuaded they live under the best of legislations, they will quickly desire a new one.

Let us not, therefore, be astonished that obedience is with the Spartans the first of virtues; or that those haughty people never come, with the text of the law in their hands, to demand of their magistrates an account of the sentences they have pronounced in their tribunals.

Neither ought it to excite our surprise that Lycurgus has considered education as the most important object of the care of the legislator; and that to establish an authority over the hearts and minds of the Spartans, he has early subjected them to the arduous exercises and discipline of which I shall next proceed to treat.

^d Demosth. in Leptin. p. 556.

For Plut, in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the Education and Marriage of the Spartans.

THE laws of Sparta watch with an extreme care over the education of children.⁵ They ordain that it shall be public, and common to the rich and to the poor.^h They anticipate the moment of their birth. When any woman has declared her pregnancy, pictures of youth and beauty, such as those of Apollo, Narcissus, Hyacinth, Castor, and Pollux, are hung in her apartment, in order that her imagination, incessantly impressed by these objects, may transmit some traces of them to the child she bears in her womb.ⁱ

Scarcely is the infant born, when he is presented to the assembly of the most aged persons of the tribe to which his family belongs. The nurse is called, who, instead of water, washes him with wine, as the former, it is pretended, would have very ill effects on weak constitutions. After this trial, which is followed by a rigorous examination, his sentence is pro-

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 450.

^h Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374. i Oppian, de Venat. lib. 1. v. 357.

nounced; and if it is not judged expedient, either for himself or the republic, that he should long enjoy life, he is cast into a gulf near Mount Taygetus. If he appears healthy and well formed, he is chosen, in the name of his country, to be hereafter one of her defenders.k

When brought back to the house, he is laid on a buckler, and near this military cradle is placed a spear, that this weapon may be one of the first objects that become familiar to his eyes.¹

His delicate limbs are not confined with bands that prevent their motions: no care is taken to stop his tears, when it is necessary they should flow, but they are never excited by menaces and blows. He is accustomed by degrees to solitude, darkness, and the greatest indifference in the choice of eatables.^m He is alike a stranger to impressions of terror, useless restraints, and unjust reproaches. Continually occupied in innocent sports, he enjoys all the sweets of life, and his happiness hastens the expansion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind.

At the age of seven years, at which he arrives without having known servile fear, domestic education commonly ends." The father is asked if he is willing his child should be educated according to the laws. If he refuses, he is himself

^k Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

l Non. Dionys. lib. 41. p. 1062. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 39.

m Plut, in Lycurg. p. 49.

l Id. ibid. t. 1. p. 50.

deprived of the rights of a citizen: o if he consents, the child will for the future have for his guardians not only his parents but also the laws, the magistrates, and all the citizens, who are authorised to interrogate, to advise, and to chastise him, without fear of being accused of severity, since they would themselves be punished if, when they were witnesses of his faults, they had the weakness to spare him. P At the head of the children is placed one of the most respectable men of the republic.4 He distributes them into different classes, over each of which presides a young chief distinguished by his sense and courage. They must submit without a murmur to the orders they receive from him, and the chastisements he imposes on them, which are inflicted with rods by young persons arrived at the age of puberty."

The regulations to which they are subjected become from day to day more rigid. Their hair is cut off, and they walk without stockings or shoes. To accustom them to bear the rigour of the seasons, they are sometimes made to exercise quite naked.

At the age of twelve years they lay aside the tunic, and wear only a cloak which must last

[°] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

P Id. ibid. p. 237.

A Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.

^{&#}x27; Id. ibid. p. 677.

[·] Plut, in Lycurg. p. 50.

them a whole year. They are rarely permitted the use of baths and perfumes. Each company lies together on the tops of reeds that grow in the river, and which they break off with their hands without employing any iron instrument.

Then it is that they begin to contract those intimate connexions which are little known in other nations, and more pure at Lacedæmon than in the other cities of Greece. It is permitted to each of them to receive the assiduous attentions of a virtuous young man, attracted by the charms of beauty, and the still more powerful charms of virtue, of which beauty appears to be the emblem.* The youth of Sparta is thus, as it were, divided into two classes, the one consisting of those who love, and the other of those who are beloved." The first, destined to serve as models to the second, carry even to enthusiasm a sentiment which produces the most noble emulation, and which, with the transports of love, is, in reality, only the passionate tenderness of a father for his son, or the ardent friendship of a brother for his brother. When several feel the divine inspiration, for such is the name they give to their attachment' for one

^t Xenoph, de Rep. Laced, p. 676. Plut, in Lycurg. p. 50. Justin, lib. 3, cap. 3.

[&]quot;Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

"Plut. ibid.

"Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 12. Schol. ibid. Maxim. Tyr.

Dissert. 24. p. 284.

"Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678; et in Conviv. p. 873 et

883. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 9.

object, far from being tormented with jealousy, they are only the more united to each other and the more ardent in promoting the improvement of him whom they love; for all their ambition is to render him as estimable in the eyes of others as he is in their own. One of the most virtuous of the citizens was condemned to pay a fine for having never attached himself to any young man, and another because his young friend had, in battle, cried out through fear.

These associations, which have often produced great effects, are common to both sexes, and sometimes only end with life. They had long been established in Crete. Lycurgus knew their value, and foresaw the dangers to which they were exposed. But, besides that the least blemish on a union which ought to be sacred, and which almost always is so, would for ever cover the guilty person with infamy, and even, according to circumstances, be punished with death, the young pupils cannot withdraw themselves for a moment from the sight of the aged

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.

^e Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 10. ^d Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Ælian. ibid.

Plat. Sympos. t. iii. p. 178.

f Plut, ibid.

Flut, ibid.

8 Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2824

Strab. lib. 10. p. 483. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 4. cap. 1.

h Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. Plat. ibid. Max. Tyr. Dissert, 26. p. 317.

Plut. Inst. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

* Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 12.

persons, who consider it as their duty to be present at and maintain decency in their exercises, nor from the observation of the presidentgeneral of education, or that of the Iren or particular leader of each division.

This Iren is a youth of twenty years of age, who, as a reward for his courage and prudence, receives the honour of being appointed to give lessons to a number of other youths committed to his care. He is at their head when they encounter each other, when they swim over the Eurotas, when they hunt, wrestle, run, or engage in the different exercises of the gymnasium. On their return home, they take a wholesome and frugal meal," which they prepare themselves. The strongest bring the wood, and the weaker herbs, and other provisions, which they have conveyed away by stealth from. the gardens, or the halls in which the public repasts are held. If they are discovered, they are sometimes whipped, to which chastisement is often added a prohibition from approaching the table." Sometimes they are dragged to an altar, which they must go round, singing verses in ridicule of themselves.º

When the supper is over, their young leader

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 50.
Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

^{*} Id. in Lycurg. ibid. o Id. Instit. Lacon, ibid.

orders some of them to sing, and proposes questions to others, from their answers to which ar judgment may be formed of their wit or their sentiments; such as: Who is the worthiest man in the city? What do you think of such an action? The reply must be precise, and accompanied with a reason. Those who speak without reflection receive slight chastisements, in presence of the magistrates and aged men, who attend at these conversations, and are sometimes dissatisfied with the sentences of the young leader: but through fear of weakening his authority, they wait till he is alone before they punish him for his indulgence or severity.

The youth of Lacedæmon receive but a slight tincture of literature; but they are taught to express themselves with purity, to perform in the choruses of dancing and music, to perpetuate in their verses the memory of those who have died for their country, and the shame of those who have betrayed it. In these poems great ideas are expressed with simplicity, and elevated sentiments with an animated warmth.

Every day the ephori attend on their youthful pupils, who, from time to time, go to the ephori, who examine whether their education has been carefully conducted, whether any improper de-

P Plut. in Lyeurg. t. i. p. 51.

g Id. ibid. p. 53.

licacy has been suffered to insinuate itself into their beds or apparel, and whether they are disposed to corpulency. This last article is considered as of great importance: the magistrates of Sparta have been known to cite before the tribunal of the nation, and threaten with banishment, citizens whose excessive corpulence seemed to be a proof of luxurious indolence, A Spartan would blush to have an effeminate countenance. The body, as it increases in size, must acquire suppleness and strength, still preserving its just proportions.

This is the object proposed in subjecting the Spartans to labours which occupy almost every moment of their time. They pass a great part of the day in the gymnasium, where we do not find, as in other cities, those masters who teach their disciples the art of adroitly supplanting an adversary. Here stratagem would disgrace courage, and stain that honour which ought to accompany defeat as well as victory. Hence it is that, in certain exercises, it is not permitted to the Spartan who is overcome to lift his hand as a sign of submission, since that would be to acknowledge a conqueror.*

Ælian. Var. Hist, lib. 14. cap. 7.

Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550. Ælian. ibid.

^{*} Ælian. ibid.

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233.

^{228.} Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. cap. 3.

I have often been present at the combats in which the youth who have arrived at the age of eighteen years engage in the platanistas. prepare themselves for this exercise in their college, situate in the town of Therapne. They are divided into two bodies, one of which is distinguished by the name of Hercules, and the other by that of Lycurgus." They jointly sacrifice, during the night, a little dog on the altar of Mars. It has been imagined that the most courageous of domestic animals must be the victim most acceptable to the most courageous of the gods. After the sacrifice, each party brings a tamed wild boar, which they excite and irritate against that of their antagonists, and if he remains conqueror it is deemed a fayourable omen.

The next day, about noon, the young warriors advance in order, and by different ways, which are determined by lot, toward the field of battle. At a signal given, they attack each other, and gain and give ground by turns. Presently their ardour gradually increases; they assault each other with their hands and feet, and even make use of their teeth and nails. They continue a disadvantageous contest notwithstanding the most painful wounds, and risk the loss of life rather than submit to a defeat.2 Their ferocity sometimes even appears

Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 919.

Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5, cap. 27, t. ii, p. 383.

to increase as their strength diminishes. One of them, when on the point of throwing his antagonist to the ground, suddenly cried out: "You bite me like a woman." "No," replied the other, "I bite like a lion." The action passes under the eyes of five magistrates, who with a word may moderate the fury of the combatants, and a multitude of spectators, who by turns lavish praises on the conquerors, or load the vanquished with sarcasms. It ends when one of the parties is obliged to swim over the Eurotas, or a canal, which, together with that river, encloses the platanistas.

I have seen other combats in which the greatest fortitude contends with the most extreme sufferings. At a festival celebrated every year in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, Spartan youths, scarcely out of their infancy, and chosen from among all the different classes of the people, are brought to the altar, and severely whipped till the blood begins to stream. The priestess of the goddess is present, and holds in her hand a very small and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioners appear moved with compassion, the priestess exclaims that she is no longer able to bear the weight of the statue. The strokes then redouble, and the attention of all present be-

^a Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.

^b Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231. c Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 243.

comes more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhort them, with frantic cries, not to suffer the smallest complaint to escape them,^d while they themselves provoke and defy pain. The presence of so many witnesses, who watch their smallest motions, and the hope of victory to be decreed to him who shall sufferwith the greatest constancy, so steel them against their pangs, that they endure these horrid tortures with a serene countenance and a joy at which humanity shudders.^e

Astonished at their firmness, I said to Damonax, who was with me: It must be acknowledged that your laws are faithfully observed. Say rather, replied he, shamefully abused. The ceremony of which you have been a spectator was formerly instituted in honour of a barbarous divinity, whose statue and worship, it is pretended, Orestes brought from Taurica to Lacedæmon. The oracle had commanded that human sacrifices should be offered to this new deity. Lycurgus abolished the horrid custom, but, as an indemnification to superstition, directed that the young Spartans who were condemned to be scourged for their faults,

d Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 288. Senec. de Provid. cap. 4. Stat. Theb, lib. 8. v. 437. Luctat. ibid. in Not.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. i p. 239.
 f Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 642. Hygin, Fab. 261.
 Meurs, Græc. Fer. lib. 2. in Διαμας ίγ.

should undergo their punishment at the altar of the goddess.

The express terms and spirit of the law should have been adhered to. A slight chastisement was all that was intended; but our senseless applauses excite, both here and in the platanistas, a detestable emulation among our youth. Their tortures are to us an object of curiosity, and to them a subject of triumph. Our fathers were only acquainted with the heroism which was useful to their country, and their virtues were neither raised above, nor sunk below, the level of their duties; but ours, since they have been infected with vanity, exhibit features so swelled and distorted that they are no longer recognisable. This change, which has taken place since the Peloponnesian war, is a striking symptom of the decline and corruption of our manners. The exaggeration of evil excites only contempt, but that of good surprises esteem: it is then imagined that the lustre of an extraordinary action dispenses from the most sacred obligations. If this abuse continues, our youth will at length only possess the courage of ostentation. They will brave death at the altar of Diana, and fly at the sight of the enemy,i

Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 249.

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677. ¹ Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

You recollect the child who, the other day, having concealed a young fox under his garaments, suffered it to eat into his bowels, rather than confess his theft. His obstinacy appeared so unusual, that his companions loudly blamed him. But, replied I, it was only the natural consequence of your institutions; for he observed that it, was better to perish in torments than to live in ignominy. It was not, therefore, without reason, that some philosophers have asserted that your exercises instil a species of ferocity into the minds of your young warriors."

They attack us, replied Damonax, when they perceive we have fallen. Lycurgus had guarded against the overflowing of our virtues by mounds which have subsisted during four centuries, and of which some traces still remain. Have we not lately seen a Spartan, though he had signalised himself by great exploits, punished for having fought without his buckler? But, in proportion as our manners lose their purity, false honour refuses to submit to restraint, and communicates itself insensibly to all the orders of the state. Formerly the women of Sparta, more prudent and decent than they

Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.

k Plut, in Lyeurg. t. i. p. 51.

¹ Id. Apophth, Lacon, t, ii. p. 234.

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 452.

are at present, when they were informed of the death of their sons, slain on the field of battle, were contented with showing themselves superior to the feelings of nature; at present they make a merit of insulting them, and, that they may not be charged with weakness, do not hesitate to assume an unnatural ferocity. was the answer of Damonax: I now return to the education of the Spartans.

In several cities of Greece, youth, when they have attained their eighteenth year, are no longer under the vigilant eye of their preceptors.º Lycurgus was too well acquainted with the human heart to abandon it to itself at that critical moment, on which, almost always, depends the fate of the man, and often that of the state. He counteracted the expansion of the passions by a new course of exercises and labours. The leaders then require from their disciples more modesty, submission, temperance, and ardour; and it is a singular spectacle to see these illustrious youths, who might well be inspired with all the pride of courage and of beauty, not daring, if I may so speak, to open their lips, or lift their eyes, and walking with slow steps, and all the reserve of a timid maiden carrying the sacred offerings. Yet, unless some powerful motive animates this regularity and de-

[°] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. P Id. ibid. p. 679.

cency of appearance, modesty may reign in the countenance while vice triumphs in the heart. Lycurgus has therefore stationed around them a body of spies and rivals, by whom they are incessantly watched.

No method can be more proper than this to inspire and preserve the purity of virtue. Place by the side of a young man another of the same age with himself, as an example, and he will hate him if he cannot equal his merit, and despise him if he obtains a triumph without difficulty. On the contrary, place one body of youths in emulative opposition to another, and, as it will be easy to proportion the strength and vary the composition of each, the honour of victory and the shame of defeat will neither too much inflate or humiliate the individuals of which it consists, but a rivalry will take place among them accompanied by esteem; their relations and their friends will hasten to participate in it, and some simple exercises will become interesting exhibitions to all the citizens.

The young Spartans frequently leave their sports to engage in exercises which inure them to greater address and expedition. They are commanded to disperse themselves through the country, with arms in their hands, bare-footed, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the seasons, without slaves to serve them, or covering to defend them from the cold during the

night. Sometimes they make observations on the nature of the country, and the best manner of defending it from the incursions of the enemy: sometimes they hunt wild boars, or other beasts of the chace; and sometimes, to exercise themselves in the various manœuvres of the military art, they lie in ambuscade during the day, and in the following night attack and kill those Helots who, though informed of their danger, have yet been so imprudent as to be found in their way. **

Girls at Sparta are not brought up like those of Athens. They are not obliged to keep themselves shut up in their apartments to spin wool, and to abstain from wine or too strong meats; but they are taught to dance, to sing, to run swiftly in the stadium, and to throw with force the quoit or javelin. They perform all these exercises without a veil, and half naked, in the presence of the kings, the magistrates, and all the citizens, without even excepting the unmarried young men, whom they excite to distinguish themselves some-

⁹ Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 663. Ibid. lib. 6. p. 763.

⁵ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.

Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

^{*} This kind of military stratagem was called Cryptia:

see note IX. at the end of the volume.

Laced. p. 675. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 806. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227

p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. Eurip. in Androm. v. 598. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

times by flattering praise, and sometimes by sarcastic irony.

Amid these sports is it that two hearts destined one day to unite first begin to cherish those sentiments which must ensure their happiness.^{2*}
But the transports of an infant passion are never consummated by a premature marriage.† Wherever children are permitted to perpetuate families, the human species is seen sensibly to dwindle and degenerate.^a At Lacedæmon, men have preserved their original vigour, because they do not marry till the body has arrived at its full growth, and their judgment become mature to direct them in their choice.^b

To the good qualities of their minds, the pair who wish to unite must add masculine beauty, full stature, and exuberant health. Lycurgus, and after him many discerning philosophers, have considered it as absurd that so much care should be taken to improve the breed of certain domestic animals, while that of men is entirely neglected. The event has corresponded with his views, and happy unions seem to have

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

² Id. ibid.

^{*} See note X. at the end of the volume.

[†] See note XI. at the end of the volume.

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 446.

Kenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Num. t. i.

P. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Plut. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 1.

Plut. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 459. Theogn. Sent. v. 183. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

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given an additional degree of strength and majesty to human nature. In fact, the purity of the Spartan blood is equalled among no people.

I shall not enter into a minute detail of the marriage ceremonies; but I must not omit to mention a custom remarkable for its singularity. When the marriage is concluded, the bridegroom, after a slight repast, which he takes in the public hall, repairs, at the beginning of the night, to the house of his new relations; he secretly carries off his bride, takes her home, and soon after returns to the gymnasium, to rejoin his comrades, with whom he continues to live as before. On the following days he frequents, as usual, his father's house, but he can only indulge his passion in those moments in which he deceives the vigilance of those who surround him; it would be a shame to him should he be seen coming out of the apartment of his wife. He sometimes lives whole years in this clandestine intercourse, in which the mystery adds so many charms to the surprises and furtive enjoyments of love. Lycurgus knew that desires too soon and too often satisfied terminate in indifference or disgust; he was careful therefore to cherish and preserve

^{*} Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.

Athen. lib. 14. p. 646. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 240.

Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.

them, that the married pair might have time to accustom themselves to the faults of each other; and that love, insensibly stripped of its illusions, might arrive at perfection by transforming into friendship. Hence the happy harmony which reigns in these families, the heads of which, obedient to the will of each other, seem every day more closely to unite by a new choice, and incessantly present the pleasing image of the most exalted courage joined with the most perfect mildness.

Very weighty reasons may authorise a Spartan not to marry; but in his old age he must not hope to be treated with the same respect as the other citizens. As a proof of this, an anecdote is related of Dercyllidas, who had commanded armies with so much glory. That general came one day into the assembly, when a young man said to him: I shall not rise to you, because you will leave no children who may one day rise to me. Those who live in celibacy are also exposed to other humiliations. They may not be present at the exercises in which the girls engage half naked; the magistrate may also, in the midst of winter, command them to strip off their clothes, and go round the forum,

h Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. Id. Apophth. Lacon, t. ii. p. 228.

ⁱ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. ^k Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 490, &c.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

singing sarcastic verses on themselves, in which they acknowledge that their disobedience to the laws merits the chastisement they suffer."

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Spartans.

THIS chapter is only a continuation of the preceding; for the education of the Spartans continues, if I may so speak, during their whole life."

From the age of twenty years, they suffer their hair and beard to grow. The hair is an ornament, and becomes the free man and the warrior. They are accustomed to obedience in the most indifferent things. When the ephori enter on office, they proclaim, by sound of trumpet, a decree, commanding the people to shave their upper lip, and to submit to the laws. Here every thing conduces to instruction. A Spartan being asked why he wore so long a beard, replied: Since it is grown white, it incessantly reminds me not to dishonour my old age.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.
PHerodot. lib. 1. cap. 82. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.
P. 686. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434. Id. Apophth. Lacon.
The contract of the

P Plut, in Agid, t. i. p. 803. Id. de Sera Num, Vind, t. ii.

^q Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

The Spartans, by banishing every kind of ornament from their dress, have given an example admired but no where imitated by other nations. Among them, kings, magistrates, and the lowest of the citizens, are not distinguishable by their external appearance. They all wear a very short, and very coarse, woollen tunic, over which they throw a mantle, or a large cloak." On their feet they wear sandals, or shoes, commonly of a red colour.x Two heroes of Lacedæmon, Castor and Pollux, are represented with caps which, if joined by the bottom, would resemble the form of that egg from which it is pretended they derived their origin. The caps the Spartans now wear are still of the same shape. Some tie them tight with strings that go behind the ears; others begin to wear instead of them those of the courtesans of Greece, "The Lacedæmonians are no longer invincible," said, in my time, the poet Antiphanes; "the nets in which they bind their hair are dyed purple."

Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374.

Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 474. Schol. ibid.

Demosth in Canon, p. 1113. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.

^{*} Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 18.

y Meurs. ibid. cap. 17. 2 Id. ibid.

a Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 8. p. 681. Casaub. ibid. t. ii. p. 610.

They were the first after the Cretans who performed the exercises of the gymnasium entirely naked.^b This custom was afterwards introduced in the Olympic games,^c and has ceased to be indecent since it is become common.^d

They appear in public with large sticks, hooked at the top; but they are forbidden to carry them in the general assembly, because the affairs of state ought to be determined by strength of argument, and not by force of arms.

The houses of Lacedæmon are small, and built without art. Their doors are only to be smoothed with the saw, and their floors with the adze. Trunks of trees, scarcely divested of their bark, serve as beams. Their furniture, though more elegant, participates of the same simplicity. It is never confusedly heaped together. The Spartans have immediately at hand whatever they want, for they make it a duty to keep every thing in its place; and these little attentions maintain among them the love of order and discipline.

b Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452. Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 856.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Schol. ibid.

d Plat. ibid.
c Aristoph. in Av. v. 1283. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccles.
v. 74 et 539. Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Casaub. ibid.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

Id. ibid. p. 47. Id. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210 et 227.

^{227.}Id. in Lycurg. p. 45.

Aristot. Œcon, lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 495.

Their diet is coarse and sparing. A foreigner who should see them recumbent round their table, and stretched on the field of battle, would prefer their death to their life.k Yet has Lycurgus only retrenched all superfluity from their repasts; and if they are frugal, it is rather from virtue than necessity. They are not in want of butcher's meat. Mount Taygetus furnishes them with plenty of venison; their plains with hares, partridges, and other kinds of game; and the sea and the Eurotas with fish." Their cheese of Gythium is in great estimation, o* and they have besides different kinds of pulse, fruits, bread, and cakes.P

It is true their cooks are only to dress plain, and never to prepare artificial dishes, except their black broth. This is a sauce the composition of which I have forgotten,† and in which

¹ Athen. lib. 4. p. 139.

^m Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 261.

Athen. lib. 4. p. 141; lib. 14. p. 654. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 13.

° Lucian. in Meretric. t. iii. p. 321.

* This cheese is still in great request in the country. (See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 63.)

P Meurs. ibid. cap. 12 et 13.

^a Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 7. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Id. in Agid. p. 810. Poll.

lib. 6. cap. 9. § 57.

Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 38. Stob. Serm. 29. p. 208. Athen. lib. iv. p. 138.

⁺ Meursius (Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap, 8.) conjectures that the black broth was made of pork gravy, to which were added vinegar and salt. It appears, in fact, that the Spartan cooks were not allowed to use any other seasoning than salt and vinegar. (Plut. de Sanitat. Tuend. t. ii, p. 128).

the Spartans dip their bread. They prefer it to the most exquisite dainties.' Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, wished to adorn his table with so celebrated a dish. He procured a Lacedæmonian cook, and ordered him to spare neither pains nor expence; but when the broth was served up, the king, having tasted of it, rejected it with disgust and indignation. " My lord," said the slave, "an essential seasoning is wanting." "What is that?" said the monarch. "Violent exercise before the meal," replied the Lacedæmonian.t

Laconia produces several kinds of wines. That from the vintage of the five hills, at the distance of seven stadia from Sparta, exhales an odour as fragrant as the perfume of flowers." That which is boiled, must boil till a fifth part is evaporated. It is kept four years before it is drank.* At their meals the cup does not pass from hand to hand, as among other nations; but each person empties his own, which is immediately filled again by the slave who waits at table. They may drink as often as they have occasion, a permission which they never

Plut. Institut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 286.

^t Id. ibid. Cicer. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 5. cap. 34. t. ii. p. 389. Stob. Serm. 29. p. 208.

^u Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 31. ^x Democr. Geopon. lib. 7. cap. 4. Pallad. ap. Script. Rei Rustic. lib. 11. tit. 14. t. ii. p. 990.

^y Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 432. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463. 2 Xenoph, de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 208.

abuse.^a The disgusting sight of a slave who is sometimes made drunk and brought before them while they are children inspires them with a rooted aversion to drunkenness,^b and their minds are too noble ever to submit voluntarily to degrade themselves. Such is the spirit of the answer which a Spartan returned to some one who asked him why he was so moderate in the use of wine: "That I may never," said he, "stand in need of the reason of another." Besides wine, they frequently assuage their thirst with whey.^d*

They have different kinds of public repasts. The most frequent are the Philitia. † Kings, magistrates, private citizens, all assemble to eat together in certain halls, in which a number of tables are spread, most frequently with fifteen covers each. The guests at one table never interfere with those at another, and form a society of friends, in which no person can be received but by the consent of all those who com-

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. Athen. lib. 10. p. 433.

Plut, Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 224.

d Hesych in Klepos.

* This drink is still in use in the country. (See Lacedémone

Ancienne, t. i. p. 64.)

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abstinen, lib, 4.

4. p. 305.

^a Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637.

[†] These entertainments are called by some authors *Phiditia*, but by many others *Philitia*, which appears to be their true name, and signifies associations of friends. (See Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 9.)

pose it. They recline on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a stone or a block of wood. Black broth is served up to them, and afterwards boiled pork, which is distributed to each guest in equal portions, sometimes so small that they scarcely weigh a quarter of a mina each.h* They have wine, cakes, and barley bread, in plenty. At other times fish and different kinds of game are added by way of supplement to their ordinary portion.i Those who offer sacrifices, or go out to hunt, may, on their return, eat at home; but they must send to their companions at the same table a part of the game or the victim.k Near each cover a small piece of crumb of bread is laid to wipe their fingers.1

During the repast, the conversation frequently turns on morals or examples of virtue. A great action is related as news worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly discourse: they speak with precision, and are heard with respect.

f Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

⁶ Athen. lib. 12. p. 518. Suid. in Λυκ. et in Φιλίτ. Cicer. Orat. pro Mur. cap. 35. t. v. p. 232. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 10.

h Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.

^{*} About three ounces and a half.

Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.

^k Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

¹ Poll. lib. 6. cap. 14. § 93. Athen. lib. 9. p. 409.

Decorum is accompanied by gaiety; Lycurgus has even enjoined it on the guests; and it is with this view that he has ordered a statue of the god of laughter to be placed in the hall. But the pleasantries that excite mirth must contain nothing offensive, and the too severe sally, if it should by chance escape any person present, must never be repeated in any other place. The oldest of the company, showing the door to those who enter, reminds them that nothing they may hear must go out there.

The different classes of youth are present at these repasts, without partaking of them; the youngest to carry off adroitly from the table some portion which they share with their comrades, and the others to receive lessons of wisdom and pleasantry.

Whether these public repasts have been instituted in a city in imitation of those which are taken in a camp, or whether they derive their origin from another cause, it is certain that, in a small state, they are of wonderful effect in maintaining the laws. During peace they produce union, temperance, and equality; and

Aristoph. in Lysist. v. 1228.

Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.
Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

P Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46 et 50.

⁹ Plat. de Leg. lib 1. t. ii. p. 625; lib. 6. p. 780. ¹ Id. ibid. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226.

during war hold forth a new motive to the citizen to fly to the succour of another with whom he has participated in sacrifices and libations. Minos had appointed them in his states. Lycurgus adopted the custom with some remarkable differences. In Crete the expence is defrayed from the revenues of the republic; but at Lacedæmon from those of individuals, who are obliged to furnish, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, figs, and even money." By this contribution, the poorest class are in danger of being excluded from the meal in common; a defect which Aristotle has censured in the laws of Lycurgus.* On the other hand. Plato has blamed both Minos and Lycurgus, because they have not extended this regulation likewise to the women.y For my part, I shall not venture to decide between such great politicians and legislators.

Among the Spartans, some are unable either to read or write; others scarcely know how to cipher.2 They have no idea of geometry, astronomy, or the other sciences. The best informed among them are admirers of the poems of

Dionys, Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 283.

^{&#}x27; Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9 et 10. t. ii. p. 331 et 332.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 4. p. 305. Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.

x Aristot. ibid.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 780 et 781; lib. 8. p. 839.

² Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 290.

Plat. in Hip. Maj. t. iii. p. 285.
 Id. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 50.

Homer, Terpander, and Tyrtæus, because they elevate the soul. Their theatre is only appropriated to their exercises: they never represent there either tragedies or comedies; for the introduction of the drama among them is forbidden by an express law.f Some Spartans, though their number is very small, have cultivated lyric poetry with success. Alcman, who lived about three centuries since, distinguished himself in this species of verse.g His style is smooth, though he had to combat the harshness of the Doric dialect, which is spoken at Lacedæmon.^b But he was animated by a sentiment which smooths and softens all things: he had dedicated his whole life to love, and sang of love to his latest hour.

The Lacedæmonians are admirers of music, which produces the enthusiasm of virtue. Without cultivating that art, they are capable of judging of its influence on manners, and reject those innovations which deprive it of its simplicity.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680.

Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 67. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

p. 565. Diction. de Bayle au mot Aleman.

^h Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 244.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Camel. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 184.

k Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 454. Athera lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 628.

We may judge of their aversion to rhetoric by the following anecdotes. A young Spartan, while at a distance from his country, had applied himself to the art of oratory. When he returned, the ephori inflicted a punishment on him, for having conceived a design to impose on his countrymen.

During the Peloponnesian war, another Spartan was sent to the satrap Tissaphernes to engage him to prefer the alliance of Lacedæmon to that of Athens. He expressed himself in a few words; and when he heard the Athenian embassadors display their ostentatious eloquence, drew two lines, the one straight and the other crooked, but both terminating in the same point, and showing them to the satrap, said to him: Choose. Two centuries before, the inhabitants of an island in the Ægean sea, suffering by famine, had recourse for succour to the Lacedæmonians, their allies, who returned for answer to their embassador: We have not understood the latter end of your harangue, and we have forgotten the beginning. A second embassador was therefore sent, who was cautioned to be extremely concise. He came to Sparta, and began by showing the Lacedæmonians one

¹ Quintil. Instit. Orator. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 124. Athen. lib. 13. p. 611.

^m Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293.

[&]quot; Id. ibid.

[·] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 46.

of the sacks used to carry flour in: the sack was empty. The assembly immediately resolved to supply the island with provisions, but recommended to the embassador not to be so prolix another time. He had in fact told them it was necessary to fill the sack.

They despise the art, but they esteem the genius, of oratory. This some of them have received from nature, and have displayed in their own assembly and those of other states; as also in the funeral orations, which are pronounced every year in honour of Pausanias and Leonidas. Brasidas, the general who, during the Peloponnesian war, supported the honour of his country in Macedonia, was considered as eloquent even by the Athenians, who set so high a value on oratory.

The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians always proceeds directly to the point at which it aims, and arrives at it by the most simple ways. Foreign sophists have sometimes been permitted to enter their city, and to speak in their presence. When they delivered any useful truths, they were heard with attention and applause; but were no longer listened to when they only endeavoured to dazzle the understanding. One

P Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293.

^{*} Æschin. in Timarch. p. 288. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240. * Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 84.

proposed to pronounce before us an eulogium on Hercules: "On Hercules!" cried Antalcidas immediately; "who ever thought of blaming Hercules ?"t

They do not blush to be found ignorant of those sciences which they consider as superfluous; and one of them replied to an Athenian, who reproached them with this ignorance: We are in fact the only people to whom you have not been able to teach your vices." As they only apply themselves to those kinds of knowledge which are absolutely necessary, their ideas are only therefore the more just and better arranged; for false ideas are like those irregular materials which cannot be employed in the construction of an edifice.

Thus, though the Lacedæmonians have less learning than other nations, they are more intelligent. It is said that from them Thales, Psittacus, and the other sages of Greece, borrowed the art of comprising moral maxims in short sentences.* Instances of this kind which have fallen under my own observation have frequently astonished me. I imagined I was conversing with uncultivated and ignorant persons, when I unexpectedly received from them replies full of the most solid and penetrating

^e Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192.

[&]quot;Id. in Lyeurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

* Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.

sense.y Accustomed as they are, from their earliest years, to express themselves with equal energy and precision, they are silent when they have nothing interesting to say, and apologise if they have too much. A certain instinct of greatness teaches them that the diffusive style is only suitable to the suppliant slave; and, in fact, such a style, like the language of supplication, seems fearfully to approach and wind itself around him whom it labours to persuade. The concise style, on the contrary, is lofty and majestic, and suitable to the master who commands.c It is consonant to the character of the Spartans, who frequently employ it in their conversations and letters. Repartees, rapid as lightning, leave behind them sometimes a lively splendor, and sometimes proofs of the high opinion they entertain of themselves and their country.

Some one was once praising the goodness of the young king Charilaus. "How can he be good," replied the other king, "since he is so even to the wicked?" In one of the cities of

Flat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

² Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 46. Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641; lib. 4. p. 721. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51 et 52. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 296.

^a Plut. ibid. p. 52. ^b Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 17.

Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 253.

d Plut, in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. in. p. 218.

Greece, the herald who was employed to sell some slaves cried aloud: "I sell a Lacedæmonian." "Say rather a prisoner," replied the Spartan, laying his hand on his mouth. The generals of the king of Persia demanded of the deputies from Lacedæmon in what character they meant to carry on their negotiation. "If it fails," replied they, " as individuals; if it succeeds, as embassadors."f

The same precision may be remarked in the letters written by the magistrates, and in those which they receive from the generals. ephori, fearing that the garrison of Decelia should suffer themselves to be surprised, or not intermit their accustomed exercises, wrote to them only these words: "Do not walk." The most disastrous defeat or the most splendid victory was notified with the same simplicity. When, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonian fleet, under the command of Mindarus, had been defeated by that of Athens under Alcibiades, an officer wrote to the ephori: "The battle is lost; Mindarus is killed; no provisions nor resources." A short time after, the same magistrates received from Lysander, the general of their army, a letter containing

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 233.

f Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55. Id. Apophth. Lacon, p. 231.

g Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Xenoph, Hist, Græc, lib. 1. p. 430.

the following words: "Athens is taken." Such was the relation of the most glorious and most important conquest Lacedæmon ever made.

It is not to be imagined, from these instances, that the Spartans, condemned to a solemn austerity of reasoning, never dare to unwrinkle their brow. They possess that disposition to gaiety which is the natural consequence of the freedom of the mind and the health of the body. Their mirth is rapidly communicated, because it is lively and natural. It is maintained by pleasantries which, having in them nothing low or offensive, are essentially different from buffoonery and satire.k They early learn to take and to return them, and desist from them the moment the person who is the object of them solicits to be spared."

With such sallies they frequently repress the pretensions of vanity or the complaints of peevishness. I was one day with the king Archidamus, when Periander his physician presented him some verses which he had just written. The king read them, and said to him in a friendly manner, Why will you make yourself, instead of a good physician, a bad poet?" Some

i Plut, in Lysand. t. i. p. 441. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 229. Schol. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 64. p. 106.

k Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

m Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 46.

ⁿ Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 218.

years after, an old man, complaining to king Agis of some infractions of the laws, exclaimed that all was lost. "That," replied Agis, smiling, "is so true, that I remember, when I was a boy, I heard my father say that, when he was a boy, he heard my grandfather say the same thing."

The lucrative arts, and especially those of luxury, are severely forbidden the Spartans. They are prohibited from altering the nature of oil by perfumes, or dyeing wool of any colour but purple. There are therefore no perfumers and scarcely any dyers among them. They ought to be entirely unacquainted with gold and silver, and consequently can have among them no workmen in those metals. In the army they may exercise some useful professions, as that of herald, trumpeter, or cook; but on condition that the son shall follow the profession of his father, as is practised in Egypt.

They have such an idea of liberty, that they cannot reconcile it with manual labour. One of them, on his return from Athens, said to me:

[°] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 216.

Polyæn. lib. 2. cap. 1. N° 7.

⁴ Athen. lib. 15. p. 686. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 762.

Flut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 60.

Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

"I come from a city where nothing is dishonourable;" by which he both meant to allude to the dealings of those who procure courtesans for a certain price, and those who are engaged in retail traffic." Another, being in the same city, and learning that a person had been condemned to pay a fine as a punishment for idleness, declared he wished to see, as an extraordinary sight, the man who had been punished in a republic for having emancipated himself from every species of servitude.*

His surprise was founded on the consideration that the laws, in his own country, were all especially directed to free the minds of the people from factitious interests and domestic cares. Those who have lands are obliged to farm them out to Helots. Those between whom differences arise, must terminate them by accommodation; for they are forbidden to waste the precious moments of their life in the prosecution of lawsuits, no less than in the operations of commerce, or any of those various means employed by others to increase their fortune or lighten the burden of existence.

x Id. ibid. p. 221.

[&]quot; Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

² Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216, a Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233. a Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

They are nevertheless strangers to disgust and weariness of life, because they are never alone, nor ever at rest. Swimming, wrestling, running, tennis, the other exercises of the gymnasium, and military evolutions, employ them for a part of the day; and they afterward make it a duty and amusement to be present at the sports and combats of the youth. From thence they go to the lesches, or halls, in different quarters of the city, in which the men of every age are accustomed to meet. They have a great taste for the pleasures of conversation, which, with them, scarcely ever turns on the interests or projects of states; but they listen without ever being weary to the lessons of aged persons. They willingly hear concerning the origin of men, heroes, and cities. The gravity of these discourses is tempered by frequent pleasantries.

These meetings, as well as the public meals and exercises, are honoured with the presence of the old men. I make use of this expression, because old age, in other countries devoted to contempt, raises a Spartan to the summit of

Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.

⁴ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684. ⁶ Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. Id. lib. 14. cap. 7.

f Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.
Fausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240; cap. 15. p. 245.

^{*} Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.

Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 235.

honour.k The other citizens, and especially the youth, pay them all the respect which they will in their turn require to be paid to themselves. The law obliges them to give way to the aged man wherever they meet him, to rise to him whenever he enters where they are, and to keep silence when he speaks. He is heard with deference in the assemblies of the people and in the halls of the gymnasium. Thus, those citizens who have served their country, far from becoming strangers to it at the end of their days, are then respected for the experience they have gained, and viewed with the same veneration as those ancient monuments whose remains are religiously preserved.

If we now consider that the Spartans dedicate one part of their time to the chace and the business of the general assemblies; that they celebrate a great number of festivals, the splendor of which is heightened by the united charms of dancing and music; and that, in fine, the pleasures common to a whole nation are more lively than those of an individual; far from lamenting their fate, we shall perceive that they enjoy an uninterrupted succession of pleasurable moments and interesting spectacles. Two of the latter had excited the admiration of Pindar. There, said he, we find the ardent

^k Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 3. Ibid. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.

courage of youthful warriors continually tempered by the consummate wisdom of the aged, and the brilliant triumphs of the muses perpetually followed by the transports of public joy.^m

Their tombs, which, like their houses, are without ornament, mark no distinction between the citizens." It is permitted to place them in the cities, or even near the temples. Tears and sighs are neither heard at funerals, on nor accompany the last moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more astonished at the approach of death than they were at the continuance of life. Persuaded that death must fix the boundary of their days, they submit to the commands of nature with the same resignation as to the necessities of the state.

The women are tall, strong, healthy, and almost all very handsome. But they are severe and majestic beauties. They might have furnished Phidias with a great number of models for his Minerva, but Praxiteles would with difficulty have found one among them for his Venus.

Their dress consists in a tunic, or kind of

Pind. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 53.

P Heracl. Pontic. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[°] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

P Homer. Odyss. lib. 13. v. 412. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 80. Mus. de Her. v. 74. Coluth. de Rapt. Helen. v. 218. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 29. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 3.

short shift, and a robe which descends to the heels.4 The girls, who are obliged to employ every moment of their time in wrestling, running, leaping, and other laborious exercises, usually only wear a light garment without sleeves," which is fastened over the shoulders with clasps,5 and which a girdlet confines, and prevents from falling below the knee." The lower part is open on each side, so that half the body is naked.* I am far from justifying this practice; but I shall relate the motives and consequences of it, as they were stated to me by some Spartans, to whom I testified my surprise at such a custom.

Lycurgus could not subject the girls to the same exercises as the men, unless he removed every thing that might prevent the freedom of their motions. He had no doubt observed that man did not cover himself till after he was become corrupted, and that his garments multiplied in proportion with his vices; that the beauties which seduce him frequently lose all their charms by being shown, and that, in fine,

4 Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 823.

p. 77. Plut, ibid, p. 76. Hesych, in Δωρίαζ.

Excerpt. Manuscr. ap. Potter, in Not. ad Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 238. Eustath, in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975.

Poll. Onomast. lib. 7. cap. 13. § 55. Eustath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975. lin. 38.

t Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. ^u Clem. Alex. ibid. Virg. Æneid. lib. 1. v. 320, 324, et 408. x Euripid. in Andromac. v. 598. Soph. ap. Plut. in Num.

the eyes only defile those minds which are already defiled. Guided by these reflections, he undertook to establish by his laws such a harmony of virtues between the two sexes, that the temerity of the one should be repressed. and the weakness of the other supported. Thus, not contented to decree that the punishment of death should be inflicted on him who should dishonour a maiden,y he accustomed the youth of Sparta to blush only at vice. Modesty, deprived of a part of its veil, was respected by both sexes, and the women of Lacedæmon were distinguished for the purity of their manners. I may add that Lycurgus has found defenders among the philosophers. Plato in his republic would have the women of every age exercise continually in the gymnasium, veiled with no other garments than their virtues.b

A Spartan woman appears in public with her face uncovered until she is married; but after her marriage, as she is only to seek to please her husband, she never goes abroad but with a veil; and as she ought to be known to him alone, it is not esteemed proper that others should speak of her even in her praise: but

Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 3.

² Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.

^a Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. ^b Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 457.

e Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

² Id. ibid. p. 217 et 220.

this concealment and respectful silence are only a homage rendered to decency. No where are women less watched or under less restraint,° nor have they any where less abused their liberty. The idea of infidelity to their husbands would formerly have appeared to them as strange as that of displaying the least regard to studied ornament in their dress.f Though at present they have no longer the same prudence nor the same modesty, they are still more observant of their duties than the other women of Greece.

They have also a more vigorous character of mind, by which they obtain an ascendency over their husbands, who consult them both concerning their private affairs and those of the state. It has been remarked that warlike nations are inclined to love. The union of Mars and Venus seems an emblem of this truth, and the example of the Lacedæmonians serves to confirm it.s A woman from another part of Greece once said to the wife of Leonidas: "You are the only women who have gained an ascendency over the men." "No doubt," replied she, "for we are the only women who bring forth men."h

p. 228. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. i. p. 287.
f Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii.

Agid. t. i. p. 798. Id. in Amator. t. ii. p. 761.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

Yet were these vigorous minds some few years since seized with a panic which surprised all Greece. At the sight of the army of Epaminondas they filled the city with confusion and terror. Does their character then enfeeble as their virtues decline? Is there a fatality which controuls courage? and can a moment of weakness counterbalance those examples of greatness and elevation of soul which they have at all times exhibited, and which they still continue daily to display?

They have a high idea of honour and liberty, which they sometimes carry so far, that it is difficult to say by what name we ought to call the sentiment by which they are animated. One of them wrote to her son, who in a battle had saved himself by flight: "Disgraceful reports are circulated concerning you; refute them, or cease to live."k An Athenian mother, in similar circumstances, wrote thus to her son: "I owe you many thanks for having preserved yourself for me."1 Those even who are willing to excuse the latter of these women cannot but admire the former; nor will they be less affected by the answer of Argileonis, the mother of the celebrated Brasidas, who, when some Thracians informed her of the glorious

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

^k Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.

Stob. Serm, 106. p. 576.

death of her son, and added that Lacedæmon had never produced so great a general, replied:

"Strangers, my son was indeed a brave man;"
but know that Lacedæmon possesses many still braver men than he."

Here we see nature subjected but not annihilated; and in this consists true courage. The ephori accordingly decreed exemplary honours to this illustrious woman." But who can hear without shuddering the reply of a mother, who, when it is said to her, "Your son is killed without quitting his rank;" immediately answers, "Let him be buried, and let his brother take his place;" or of that other who, waiting in the suburb to learn the news of the battle, was told by the courier that her five sons were killed. I do not come, said she, to inquire concerning them, but whether my country has any thing to fear. Our country, replied the messenger, triumphs. It is well, returned she, I shall resign myself with pleasure to my own loss. Who, in fine, can look without horror on those women who put to death with their own hands their sons convicted of cowardice; or those who, hastening to the field of battle, cause the body of their only son to be shown them, examine with an anxious eye the

^m Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t, ii. p. 219 et 240, ^m Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 122.

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 242.

Id. ibid. Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 5.

wounds he has received, carefully numbering those which may honour or disgrace his fall; and, after this horrible calculation, proudly return at the head of the party, or confine themselves to their houses to conceal their tears and their shame?**

These extravagances, or rather these enormities, of honour, so far surpass the standard of that greatness to which human nature can aspire, that we never find any of the other sex at Sparta proceed to the same excesses. The reason of which is, that with them the love of their country is a virtue that performs sublime actions, but with their wives a passion that attempts extraordinary things. Beauty, ornament, birth, or even the endowments of the mind, not being in sufficient esteem at Sparta to establish distinctions among women, they are obliged to found their claims to superiority on the number and valour of their children. While they live they enjoy the hopes which they give of future fame, and after their death inherit the celebrity they have acquired. It is this fatal succession which renders them ferocious, and causes their devotion to their country to be

* Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 21.

^{*} This latter fact, and others nearly similar, appear to be posterior to the times when the laws of Lycurgus were rigorously observed. It was not till after their decline that the women and children of Sparta were actuated by a false heroism.

sometimes accompanied with all the phrensy of ambition and vanity.

To that elevation of soul, which they still sometimes manifest at intervals, will soon succeed, without entirely destroying it, ignoble sentiments, and their life will only be a mixture of meanness and magnanimity, barbarism and voluptuousness. Already many among them suffer themselves to be swayed by the splendor of riches, and the attractions of pleasure. The Athenians, who loudly condemn the liberty permitted to women at Sparta, triumph when they see this liberty degenerate into licentiousness.* Even philosophers censure Lycurgus for having been solely attentive to the education of the men."

We will examine how far this accusation is founded, in another chapter, and at the same time consider the causes of the decline which has taken place in the manners of the Spartans; for it must be confessed they are no longer what they were a century ago. Some pride themselves in their riches with impunity, and others seek eagerly for employments which their fathers contented themselves with deserving. It is not long since a courtesan was discovered

³ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 328.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. p. 637.

"Id. ibid. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 781; lib. 8. p. 806. Aristot. ibid. p. 320.

^{*} Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.

in the environs of Sparta; and, which is not less dangerous, we have seen Cynisca, the sister of king Agesilaus, send to Olympia a chariot with four horses, to dispute the prize in the race; we have seen her triumph celebrated by poets, and a monument erected in her honour by the state.

Yet, notwithstanding their degradation, they still preserve some remains of their ancient greatness. They never have recourse to dissimulation, meanness, and that low cunning which debases the mind. They are eager to acquire without avarice, and ambitious without intrigue. The most powerful have the modesty to conceal the licentiousness of their conduct. They are fugitives who fear the laws they have violated, and regret the virtues they have lost.

I have nevertheless seen Spartans whose magnanimity invited others to imitation. They maintained their superiority without effort and without ostentation; nor could they be allured to mean compliance by the splendor of dignities or the hope of rewards, for they neither feared poverty nor death. In my last journey to Lacedæmon, I happened to be in company with Talecrus who was very poor, and Damindas

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 495.

² Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 222. Id. cap. 15. p. 243.

^{*} Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap 9. p. 330.

who enjoyed an easy fortune, when there came in one of those men whom Philip kept in pay to procure him partisans by bribes. He said to the former: What wealth have you? Every necessary, answered Talecrus, turning his back on him. He threatened the latter with the anger of Philip. Coward, replied Damindas, what hurt can your master do to men who despise death?

When I contemplate at leisure this mixture of growing vices and ancient virtues, I seem to myself in the midst of a forest that has been ravaged by the flames; I behold some trees reduced to ashes, others half consumed, and others which, still remaining undamaged, proudly life their lofty heads to the skies.

b Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. d. ibid. p. 219.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the Religion and Festivals of the Spartans.

THE objects of public worship at Lacedæmon only inspire a profound reverence and an absolute silence; neither discussions nor doubts concerning them are permitted. To adore the gods and honour the heroes composes the whole of the religious doctrine of the Spartans.

Among the heroes, to whom temples, altars, and statues have been erected, the most distinguished are Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Achilles, Ulysses, and Lycurgus. Those who are unacquainted with the different traditions of nations, will be surprised to see Helen partake with Menelaus in honours almost divine, d and the statue of Clytæmnestra placed by the side of that of Agamemnon.

The Spartans are extremely credulous. One of them in the night imagined that he saw a spectre wandering round a tomb. He pursued it with his uplifted spear, crying out: It is in

⁴ Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 61. Isocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 244.

vain that thou attemptest to escape me, thou shalt die a second time. It is not the priests who cherish this superstition among the people, but the ephori. Those magistrates sometimes pass the night in the temple of Pasiphaë, and the next day relate their dreams as realities.

Lycurgus, who could not assume a power over religious opinions, suppressed the abuses they had occasioned. In every other country the gods may only be presented with victims without blemish, which are frequently sacrificed with ceremonious magnificence. At Sparta the oblations are but of little value, and offered with that modesty which becomes suppliants." Other nations importune the gods with indiscreet and long prayers; the Spartans only request from them the favour that they may achieve great actions after having performed good ones; and conclude with these words, the profound sense of which will be felt by elevated minds: "Grant us the fortitude to support injustice."k The eye is not here offended with the sight of dead bodies, as among the neighbouring states. Mourning lasts but eleven days.1 If grief is real, it ought not to be limited

f Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
g Id. in Agid. t. i. p. 807. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 43.

t. iii. p. 36.

h Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52.
i Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 148.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

1 Id. in Lycurg. t. i; p. 56.

to time; and if fictitious, its imposture ought not to be prolonged.

Hence we may conclude, that if the worship of the Lacedæmonians is, like that of the other Greeks, polluted with errors and prejudices in theory, it at least, in practice, abounds in reason and good sense.

The Athenians have imagined that they should detain Victory with themselves, by representing that divinity without wings.^m For the same reason the Spartans have sometimes represented Mars and Venus in chains. That warlike nation has given arms to Venus, and put a spear in the hands of all the gods and goddesses.° The Spartans have placed the statue of Death by the side of that of Sleep, that they may accustom themselves to behold both with the same eye. P They have dedicated a temple to the Muses, because they march to battle with the melodious sounds of the flute or the lyre; q another to Neptune who shakes the earth, because they inhabit a country subject to frequent earthquakes; and another to Fear, because there are salutary fears, such as the fear of the laws.

^m Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 52.

ⁿ Id. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 245 et 246.

[°] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. Id. Instit. Lacon. p. 239.

^p Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 253.

⁴ Id. ibid, cap. 17. p. 251.

^{*} Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib 6. p. 608. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Pansan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 260. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.

They celebrate a great number of festivals, in the greater part of which I have seen three choruses of old men, men of mature age, and boys, march in order, the old men singing these words:

In days long past and gone, were we Young, vigorous, hardy, brave, and free.

To which the men of mature age answer:

We who succeed you now are so, As those who dare to doubt shall know.

While the children who follow them reply:

The same shall we one day be seen, And e'en surpass what you have been.

In the festivals of Bacchus, I have seen women, to the number of eleven, dispute the prize in running; and I have followed the maidens of Sparta when, in the midst of the joyful acclamations of the people, they have repaired in chariots to the little town of Therapne, to present their offerings at the tomb of Menelaus and Helen.

During the festival of Apollo, surnamed Carneus, which is annually celebrated toward the

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.

Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 239.

* Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 606. Hesych. in Κανναθ.

y Isocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 259.

I have been present at the competitions of the players on the cithara. I saw erected round the city nine booths, or arbours, in the form of tents, in which every day new guests, to the number of eighty-one, nine for each tent, take their repasts. Certain officers, appointed by lot, attend to maintain order; and the whole is conducted by the repeated proclamations of a herald. This is the image of a camp, yet has it not much immediate relation to war; for nothing may interrupt this festival, and, however imminent the danger may be, the army must wait till it is concluded before it takes the field.

The same religious respect detains the Lace-dæmonians at home during the festival of Hyacinth, celebrated in the spring, and especially by the inhabitants of Amyclæ. Tradition relates, that Hyacinth, the son of a king of Lace-dæmon, was passionately beloved by Apollo;

Dodwel, Annal. Thucyd. p. 178. Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xviii. Hist. p. 138. Corsin. Fast, Att. t. ii. p. 452.

^a Demetr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 141.

^b Hellan, ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 4. p. 635, Plut, Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

[·] Hesych. in Καργεάτ.

d Demetr. ap. Athen. p. 141. Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 76. Schol. Thucyd. in cap. 54.

f Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 6 et 11.

S Corsin. Fast. Att. t. ii. p. 452.

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 528. Strab. lib. 6. p. 278.

Meurs. Græc. Feriat. in Hyacinth.

that Zephyr, jealous of his beauty, directed on him the quoit that deprived him of life; and that Apollo who had thrown it could only console himself for his death by changing the young prince into the flower which bears his name. Annual games were instituted, the first and third days of which only exhibit sadness and mourning. The second is a day of rejoicing, and all Lacedæmon abandons itself to the intoxication of joy; it is a day of liberty, and on it the slaves eat at the same table with their masters.1

On every side are seen choruses of boys, clad only in a tunic, some playing on the lyre, or celebrating Hyacinth in ancient songs accompanied by the flute; others performing dances, and others on horseback displaying their dexterity in the place set apart for such exhibitions."

Soon after the pomp, or solemn procession, advances towards Amyclæ, conducted by a leader, who, under the name of legate, is appointed to offer in the temple of Apollo the vows of the state. As soon as this procession has arrived at the place of its destination, a solemn sacrifice commences, by pouring forth,

Nicand. in Theriac. v. 902. Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. fab. 5. Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 204; cap. 19. p. 258. Plin, lib. 21, cap. 11. p. 244. k Ovid. ibid. v. 219.

Polycr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 139.

TId. ibid. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 661. " Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

as a libation, wine and milk within the altar which serves as a base to the statue. This altar is the tomb of Hyacinth.º Around it are ranged twenty or five-and-twenty boys, and as many young maidens, who sing in the most charming concert in the presence of many of the magistrates of Lacedæmon. P* For in this city, as well as throughout all Greece, religious ceremonies are the care of government, and kings and their children consider it as their duty to take a principal part in them. In our time we have seen Agesilaus, after the most brilliant victories, take the place assigned him by the master of the chorus, and, undistinguished from the other citizens, sing with them the hymn of Apollo in the festival of Hyacinth.

The discipline of the Spartans is such, that their pleasures are ever accompanied with a certain decency. Even during the festivals of Bacchus, whether in the city or the country, no person ventures to transgress the law which prohibits the immoderate use of wine.

[·] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 257.

P Inscript. Fourmont. in. Bibl. Reg.

^{*} See note XII. at the end of the volume.

^{*} Xenoph. in Ages. p. 661.

⁷ Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637,

CHAP. L.

Of Military Service among the Spartans.

THE Spartans are obliged to serve in the army from the age of twenty to that of sixty; but after that age they are not required to bear arms, unless the enemy enters Laconia.

When levies of troops are to be made, the ephori command, by a herald, that all the citizens from twenty years old to a certain age mentioned in the proclamation, immediately present themselves to serve in the heavy-armed infantry, or in the cavalry; and the same notice is given to the labourers who are to follow the army."

As the citizens are divided into five tribes, the heavy-armed infantry is distributed into five regiments, which are usually commanded by as many polemarchs.* Each regiment is composed of four battalions, eight pentecostys, and sixteen enomotias, or companies.*

^{*} Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 568. Plut. in Ages, t. i. p. 609 et 610.

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597.

[&]quot; Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

* Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in Μόρων. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.

Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 66. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced p. 686.

* See note XIII. at the end of the volume.

On certain occasions, instead of sending a whole regiment, some battalions are detached; and then, by doubling or quadrupling their companies, each battalion is increased to two hundred and fifty-six, or even to five hundred and twelve men. I am speaking of particular cases, and not general rules; for the number of men in each enomotia is not always the same, and the general, to conceal the knowledge of his strength from the enemy, frequently varies the composition of his army. Besides these five regiments, there is a body of six hundred chosen men, called sciritæ, who have sometimes turned the scale of victory.

The principal arms of the foot soldier are the pike and buckler. I do not reckon the sword, which is only a kind of poniard that he carries at his belt. On the pike he places his chief dependence, and scarcely ever quits it while he is in the army. A foreigner once said to the ambitious Agesilaus, Where do you place the boundaries of Laconia? At the end of our pikes, replied he.

The body of the soldier is defended by a

² Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68. Schol. ibid.

^{*} Xenoph, Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in Erwhor.

b Thucyd. ibid.

⁶ Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.
^d Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

^{*} Xenoph, de Rep. Laced, p. 687, Plut, Apophth. Lacon, t. ii. p. 236.

Plut. ibid. p. 210.

buckler of brasss of an oval form, cut with a hollow on one side, and sometimes on both, terminating in a point at the two extremities, and inscribed with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon.h By this mark the nation is known; but another is still requisite for each soldier to discover his own buckler, since he is obliged to bring it back with him under pain of infamy. He therefore chooses some symbol, which he procures to be engraven on it. A certain Lacedæmonian was rallied by his friends for having chosen for his emblem a fly of the natural size. I will, said he in reply, approach so near the enemy, that they shall distinctly see my mark.i

The soldier wears a kind of coat of a scarlet colour, which colour has been chosen to prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he has caused to flow.1

The king marches at the head of the army, preceded by a body of sciritæ, as well as by horsemen sent forward to reconnoitre. He frequently offers sacrifices, at which are present the officers of the Lacedæmonian troops and

^g Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.

h Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 28. p. 348. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 293. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi.

Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Valer. Max. lib. 2. cap. 6, Schol. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 1173.

those of the allies." Frequently he changes his camp, either to protect the territories of the latter, or to lay waste those of the enemy."

The soldiers every day perform the exercises of the gymnasium; a place is traced out for this purpose in the environs of the camp. After the morning exercises they remain seated on the ground till dinner, and after those of the evening sing hymns in honour of the gods, and lie all night on their arms. The intervals of the day are passed in different amusements; for they are then subjected to fewer labours than they were before they took the field: it may be said that war is to them a time of leisure and rest.

On the day of battle, the king, in imitation of Hercules, sacrifices a she-goat, while the flute-players play the air of Castor. He then sings the hymn of battle, which all the soldiers, with their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert. After this moment, so terrible and so grand, they adjust their hair and their clothes, clean their arms, eagerly press their officers to lead them to the field of honour, animate each

[&]quot; Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 668.

Ibid. t. ii. p. 687.Id. ibid. et p. 688.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.

⁹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. Id. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 10. § 78. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 10.

[†] Plut. ibid. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 7. § 53.

other by sallies of pleasantry, and march forward in order of battle to the sound of flutes, which excite and moderate their courage. The king takes his station in the first rank, attended by a hundred young warriors, who, under pain of infamy, must risk their lives to preserve his, and some athletæ who have gained the prize in the public games of Greece, and who consider this post as the most glorious of distinctions.*

I shall say nothing of the scientific manœuvres which the Spartans execute before the attack and during the battle; their tactics appear at first complicated, but the least attention will be sufficient to convince us that they have foreseen and facilitated every thing, and that the military institutions of Lycurgus are preferable to those of other nations.

It is a disgrace to every man to fly before his enemy, but to the Spartans it is a shame even to have entertained a thought of it. Yet their courage, though ardent and impetuous, is not a blind fury. There is no one among them who,

^{*} Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.

^t Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 70. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Plut. de Irâ, t. ii. p. 458. Athen. lib. 12. p. 517; lib. 14. p. 626. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 11.

[&]quot;Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 56. Isocr. Epist. ad Philip. t. i. p. 445.

* Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53 et 54. Id. Sympos. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.

y Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

² Id, ibid. p. 685 et 689. ³ Senac. Suas. 2. t. iii. p. 16.

should he hear the signal of retreat in the heat of the battle, and while his sword is uplifted against his enemy fallen at his feet, would not immediately stop his hand, and own that his first duty is to obey his general.^b

This race of men was not born to submit to bondage; the law unceasingly exclaims to them, Die rather than be slaves. Bias, who commanded a body of troops, having suffered himself to be surprised by Iphicrates, some of his soldiers said to him, "What is to be done?" "You," answered he, "must retreat; I must fight and die."

The Spartans prefer keeping their ranks and preserving good order to killing a small number more of the enemy.^d They are not only forbidden to pursue a flying foe, but also to strip the dead bodies till they have received orders; for it is their duty to be more attentive to secure the victory than the plunder.^e Three hundred Spartans are appointed to see that this law is properly observed.^f

If the general has had a number of soldiers taken prisoners in a battle, he must risk a

^b Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

^e Id. ibid. p. 219. ^d Pausan, lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 300.

^{*} Pausan. 11b. 4. cap. 8. p. 360.

* Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 73. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.

* Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

second action to recover them from the enemy.

If a soldier has quitted his rank, he is obliged to remain a certain time standing, and leaning on his buckler, in sight of the whole army.^h

Cowardice, of which examples were formerly extremely rare, subjects the Spartan who is found guilty of it to all the horrors of infamy. He can aspire to no office; if he is married, no family will contract an alliance with his; and if he is not, he can marry into none. It seems as if his pollution was supposed to defile all his posterity.

Those slain in battle are buried, like the other citizens, with a red garment and an olive branch, the symbols, among the Spartans, of warlike virtues.^k If they have distinguished themselves by their valour, their names are inscribed on their tombs, which are sometimes ornamented with the figure of a lion.¹ But if a soldier has received his mortal wound after having turned his back on his enemy, he is deprived of burial.^m

The success which has been obtained by prudence is preferred to that which is gained by

^e Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 507.

h Id. ibid. p. 481.
i Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 214.

k Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 124.
l Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.

m Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

bravery only. The spoils of the enemy are not hung up in the temples. Offerings which have been taken from cowards, said king Cleomenes, ought not to be exposed to the eyes of the gods, nor to those of our youth. A victory formerly occasioned neither joy nor surprise; but in our time an advantage gained by Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, produced such lively transports of joy among the Spartans, that no doubt can any longer remain of their decline.

Only such as have not had experience, or who are deficient in vigour or martial ardour, are enrolled in the cavalry. The rich citizen furnishes the arms, and provides for the subsistence of the horse. If this body has gained some advantages, Lacedæmon is indebted for them to the foreign horse soldiers which she maintains in her pay. In general, the Spartans rather choose to serve in the infantry. Persuaded that true courage is sufficient to itself, they wish to fight hand to hand. I was in company with king Archidamus when the model of a machine for throwing darts, then lately invented in Sicily, was presented to him. After having for some time examined it with

Plut. Instit. Lacon. p. 218.

º Id. ibid. p. 224.

P Id. in Ages. t. 1. p. 614.

Nanoph. Hist. Græc. lib, 6. p. 596.

Id. de Magistr. Equit. p. 971.

attention: "Valour," said he, " is now rendered useless." \$

Laconia may maintain about thirty thousand heavy armed infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry; but whether population has not been sufficiently encouraged, or whether the state be not ambitious of bringing great armies into the field, the Spartans, who have often marched in a national body against the neighbouring states," have never employed in distant expeditions but a small number of native troops. They had, it is true, forty-five thousand men at the battle of Platæa, but among them were only five thousand Spartans, and as many Lacedæmonians; all the rest were Helots. At the battle of Leuctra there were only seven hundred Spartans in the army. 4

It was not therefore to her own forces that Sparta was indebted for her superiority over the other states of Greece; and though at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war she caused sixty thousand men to march against the Athenians, this was because the states of Peloponnesus, the greater part of which had for several centuries been in alliance with her, had joined their forces to hers. In our times her armies

⁵ Plut. Apophth. Lycurg. t. ii. p. 219.

^{&#}x27; Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

[&]quot; Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643.

x Herodot, lib. 9. cap. 10 et 11. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 325.
y Xenoph. ibid. lib. 6. p. 597.
Thucyd, lib. 2. cap. 9. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.

have been composed of a few Spartans, and a body of neodami, or newly enfranchised citizens; to which were added, according to circumstances, troops from Laconia, and a still greater number furnished by the cities in alliance with Lacedæmon.^a

After the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas, having restored liberty to Messenia, deprived the Spartans, by whom it had long been held in slavery, of the means of recruiting in that country; and several of the states of Peloponnesus having forsaken them, their power, heretofore so formidable, sunk into a state of feebleness from which it is not probable that it will ever recover.

* Xenoph. in Ages. p. 652, &c.

CHAP. LI.

Defence of the Laws of Lycurgus: Causes of their Decline.

I HAVE said above, that Philotas had set out for Athens the day after our arrival at Lacedæmon. He had not yet returned, at which I was very uneasy: I could not conceive how he could support for so long a time a separation so cruel. But, before I left Lacedæmon to rejoin him, I was desirous to have a second conversation with Damonax. In the former he had considered the laws of Lycurgus as they were when they flourished in their full vigour; but I every day saw them yield with so little resistance to dangerous innovations, that I began to entertain doubts of their ancient influence. I accordingly took the first opportunity to explain myself to him on this subject.

One evening the conversation insensibly leading us to mention Lycurgus, I affected less esteem for that great man than I really felt. It seems, said I, that many of your laws have been borrowed from the Persians and the Egyp-

tians. b Damonax answered: The architect who constructed the labyrinth of Egypt deserves not less praise for having decorated its entrance with that beautiful Parian marble which he procured from such a distance. To judge of the genius of Lycurgus, we must consider the whole of his legislation. And this whole it is, replied I, of the honour of which some attempt to deprive you. The Athenians, and the Cretans,e maintain that their constitutions, though different from each other, have yet served as models for yours.

The testimony of the former, replied Damonax, is always weakened by a puerile partiality. They allow us no praise but to appropriate it to themselves. The opinion of the Cretans is better founded. Lycurgus adopted many of the laws of Minos, and rejected others.f Those which he chose he modified in such a manner, and accommodated them so well to his plan, that it may be said he discovered what Minos, and perhaps others before him, had already discovered. If we compare the two governments,

herodot. lib 6. cap. 59 et 60. Isocr. in Busir. t. ii. p. 162. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41 et 42. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 88.

Plin, lib. 36. cap. 13. p. 739. Isocr. Panath. t. ii p. 260.

Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 65. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 318. Id. de Leg lib. 3. p. 683. Xenoph. Ephor. Callisth. ap. Polyb lib. 6. p. 488. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332. Strab lib. 10. p. 477.

Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.

we shall see sometimes the ideas of a great man brought to perfection by a still greater man, and sometimes differences so sensible that we shall wonder how it has been possible ever to confound them.⁵ One great example of this opposition of views is, that the laws of Minos admit of the inequality of fortunes,^h which ours have forbidden; and hence cannot but result an essential diversity in the constitutions and manners of the two people. Yet, replied I, gold and silver have now forced the barriers raised against them by your ineffectual laws, and you are no longer, as formerly, happy from your privations, and rich, if I may so speak, from your indigence.

Damonax was about to answer, when he heard some person in the street crying: Open, open: for at Lacedæmon it is not permitted to knock at the door. It was my friend; it was Philotas. I ran to embrace him, and in an instant he was in my arms. I presented him again to Damonax, who, a moment after, retired, and left us together. Philotas asked me what I thought of him. He is, replied I, good and affable, and possesses the politeness of the heart, which is much superior to that of form and ceremony; his manners are simple, and his sentiments virtuous. Philotas concluded that Da-

Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.

Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

monax was as ignorant as the generality of Spartans. I added, He is an enthusiastic admirer of the laws of Lycurgus. Philotas remarked that he thought his salutation more awkward this time than at our first interview.

My friend was so prejudiced in favour of his own nation, that he despised every other people, and sovereignly hated the Lacedæmonians. He had collected against the latter all the ridiculous pleasantries levelled at them from the stage of Athens, all the reproaches with which they are loaded by Athenian orators, all the acts of injustice of which they are accused by Athenian historians, and all the defects and errors which the philosophers of Athens censure in the laws of Lycurgus. Provided with these weapons, he incessantly attacked the partisans of Sparta. I have frequently endeavoured to cure him of this prejudice, for I could not bear that my friend should have a fault

He had returned to Laconia through Argolis, from whence to Lacedæmon the road is so bad and rugged, that, exhausted with fatigue, he said to me, before he went to bed: No doubt, according to your laudable custom, you will make me climb up some rock, that I may admire at my leisure the environs of this superb city; for there is here no want of mountains to procure that pleasure to travellers.

To-morrow, replied I, we will go to the Menelaion, an eminence situate beyond the Eurotas, and Damonax will have the goodness to accompany us.

The next day we passed the Babyx, which is the name given to the bridge over the Eurotas.k We soon came in sight of the ruins of some houses which formerly stood on the left bank of the river, but which had been destroyed in the late war by the army of Epaminondas. My friend took this opportunity to pronounce the panegyric of the greatest enemy the Lacedæmonians had ever had, and was sorry to find that Damonax did not answer a word.

As we continued our way, we saw three or four Lacedæmonians with cloaks striped with different colours, and with their faces shaved only on one side." What farce are these good folks acting? said Philotas. They, said Damonax, are Tremblers, n so called because they ran away in the battle in which we repulsed the troops of Epaminondas. They are easily known by their dress and appearance, of which they are so much ashamed, that they only frequent solitary places, and, as you see, shun our approach.°

^k Arist. ap Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Hesych. in Bacov.

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608.

^m Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 612. ⁿ Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 3. cap. 7. * Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.

After having, from the top of the hill, surveyed that beautiful country which extends toward the south, and those lofty mountains which bound Laconia to the west, we sat ourselves down fronting the city of Sparta. I had on my right hand Damonax, and on my left Philotas, who scarcely deigned to look on the irregular heap of cottages before him. Yet, said I to him, is this the humble abode of that people among whom is so early taught the art of commanding, and the still more difficult art of obedience? Philotas grasped my hand, and made a sign to me to be silent. I added-of a nation which was never elated by success, nor depressed by misfortune? Philotas replied, in a whisper: In the name of all the gods, do not force me to speak; you have already seen that this man is incapable of answering me. I continued-which has constantly maintained a superiority over the other states of Greece, which has defied the Persians, frequently defeated the generals of the Athenians, and at last made itself master of their capital; which throughout all Greece - ? Is sovereignly detested for its tyranny, and despised for its vices, cried Philotas; and immediately blushing at what he had said, Excuse, said he to Damonax, this emotion of anger in a young man who adores his coun-

P Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212.
Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 84.

try, and will not silently suffer it to be insulted in his presence. I reverence that sentiment, replied the Spartan; Lycurgus has made it the grand motive of all our actions. O my son! he who loves his country obeys the laws. Yours deserves your attachment; and I should blame Anacharsis for having carried his pleasantry so far, had he not by it afforded us an opportunity mutually to cure each other of our prejudices. We will enter the lists, you with all the advantages you have derived from your education, and I with no other weapon but the love of truth.

Philotas now said to me, in a whisper, This Spartan really possesses good sense; save me from the pain of wounding his feelings, and turn, if possible, the conversation on some other subject. Damonax, said I, Philotas has drawn a character of the Spartans, after the representations of Athenian writers; desire him to show it you. The anger of my friend was now ready to burst upon me, but Damonax prevented it by addressing him as follows: You have reproached my country, and it is my duty to defend it. You are to blame if you have only spoken from your own ideas on the subject; but I excuse you if you have taken up your opinion from what has been said of us by some Athenians; for I cannot believe that all of them think so ill of us. You are right, replied Philotas, briskly; there are those among them who look upon you as a kind of demi-gods, and who endeavour to copy you in every thing; but I must confess our men of sense and learning express themselves very freely on the subject of your laws and manners. The philosophers I mean are the men of the greatest genius which Greece has produced, such as Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, and surely they must have been well informed. Damonax dissembled his surprize; and Philotas, after many apologies, proceeded as follows:

Lycurgus was ignorant of the order in which the virtues should be arranged; he gave the first place to courage,^s and hence that train of ills which the Lacedæmonians have themselves suffered, and which they have brought upon others.

Scarcely was that legislator dead, when their ambition invaded the neighbouring states. This fact is attested by an historian with whom you are unacquainted, and whose name is Herodotus. Devoured by the desire of dominion, their weakness has often forced them to submit to humiliating meanness, and to be guilty of atrocious injustice. They were the first to corrupt the generals of their enemies, and the first to solicit the protection of the Persians, of those barba-

Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 201.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. i. p. 630; lib. 4. p. 705.

^{&#}x27;Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66.
" Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 321.

rians, to whom, by the peace of Antalcidas, they had not long since sold the liberties of the Asiatic Greeks.*

They are full of dissimulation in all their dealings, perfidious in their treaties, and supply the place of courage in battle by stratagem. The success of any state causes in them the most envious uneasiness. They raise up enemies against it, and endeavour to distract it by intestine divisions which they excite or foment. In the last century they proposed to destroy Athens which had saved Greece, and kindled the Peloponnesian war which ended in the ruin of Athens.

Lycurgus in vain endeavoured to preserve them from the poison of riches. Lacedæmon conceals within itself an immense quantity of wealth, but it is only in the hands of some individuals whose avarice can never be satiated. They only are preferred to employments, refused to merit, which groans in indigence. Their wives, whose education Lycurgus neglected, as he has done that of all the Lacedæ-

Euripid. in Androm. v. 446. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 216 et 1067; in Lysist. v. 630.

² Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 39.

Dionys. Halic. t. vi. p. 770.
Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122.

Pericl. ibid, cap. 37.

^{*} Isocr. in Panegyr. t. i. p. 184. Id. in Panath. t. ii. p. 234. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 492.

Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 375.

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331; lib. 5. cap. 7. *p. 396.

monian women, govern and betray them. They partake of their covetousness, and by their dissolute lives increase the general corruption.

The virtue of the Lacedæmonians is gloomy, austere, and founded solely on fear: their education renders them so cruel, that they can behold the blood of their children flow without regret, and that of their slaves without remorse.

These accusations are very heavy, said Philotas as he concluded, and I know not how you will answer them. By the remark of the lion, replied the Spartan, who, when he was shown the figure of an animal of his own species beneath the feet of a man, contented himself with observing that lions were not sculptors. Philotas, surprised, said to me in a whisper, Has he then read the fables of Æsop? I cannot tell, said I; he has perhaps heard this story from some Athenian. Damonax, however, proceeded as follows: Believe me, we concern ourselves no more with what is said in the forum of Athens than with what happens beyond the Pillars of Hercules.h How! cried Philotas, will you suffer your name to be circulated from city to city, and transmitted from generation to generation, with ignominy? Men

Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2.

cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328.

* Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 37.

* Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 312.

who are strangers to the country and age in which we live, replied Damonax, will never venture to condemn us on the credit of a nation which has always been our rival, and frequently our enemy. Who can even say but we may find defenders?—Gracious Heaven! and what can they produce in opposition to that portrait with which I have just presented you?—A portrait more faithful, and drawn by no less able masters. I will give it to you.

A government which truly deserves the name exists alone at Lacedæmon and in Crete; elsewhere we only find societies of citizens, some of whom are masters and the rest slaves. At Lacedæmon there is no other distinction between the king and the private individual, the rich and the poor, than that which the legislator, inspired by the gods themselves, has fixed. Lycurgus was under the immediate guidance of a divinity when he restrained by a senate the too great authority of the kings.

This government, of which the constituent powers are so well counterbalanced,^m and the wisdom of which is so generally acknowledged,ⁿ

^k Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 696.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 692.

Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 712.

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 321; cap. 11. p. 335; lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.

ⁿ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 466. Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Id. in Areop. p. 342. Id. in Archid. t. ii. p. 34. Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 599. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 335. Demosth. adv. Leptin. p. 556.

has subsisted during four centuries without experiencing any essential change, or exciting the least dissension among the citizens.º Never in those happy times did the republic do any thing at which she had cause to blush; p never was seen in any state so perfect a submission to the laws, so much disinterestedness, frugality, mildness, magnanimity, valour, and modesty.4 Then was it that, notwithstanding the instances of our allies, we refused to destroy that Athens which since—At these words Philotas exclaimed, You have certainly only consulted Lacedæmonian writers. We have none, replied Damonax.-Those from whom you have your accounts were then sold to Lacedæmon? -We have never bought any. Would you wish to know my authorities? They are the first men of genius Greece has produced; Plato, Thucydides, Isocrates, Xenophon, and others. I had formed intimate connections with several of these in the frequent journeys I made to Athens, by order of our magistrates, and to their conversation and works I am indebted

^o Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Lys. in Olymp. p. 521. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 651. Isocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 316.

^P Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 611.

^q Plat, in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. Isocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 287 et 316.

Andocid. de Myster. pars secunda, p. 18. Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 460; lib. 6. p. 609 et 611. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399 et 414. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 45. § 5. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 8.

for that little knowledge which astonishes you in a Spartan.

Damonax only saw surprise in the countenance of Philotas; but I could likewise perceive a fear that he might be accused of ignorance or insincerity. He was, however, only to be charged with prejudice and levity. I asked Damonax why the Athenian writers had differed so much among themselves, and indulged in so many licences in speaking of his nation. I might answer you, replied he, that they yielded by turns to the force of truth and to that of national hatred. But fear nothing, Philotas; I will respect your delicacy.

During the war, your orators and poets, in order to animate the populace against us, acted like those painters, who, to revenge themselves of their enemies, represent them under hideous caricaturas. Your philosophers and historians more wisely dealt out to us at once censure and praise, both of which, according to the difference of times, we had deserved. They have acted like those able artists, who successively represent their heroes in a tranquil state of mind, and in a fit of rage, with the charms of youth, and the wrinkles and deformities of old age. You and I have just been contemplating these different representations. You have borrowed all the features which might disfigure your portrait, and I should have selected all those which might embellish mine, and thus we should

have presented each other only with unfaithful copies. We must therefore return to the point from which we set out, and found our ideas on incontestable facts.

I have to defend myself against two attacks, since your objections are equally directed against our manners and our government. Our manners maintained their purity during four centuries, as your writers have themselves acknowledged. They began to be corrupted during the Peloponnesian war, as we ourselves allow. Censure then our present vices, but reverence our ancient virtues.

Of the two points which I had to defend, I have compounded for the first, but I shall yield nothing with respect to the second. I shall ever maintain, that among all known governments there is not one more admirable than that of Lacedæmon. Plato, it is true, though convinced of its excellence, has thought he could discover some defects in it; and I am informed that Aristotle intends to produce a still greater number.

If these defects do not essentially injure the constitution, I should say to Plato: You have taught me that the Supreme Being, when he formed the universe, acted on a pre-existent matter, which sometimes opposed his power with an invincible resistance, and that he only

Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 628 et 684; lib. 7. p. 806.

effected that good of which the eternal nature of things was susceptible. I will dare to say, in my turn, Lycurgus laboured on refractory materials, which participated of the imperfection that resides in the essence of all things; I mean on man, of whom he has made all that it was possible to make him.

If it be alleged that the defects of his laws must necessarily occasion their destruction, I will remind Plato of what is confessed by all the Athenian writers, and what he himself not long ago wrote to Dionysius king of Syracuse. The law alone reigns at Lacedæmon, and the same government has maintained itself there, in all its splendor, for many ages. But how is it possible to conceive that a constitution labouring under destructive vices, which are inherent in its nature, should continually remain unshaken, and be never disturbed by those factions which have so often laid waste the cities of Greece?

This union is the more strange, subjoined I, as, among you, the one half of the citizens are subjected to the laws, and the other not. This, at least, is what the philosophers of Athens advance. They say that your legislation does not

^t Plat. in Tim. t. iii.

[&]quot; Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 651 et alii ut supra.

x Plut. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. J. Lys. in Olymp. p. 521.

extend to the women, who, having gained an absolute dominion over their husbands, accelerate from day to day the progress of corruption.²

Damonax answered: Inform those philosophers that our daughters are educated in the same discipline, and with the same rigour, as our sons; that they are accustomed to the same exercises; that they bring to their husbands no other portion than their virtues; a that when they become mothers, they have the superintendance of the long education of their children, at first in conjunction with their husbands, and afterwards with the magistrates; that public censors continually watch over their conduct; b that the care of the slaves and the household affairs is entirely committed to them; that Lycurgus was careful to forbid them every kind of ornament; d that it is not fifty years since the women of Lacedæmon were persuaded a rich dress would diminish their beauty; e and that before that period the purity of their manners was generally acknowledged. Lastly, ask them, whether, in a state where the men are virtuous,

² Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328 et 329. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 523.

^a Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Hesych. in Αρμοσυν.

e Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806.
d Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

e Plut, in Lysandr, t. i. p. 434. Id. in Lycurg, t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon, t. ii. p. 228.

it is possible that the women should not be so likewise?

Your daughters, replied I, are habituated from their infancy to laborious exercises, and this Plato approves; but they no longer use these exercises after their marriage, and this he condemns. In fact, in a government like yours, it is necessary that the women, after the example of those of the Sarmatians, should be always able to attack or repel the enemy. We bring up our girls so hardily, answered he, that they may have a robust constitution; but we require in our women only the peaceful virtues of their sex. Why should we put arms in their hands, since we are ourselves able to defend them?

Here Philotas broke silence, and in a more modest tone, said to Damonax: Since your laws have only war for their object, would it not be essential to multiply among you the number of those who may bear arms? War the object of our laws! exclaimed the Spartan: I recognise the language of your writers, h who ascribe to the wisest and most humane of legislators the project of all others the most cruel and absurd; the most cruel, if he wished to perpetuate in Greece a soldiery thirsting for the blood of nations and for conquests; the most

Flat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806.

H. Id. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 630; lib. 4. p. 705. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.

absurd, since to effect it he has only proposed means absolutely contrary to his views. Examine our military code; its regulations, taken in their literal sense, only tend to inspire us with generous sentiments, and repress our ambition. We are, it is true, so unfortunate as to disregard them, but they do not for that the less inform us of the real intentions of Lycurgus.

By what means, in fact, can a nation enlarge its dominions, whose valour is enchained at every step; which, deprived by its laws of mariners and ships, is incapable of extending its territories on the side of the sea; and which, forbidden by the same laws to besiege the strong places that defend the frontiers of its neighbours, is equally unable to enlarge them on that of the land; which is forbidden to pursue a flying enemy, or to enrich itself with his spoils; which, prohibited from frequently making war on the same people, is obliged to prefer the methods of negotiation to force of arms; which, not being permitted to march before the full moon, nor to fight on certain festivals, is sometimes in

Polyb. lib. 6. p. 491.

Plut. Instit; Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

¹ Herodot, lib. 9. cap. 69. Plut. Apophth, Lacon. t. ii. p. 228 et 233.

^m Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 73. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 300. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.

<sup>Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 16.
Herodot, lib. 6. cap. 106; lib. 7. cap. 206; lib. 9. cap. 11.
Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 76.</sup>

danger of seeing all its projects prove abortive; and which, by its extreme poverty, is at all times incapable of undertaking any great enterprise? Lycurgus has not intended to form of us a nation of conquerors, but of tranquil warriors, who breathe only peace if they are left unmolested, but who respire nothing but war if any foreign power should dare to disturb their repose.

It seems nevertheless, replied Philotas, that by the nature of things a nation of warriors must sooner or later degenerate into a nation of conquerors, and we see by the course of events that you have experienced this change without perceiving it. You are, in fact, accused of having early conceived, and never having totally lost sight of, the design of enslaving the Arcadians and Argives. I shall not speak of your wars with the Messenians, for you believe that you are able to justify them.

I have already said, answered Damonax, that we have no annals. Some confused traditions inform us that anciently we had more than once disputes with the neighbouring states. Were we the aggressors? This is a question which neither you nor I are able to answer with certainty. But I know that in those distant ages one of our kings having defeated the Argives,

^p Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.

Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 210.
Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 82. Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 227 et
231. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 211. cap. 7. p. 219.

our allies advised him to seize on their city. The opportunity was favourable, and the conquest easy; but he replied: This would be an injustice; we made war to secure our own frontiers, and not to usurp territories to which we have no kind of right.^{\$\sigma\$}

Would you wish to be acquainted with the true spirit of our institutions; consider more recent facts, and compare our conduct with that of the Athenians. The Greeks had triumphed over the Persians, but the war was not yet concluded. It was successfully continued under the conduct of Pausanias, who abused his power. We recalled him, and, having obtained undoubted proofs of his malversations, condemned to death the conqueror at Platæa. The allies, however, offended at his haughtiness, had transferred to the Athenians the supreme command of the army. This was to deprive us of a right which we had till then enjoyed, and which placed us at the head of the states of Greece. Our warriors, inflamed with rage, were eager to defend our claim with the sword; but an aged man having represented to them that foreign wars were only proper to corrupt the manners of the nation, they immediately resolved rather to renounce their right than en-

Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.
Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333.

danger their virtues. Is this the character of conquerors?

Athens, become, with our consent, the first state in Greece, daily extended her conquests. Nothing resisted her power, or satisfied her ambition. Her fleets and armies alike attacked with impunity friends and enemies. The complaints of oppressed Greece reached our ears, but certain critical circumstances prevented us from listening to them, and when times were more tranquil we disregarded them through indolence. The torrent at length began to burst on our ancient allies of the Peloponnesus, who were disposed to abandon us, and perhaps even to turn the stream against us, if we had refused any longer to resist its progress.

In what I have now said I cannot be suspected of disguising the truth, since I only speak after the most accurate historian of Greece, an enlightened Athenian, and an impartial witness to the facts he relates. Read, in the work of Thucydides, the discourse of the embassador of Corinth, and that of the king of Lacedæmon. Observe how much we then laboured to preserve peace, and judge for yourself whether the Peloponnesian

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101; lib. 3. cap. 10.

^{*} Id. lib. 1. cap. 71.

y Id. ibid. cap. 118; lib. 5. cap. 26.

² Id. lib. 1. cap. 68. ^a Id. ibid. cap. 80.

b Id. ibid. cap. 139; lib. 2. cap. 12.

war was to be attributed to our ambition, as it will, perhaps, one day be asserted on the report of some prejudiced writers.

A nation cannot be ambitious which by character and principle is extremely slow in forming and executing projects, which ventures to hazard nothing, and which must be forced to take arms. No, we were not jealous; it had been too great a shame to us had we been so; but we felt an indignation at seeing those flourishing countries, which we had saved from the yoke of the Persians, ready to submit to that of a single city of Greece.

In this long and calamitous war, both parties committed gross faults, and were guilty of horrible cruelties. More than once the Athenians must have perceived that, from our slowness to profit by our advantages, we were not the most dangerous of their enemies; more than once they must have been astonished at our eagerness to terminate those mischiefs which had been protracted much longer than we had expected. In every campaign and expedition we testified in the most lively manner our regret at the interruption of our tranquillity. Almost always the last to take arms, and the first to quit them,

Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 770.

^d Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 70, 118, et 120. ^e Id. ibid. cap. 118; lib. 8. cap. 96.

¹ Id. lib. 8. cap. 96. ² Id. lib. 5. cap. 14.

when conquerors we offered peace," and solicited it when vanquished.i

Such were in general our dispositions, and happy had we been had the divisions which began to arise in Sparta, and the respect we owed to our allies, permitted us always to conform to them. But they were manifested in the most unequivocal manner at the taking of Athens. The Corinthians, Thebans, and some other states, proposed to destroy the city to the foundations; but we rejected the proposal. In fact it was not the houses and temples of Athens which should have been buried in the bowels of the earth, but those treasures she contained, those valuable spoils and immense sums which Lysander, the general of our fleet, had collected in the course of his expeditions, and which he by degrees introduced into Sparta. ** I remember, though I was then very young, that the wisest men among us shuddered at the sight of their mortal enemy. Roused by their remonstrances, the ephori proposed to banish for ever those riches, the fruitful source of the divisions and disorders with which we were threatened;"

h Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 13.
Id. lib. 4. cap. 15 et 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 664.

h Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 36.

Andocyd. de Myst. pars secunda, p. 18. Xenoph. Hist.

Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Isocr. Justin. et alii ut supra.

Mar. Xenoph. ibid. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 225.

^{*} See note XIV. at the end of the volume.

Athen. lib. 6. p. 223. Plut, in Agid. t. i. p. 797. Id. Instit. Lacon, t. ii. p. 239.

but the party of Lysander prevailed, and it was determined that the gold and silver should be converted into money, and applied to the service of the republic, not that of individuals: a mad and fatal resolution; for when the government had affixed a value to those metals, it could not but be expected that individuals would soon consider them as objects of the greatest importance.

They seduce you without difficulty, said I, because, according to the remark of Plato, your laws have only armed you against pain, and not against pleasure. When the poison has insinuated itself into the state, replied Damonax, philosophy alone can guard us against its baneful effects; but before its entrance the legislator must confine himself to preventing its approach; for the best mode of avoiding certain dangers is to be ignorant of them. But, replied I, since the assembly accepted the fatal present which Lysander offered, he was not the first author of the changes which your manners have undergone.

These, answered he, had a more distant origin.⁴ The Persian war had thrown us into the midst of that world from which Lycurgus had wished to preserve us distinct. During half

[°] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 442. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 29.

P Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634.

Q Dissert. de M. Mathon de la Cour, et de M. l'Abbé de Gourcy sur la Decadence des Lois de Lycurge.

a century, in contempt of our ancient maxims, we had led our armies into distant countries, and there formed intimate connections with their inhabitants. Our manners, incessantly intermingled with those of foreign nations, were corrupted like pure waters which pass over an infected or contagious morass. Our generals, vanquished by the presents of those over whom they ought to have triumphed with their arms, diminished from day to day the lustre of our glory and their own. We punished them at their return; but, from the rank and merit of the offenders, their crime was surveyed with less horror, and the law inspired only fear. More than once, Pericles had purchased the silence of some of our magistrates, who had sufficient influence to make us shut our eyes on the enterprises of the Athenians."

After this war, which crowned us with glory, but at the same time communicated to us the germ of destructive vices, we saw, without alarm, or as I should rather say, we participated in, the violent passions of two men of powerful genius, whom our unhappy destiny raised up in the midst of us. Lysander and Agesilaus undertook to exalt Sparta to the summit of power, the one to reign over her, and the other to reign with her.

Aristoph. in Pace. v. 621. Theophr. ap. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 164.

The Athenians more than once defeated by sea, a war of seven-and-twenty years terminated in an hour,' Athens taken, many cities delivered from an odious yoke, others receiving from us magistrates who ended by oppressing them, Greece reduced to silence, and forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of Sparta; such are the principal features which characterise the brilliant administration of Lysander.

His politics were only acquainted with two principles, force and perfidy. In consequence of some differences which had arisen between us and the Argives, with respect to their boundaries, the latter produced their titles to the lands in question. This is my answer, said Lysander, laying his hand on his sword. His favourite maxim was, that "children would be deceived with toys, and men with oaths.""

Hence his oppression and injustice when he had nothing to fear, and his craft and dissimulation when he dared not to have recourse to open violence. At the courts of the satraps of Asia, he submitted without a murmur to the insults of their ostentatious grandeur, and the next moment behaved to the Greeks with the same haughtiness and contempt with which he had himself been treated by the Persians.

Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 439.

^{&#}x27; Id. ibid. p. 445.

Id. ibid. p. 437. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 229.

Id. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434.

When he had obtained the empire of the sea, he every where abolished the democratical government, for such was the custom of Sparta;* and he followed it with pertinacity, that he might improve the opportunity to place at the head of each city men who had no other merit than an entire submission to his will.y These revolutions were not effected without torrents of tears and blood. He omitted nothing to enrich his creatures, or to crush his enemies, for by that name he called all those who defended the true interests of the people. His hatred was implacable, his vengeance terrible; and when his naturally gloomy disposition was sharpened by the peevishness of age,2 the least resistance rendered him ferocious.^a On one occasion he caused eight hundred of the inhabitants of Miletus to be massacred, who, confiding in his oath, had been so imprudent as to leave the place of their retreat.b

Sparta silently acquiesced in these acts of atrocity.c He had procured a great number of

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^{*} Nothing does more honour to Sparta than this practice. By the excessive abuse which the people every where made of their authority, each city was distracted with factions, and frequent wars were occasioned among all the states of Greece.

y Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 435.

² Aristot. Probl. § 30. t. ii. p. 815. Plut. ibid. t. 1. p. 434 Plut, in Lesand, toll p. 430

^a Plut. ibid. p. 445. ^b Id. ibid. p. 443.

c Id. ibid. p. 444.

partisans among us by the severity of his manners,d his obedience to the magistrates, and the splendor of his victories. When, by his unbounded liberality, and the terror of his name, he had acquired a still greater number among foreign nations, he was considered as the sovereign arbiter of Greece.e Yet, though he was of the house of the Heraclidæ, he was too far removed from the throne to entertain any hopes of arriving at the royal dignity. He therefore supported and raised to the crown Agesilaus, whom he tenderly loved, and whose right might be contested. As he flattered himself he should be able to reign under the name of this young prince, he inspired him with a thirst for glory, and intoxicated him with the hope of subverting the vast empire of the Persians. Deputies from several cities soon after arrived, by the secret procurement of Lysander, who requested Agesilaus to command the army which they had raised against the Persians; and that prince immediately departed, attended by a council of thirty Spartans, of which Lysander was president.g

When they arrived in Asia, all the petty despots which Lysander had placed in the neighbouring cities, tyrants a thousand times more

d Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434.

e Id. Ibid. p. 445.

f Id. ibid. p. 434.

^g Id. ibid. p. 446.

cruel than those who reign over great empires, since cruelty increases in proportion to its weakness, acknowledged only their protector, servilely crouched at his feet, and only rendered to the sovereign that respect to which they were compelled by decency. Agesilaus, jealous of his authority, soon perceived that though he nominally held the first rank, he in reality only acted a second part: he therefore purposely gave repeated occasions of offence to his friend, who returned to Sparta breathing vengeance. He then resolved to carry in execution a project which he had formerly conceived, and the plan of which he had traced out in a memoir, found after his death among his papers.

The house of Hercules is divided into several branches, two only of which possess the right to the crown. Lysander wished to extend this right to the other branches, and even to all the Spartans. The honour of reigning over free men would have become the reward of virtue; and Lysander, by his influence, might one day have invested himself with the supreme authority. As such a revolution could not be effected by open force, he had recourse to imposture.

A report was current that, in the kingdom of Pontus, a woman had brought forth a son, of

^h Plut. in Lysand. t. i, p. 447. i Id. ibid. p. 450.

whom Apollo was the father, and whom the chiefs of the nation had caused to be brought up under the name of Silenus. This vague rumour suggested to Lysander the idea of an intrigue which he conducted for many years, without appearing in it himself, by the means of subaltern agents; some of whom reminded the people at intervals of the miraculous birth of the child, while others declared that the priests of Delphi had in their possession certain old oracles, which they were not permitted to look into, and which they were one day to remit to the son of the god of whose altars they were the ministers.

The unravelling of the plot of this strange farce now approached. Silenus had appeared in Greece. It was concerted that he should repair to Delphi; that the priests, who had been secured in the interest of the scheme, should examine, in the presence of a great number of witnesses, the proofs of his divine birth; and that, compelled to acknowledge him the son of Apollo, they should deliver into his hands the ancient prophecies, which he should read in presence of the numerous assembly collected on the occasion; and that, by one of these oracles, it should be declared that the Spartans should from that time elect their kings from among the most virtuous of the citizens.

At the moment when this project was to have been carried into execution, one of the principal actors in it, terrified at the possible consequences of the imposture, dared not complete what he had undertaken; and Lysander, in despair, procured for himself the command of some troops which were to be sent into Bæötia, where he fell in battle. We decreed honours to his memory, though we ought to have stigmatised it with infamy. He contributed more than any other man to deprive us of our moderation and our poverty.

His system of aggrandisement was followed more methodically by Agesilaus. I shall not speak to you of his great achievements in Greece, Asia, and Egypt. He was more dangerous than Lysander, because, with the same talents, he possessed more virtues; and, with the same ambition, was always exempt from presumption, and vanity. He never suffered any statue to be erected to him. Lysander himself consecrated his own in the temple of Delphi, and permitted altars to be raised and sacrifices to be offered to him; he lavished rewards on poets, who in return lavished their praises; and he always carried one of them with him to observe and celebrate the smallest advantages he obtained.

Both enriched their creatures while they them-

Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 448.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 449. ^m Id. ibid. p. 451.

Nenoph. in Ages. p. 673.
Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 443.

selves lived in extreme poverty, and both were alike constantly inaccessible to pleasures.

Both to obtain the command of armies shame-fully flattered the ephori, and concluded by transferring to them all real power. Lysander, after the taking of Athens, wrote to them thus: "I have told the Athenians, that it is for you to decide on war and peace." Agesilaus rose up from his throne whenever the ephori appeared."

Both, assured of the protection of those magistrates, inspired the Spartans with a kind of phrensy; and, by a series of acts of injustice and violence, raised up against us that Epaminondas who, after the battle of Leuctra, and the re-establishment of the Messenians, reduced us to the deplorable state in which we at present are. We have seen our power decline with our virtues. The time is past when the nations who wished to recover their liberty demanded of Lacedæmon one only of her warriors to break their chains.

Yet, as a last homage to our expiring laws, let us remark that, in other countries, corruption would have begun by enervating the mind;

P Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 434. Id. in Syll. t. i. p. 476.

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 460.

Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 597.

Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 411. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 234.

^{*} Polyb. lib. 4. p. 344. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 78. ^{*} Xenoph de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Isocr. in Archid. p. 36. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

with us it has only manifested itself in great and violent passions; in ambition, vengeance, jealousy of power, and a rage for celebrity. It seems as if the vices dared not to approach us but with a kind of circumspection. The thirst of gold is not yet universal among all ranks, and the love of pleasure has as yet infected only a small number of individuals. More than once we have seen our magistrates and generals* maintain our ancient discipline with vigour, and private citizens display virtues worthy of the most incorrupt ages.

Like to those people who, dwelling on the borders of two nations, have adopted and intermingled the languages and customs of both, the Spartans are placed at present on the frontiers of virtue and of vice. But we shall not long maintain this dangerous post. Every instant we perceive that an irresistible power drags us toward the bottom of the abyss. I myself am terrified when I reflect on the example I have this day given. What would Lycurgus have said, had he seen one of his pupils discourse, dispute, and employ the figures of oratory? Alas! I have lived too much with the Athenians; I am now only a degenerate Spartan.

^{*} Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 443.

CHAP. LII.

Journey through Arcadia.*

SOME days after this conversation, we left Damonax, with a regret which he deigned to participate, and took the road to Arcadia.

We first passed the temple of Achilles, which is never opened, and near which the youth who engage in the platanistas, in the combats I have before mentioned, offer sacrifices. Farther on we saw seven columns, which, it is said, were formerly erected in honour of the seven planets. Continuing our journey, we arrived at the city of Pellana, and afterwards at that of Belmina, situate on the confines of Laconia and Arcadia." Belmina is a place of strength, the possession of which has frequently been the occasion of disputes between the two nations. Its territory is watered by the Eurotas, and a number of streams which descend from the neighbouring mountains. It stands at the entrance of a defile, which must be passed to arrive at Megalopolis,

^{*} See the map of Arcadia.

Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 806.
 Liv. lib. 38. cap. 34. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 21, p. 263.

distant from Belmina ninety stadia, * * and about three hundred and forty+ from Lacedæmon. During this whole journey our pleasure was varied and heightened by our road passing sometimes by the side of impetuous and roaring torrents, and sometimes along the verdant banks of the peaceful waters of the Eurotas, the Thiuns, and the Alpheus.

Arcadia occupies the centre of Peloponnesus. Raised above the countries which surround it, it is full of mountains, some of which are of a prodigious height, and are almost all covered with forests, which contain a great number of fallow deer. The plains are frequently intersected by rivers and streams. In certain places their too abundant waters, finding no outlet in the plain, suddenly precipitate themselves into profound gulfs, pursue their course for some time through subterraneous caverns, and at length burst forth, and again appear above the earth f

Great labour has been employed to turn these streams through proper channels, but much yet

^a Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 35. p. 670.

^{*} Three leagues and a half.

[†] Near thirteen leagues. Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806.

^{*} Strab. lib. 8. p. 388.

d Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 679. Strab. ibid.

e Pausan. ibid. cap. 35. p. 671.

f Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806. Strab. lib. 8. p. 389. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 7, 22, 23, 44 et 54. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365.

remains to be done. By the side of fertile fields we saw others which frequent inundations condemn to perpetual sterility. The former produce wheat and other grain in abundance; h on them are fed numerous flocks, for the pasturage is excellent, especially for asses and horses, of which animals the breeds of this country are in great estimation.i

Besides a great number of plants useful in medicine, Arcadia produces almost all the known species of trees. The inhabitants, who have made a particular study of their nature and properties, assign to the greater part of them appropriate names; but it is easy to distinguish the pine, the fir, the cypress, the thya, the andrachne, the poplar, and a kind of cedar, the fruit of which does not ripen till the third year. I omit many others which are equally common, as also the trees which are the ornament of gardens. We saw in a valley firs of a prodigious size and height, and were

^{*} Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 611.

^h Xenoph, Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. ⁱ Strab. lib. 8. p. 388. Varro de Re Rustic. lib. 2. cap. 1.

k Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 367.

¹ Id. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 130; cap. 7. p. 138; cap. 10. p. 159.

^m Plin. lib. 16. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 9.

Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 159.

º Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 41. p. 684.

P Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 130.

⁹ Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 124.

Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 190. Plin. lib. 13. cap. 5. t. i. p. 686.

told that they owed their luxuriant growth to their happy situation, as they were not exposed either to the rage of the winds or the burning rays of the sun.⁵ In a wood near Mantinea, we were shown three kinds of oak,^t one with large leaves, the phagus, and a third, the bark of which is so light that it swims on the surface of the water, and is used by fishermen to bear up their nets, and by pilots for buoys to their anchors.^u

The Arcadians consider themselves as the children of the earth, because they have always dwelt in the same country, and never been subjected to any foreign yoke. They relate that having first taken up their abode on the mountains, they learned by degrees to build huts, to clothe themselves with the skins of wild boars, and to prefer to wild, and frequently noxious herbs, the acorns of the phagus, on which they still fed within two or three centuries past. What appears certain is, that, after having felt the necessity of uniting, they were still unacquainted with the charms of society. Their cold and inclement climate gives vigour

Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 283.

Fausan. lib. 8. cap. 9. p. 146.

^{*} Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 2. Xenoph. Hist, Græc. lib. 7. p. 618. Plut. Quæst. Roman. t. ii. p. 286.

y Strab. lib. 8. p. 333.

² Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 599.

^{*} Aristot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806.

their bodies, and harshness and asperity to their minds. To soften and humanise their stern and rugged dispositions, some sages of superior genius resolved to awaken in them new sensations, and inspire them with a taste for song and dance, for poetry and festivals. Never did the light of reason operate so speedy and general a revolution in manners; the effects it produced have remained till our time, because the Arcadians have never ceased to cultivate those arts which were so beneficial to their ancestors.

Habituated daily to sing during their repasts, it would be a shame to them to be ignorant of, or to neglect, music, which they are obliged to learn from their infancy, and during their youth. In the celebration of their festivals, and in their armies, their steps and evolutions are regulated by the sound of flutes. The magistrates, persuaded that these enchanting arts can alone preserve the nation from the influence of the climate, annually assemble their young pupils, and make them execute dances before them, that they may be enabled to judge of the proficiency they have made. The example of the Cynætheans justifies them in these precautions. The people of this small tribe, confined to a narrow space in the north of Arcadia, in the midst of mountains, and beneath a brazen sky,

Polyb. lib, 4. p. 290. Athen. lib, 14. p. 626.

have always refused to admit among them the seductive arts, and are become so ferocious and cruel that their very name is not pronounced without fear.^c

The Arcadians are humane, beneficent, observant of the laws of hospitality, patient of labour, and pertinacious in their enterprises, in defiance of obstacles and dangers.^d They have often fought with success, and always with glory. In time of peace they enter for pay into the service of foreign powers, without preference or choice; so that they have been sometimes seen to espouse opposite parties, and bear arms against each other.^e Notwithstanding this mercenary spirit, they are extremely jealous of their liberty. After the battle of Chæronea, gained by Philip king of Macedon, they refused to the conqueror the title of general in chief of the armies of Greece.^f

Arcadia was anciently governed by kings, but afterwards divided into several republics, all of which have a right to send deputies to the general council. Mantinea and Tegea are at the head of this confederation, which would be too formidable were all its forces united: for the country is extremely populous, and is

Polyb. lib. 4. p. 291.

^d Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 618. ^e Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 57. Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 27.

Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 488. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602.

reckoned to contain not less than three hundred thousand slaves.h But the jealousy of power continually occasions divisions between the great and lesser states. In our time, factions had become so numerous, that a plan was laid before the assembly of the nation, in which, among other regulations, it was proposed that the power of determining on peace and war should be confided to a body of ten thousand men. This project, which the new troubles that it occasioned caused to be laid aside, was again revived with more vigour after the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas, who, to restrain the Spartans, had just recalled the exiled inhabitants of Messenia, proposed to the Arcadians to destroy the small towns which were without defence, and transfer the inhabitants to a place of strength, to be built on the frontiers of Laconia. He furnished them with a thousand men to carry his plan into execution, and the foundations of Megalopolis were immediately laid.k This happened about fifteen years before our arrival.

We were greatly astonished at the extensive circuit of the new city, and the height of its walls flanked with towers." It already gave umbrage to Lacedæmon, as I had perceived in

h Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 271.

Demosth de Fals. Legat. p. 295. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372. ^k Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 654; lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 739.

Polyb. lib. 2. p. 140; lib. 5. p. 432.

Pausan, lib. 8. cap. 27. p. 657.

a conversation which I had with king Archidamus, who some years after attacked this rising colony, and ended by concluding a treaty with it."

The great work of legislation next employed the attention of the citizens, who requested Plato to give them a code of laws. The philosopher was much pleased with so flattering a distinction; but having learned, both from the deputies of the city and one of his disciples whom he sent to Megalopolis, that the inhabitants would never consent to admit an equality of property, he determined not to comply with their solicitation.

A small river, called the Hellison, divides the city into two parts, in both of which houses and public edifices have been built, and are still building. That to the north contains a forum, inclosed by a stone balustrade, and surrounded by sacred edifices and porticoes. A superb brazen statue of Apollo, twelve feet high, has been erected facing the temple of Jupiter. This statue is a present from the Phigaleans, who contributed with pleasure to the embellishment of the new city. P Some private individuals have likewise done the same. One of the porticoes

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 662.

[&]quot; Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 437.

^{*} Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 25. Plut. in Colot. t. ii. p. 1126. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 42.

bears the name of Aristander, who caused it to be built at his own expense.^q

In the part to the south, we saw a spacious edifice, in which is held the assembly of the ten thousand deputies appointed to conduct the important affairs of the state. We were likewise shown, in a temple of Æsculapius, bones of an extraordinary size, which were said to have been those of a giant.

The city contains a great number of statues; among others we saw the work of two Athenian artists, Cephisodotus and Xenophon, consisting of a group, in which Jupiter is represented seated on a throne, with the city of Megalopolis on his right hand, and Diana Conservatrix on his left. The marble of which it is made is the production of the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, near Athens.

I might enumerate many other things of the same kind; but, in the relation of my travels, I have always avoided speaking of that prodigious number of temples, altars, statues, and tombs, which we met with at every step in the cities, towns, roads, and even the most solitary places through which we passed. I have also thought it most proper to omit the greater part of the

^q Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 663. ^r Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621. Pausan. lib. 8. • ap. 32. p. 666.

Pausan. ibid. p. 667.
Id. ibid. cap. 30. p. 664.

prodigies and absurd fables of which we were fatigued with long recitals. The traveller, who is condemned to hear them, ought to spare that pain to his readers. It would be in vain for him to attempt to reconcile the different traditions concerning the history of the gods and the most ancient heroes; his labours would only serve to increase the confusion of a chaos impenetrable to the light. It will be sufficient for him to observe in general, that, among different nations, the objects of public worship are known under different names, the sacrifices offered to them accompanied by other rites, and their statues characterised by other attributes.

But he ought principally to direct his attention to those monuments which ascertain the taste, knowledge, or ignorance of an age; to describe festivals, because images of peace and joy cannot be too often presented to wretched mortals; and to relate those opinions or customs which may serve for example or instruction, even though he should leave the application of them to his reader. Thus, when I shall content myself with mentioning that, in a certain district of Arcadia, the Supreme Being is worshipped under the name of Good, those who read my work will feel themselves invited to love the Author of all things; and when I shall

^u Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 36. p. 673.

add, that, in the same province, fanaticism has immolated human victims,²* they will shudder to perceive that superstition can occasion such horrors even among a people who adore God as sovereignly good. I return to my narrative.

We had determined to make the tour of Arcadia. This country is only a succession of those scenes in which nature has displayed the grandeur and fecundity of her ideas, and which she has negligently thrown together without regard to the difference of their kinds. The powerful hand which has placed so many enormous and sterile rocks on their eternal bases, has sportively interspersed at their feet, and in the intervals between them, charming meadows, the asylums of coolness and repose. Every where we behold picturesque situations, unexpected contrasts, and admirable effects.

How often, when arrived at the summit of a lofty mountain, have we seen the lightning flash beneath our feet! How often, in the region of the clouds, have we beheld the resplendence of day change to a dim light, and the air become thick and agitated with violence, presenting a spectacle at once beautiful and terrifying! Those streams of vapour which passed rapidly beneath

Pausan. lib. 2. p. 600. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150.

* See note XV. at the end of the volume.

our eyes, and plunged down into the deep valleys below; those torrents of waters which, roaring, precipitated themselves to the bottom of the abyss; those huge masses of mountains which, through the thick fluid by which we were surrounded, appeared covered with a black veil; the melancholy cries of birds, and the plaintive murmur of the winds and the trees, seemed to present to us the image of the hell of Empedocles: such must be that ocean of obscure and whitish air which impels and repels the souls of the guilty, either through the plains of æther, or amid the globes interspersed in the wide expanse of space.

We left Megalopolis, and, after having crossed the Alpheus, proceeded to Lycosura, situate at the foot of Mount Lycæus, formerly called Olympus.² This country abounds in woods and fallow-deer. In the evening, our hosts wished to entertain us with an account of their city, which is the most ancient in the world; of their mountain, on which Jupiter was brought up; of the temple and festivals of that god; and especially of his priest, who, in time of drought, has power to bring down rain from heaven.² They afterwards told us of a hind which was still alive two centuries ago,

² Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 678. ³ Id. ibid.

Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830.

and which they said had lived more than seven hundred years. It was taken some years before the war of Troy, and the date of the time when it was taken was inscribed on a collar which it wore. It was kept as a sacred animal in the enclosure appertaining to the temple. Aristotle, to whom I one day mentioned this story, citing at the same time the authority of Hesiod, who attributes to the life of the stag a still longer duration, did not seem to pay any regard to it, and observed to me, that the time of gestation of this animal, and that of the growth of the young stag, by no means indicated so long a life.

The next day, having reached the top of Mount Lycœus, from whence almost the whole of Peloponnesus may be seen, we were present at some games celebrated in honour of the god Pan, near a temple and small grove consecrated to him. After the prize had been bestowed, we saw some young persons who followed with loud bursts of laughter all those whom they met in their way. We saw others who struck the statue of the god with whips; they

^b Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 620.

c Hesiod. ap. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. p. 402.

d Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 29. t. i. p. 833. Buffon, Hist. Nat. t. vi. p. 93.

e Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 679.

f Id. ibid. p. 678.

Eliv. lib. 1. cap. 5. Plutarch. in Romul. t. 1. p. 31.

^{*} The Lupercalia at Rome derived their origin from this festival.

inflicted this punishment on him because a hunting, undertaken under his auspices, had not been sufficiently successful to furnish them with a meal.h

The Arcadians however are not the less attached to the worship of Pan. They have dedicated to him a great number of temples, statues, altars, and sacred groves, and he is represented on their coin.* This god pursues the animals which are hurtful to the harvests; he wanders with pleasure on the mountains, from whence he watches over the numerous flocks which feed in the plain; and from the instrument with seven pipes, of which he is the inventor, produces harmonious sounds, which re-echo through the neighbouring valleys."

Pan formerly enjoyed still greater honours. He predicted future events in one of his temples, in which a lamp was kept burning day and night. The Arcadians still maintain that he distributes to mortals, during their life, the rewards and punishments which they merit; they place him, like the Egyptians, in the rank

¹ Pausan. passim.

* See the plate of coins.

Theoer. Idyll. 7. v. 106. Schol. ibid.

k Theocr. Idyll. 1. v. 123. Callim. in Dian. v. 88.

Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 169. Horat. lib. 4. od. 12. Virgil. Eclog. 2. v. 33. Georg. 1. v. 17.

^m Virg. Eclog. 2, v. 32. Eclog. 8, v. 24. ⁿ Pausan. lib. 8, cap. 36, p. 674.

[°] Id. cap. 37. p. 677. P Id. ibid.

of their principal divinities, and the name which they give him seems to signify that he extends his power over all material substance. Notwithstanding these splendid titles, they at present limit his functions to the protection of hunters and shepherds.

Not far from his temple is that of Jupiter, in the middle of an enclosure which we were not allowed to enter. We afterwards met with other sacred places, the entrance of which is forbidden to men, but permitted to women.

We next proceeded to Phigalea, which is seated on a very steep rock, and may be seen at a considerable distance." In the forum is a statue which may serve for the history of the arts. The feet are almost joined, and the pendent hands are fastened close to the sides and thighs; for in this manner were statues formerly sculptured in Greece, and thus they are still in Egypt. That we had now before our eyes was erected for the athleta Arrhachion, who gained one of the prizes in the 52d, 53d, and 54th Olympiads.* We may hence conclude that two

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 31. p. 664.
 Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 22.

Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 300. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 38.

<sup>p. 679. Hygin. Poet. Astronom. p. 426.
Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 5. p. 608; cap. 10. p. 618; cap. 31.
p. 665; cap. 36. p. 673.</sup>

[&]quot; Id. cap. 39. p. 681.

^x Id. cap. 40. p. 682. y Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 276.

^{*} In the years before Christ, 572, 568, 564.

centuries before our time many statuaries still servilely followed the Egyptian taste.*

To the right, and at the distance of thirty stadia + from the city, is Mount Elaius; to the left, and forty stadia t distant, Mount Cotylius. On the first is seen the cave of Ceres, surnamed the Black, because that goddess, in despair for the loss of Proserpine, continued shut up in it a long time, wearing a mourning habit.2 On the altar, at the entrance of the cave, are offered, not victims, but fruits, honey and raw wool.2 In a town situate on the other mountain, we surveyed with astonishment a temple of Apollo; one of the most beautiful in Peloponnesus, as well from the choice of the stones of which the roof and walls are constructed, as from the happy harmony of all its parts. The name of the architect alone would suffice to ensure the fame of this edifice. It was built by the same Ictinus who, in the time of Pericles, erected the celebrated temple of Minerva.b

On our return from Phigalea we were present at a festival which was concluded by a grand entertainment, in which the slaves ate with their masters, and the highest praises were given to those who devoured the greatest quantity of eatables."

^{*} See the observations on the origin and progress of sculpture in the account of Sicyon, in Chap. XXXVII. of this work. (Vol. III. page 396.)

⁺ Somewhat above a league.

About a league and a half.

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 42. p. 685.

Id. ibid. p. 688.

b Id. ibid. cap. 41. p. 684. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 149.

The next day, returning by Lycosura, we passed the Alpheus, not far from Trapezus, and went to sleep at Gortys, the plains around which are fertilised by a river of the same name. During this whole day we met with merchants and travellers who were going to the little town of Aliphera, which lay to our left, and at which a fair was to be kept. We did not follow them, because we had often been present at similar scenes, and because we must have journeyed for a long time on the slope of a mountain surrounded by precipices. Our guides forgot to conduct us into a valley which is in the neighbourhood of Trapezus. The earth there, they told us, vomits forth flames, near the fountain of Olympius, which remains dry one year out of two. They added, that this place was the scene of the battle between the gods and the giants, and that, to preserve the memory of that dreadful contest, the inhabitants, on certain occasions, sacrifice to tempests, to lightning and the thunder.f

The poets have celebrated the pleasant coolness of the waters of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and of the Melas in Pamphylia; but those of the Gortynius deserve better their praises. The most severe cold never freezes them, and the

^a Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 26. p. 658.

Pausan. ibid. p. 340. Pausan. ibid. p. 652.
Pausan. ibid. cap. 29. p. 660.

greatest heats never alter their temperature. They are most delightful, either to bathe in, or to drink.

Besides possessing that coolness which distinguishes the waters of Arcadia, those of the Ladon, which we passed the next day, are so pure and transparent that they are no where to be equalled. h Near the banks of this river, shaded by lofty poplars, we found a number of girls, of the neighbouring country, dancing round a laurel, on which they had hung garlands of flowers. The youthful Clytia, accompanying her voice with her lyre, sang the loves of Daphne, the daughter of the Ladon, and Leucippus, the son of the king of Pisa. No maid in Arcadia was so lovely as Daphne, no youth in Elis so beautiful as Leucippus. But how might it be possible to triumph over a heart which Diana had subjected to her laws, and which Apollo had not been able to vanquish? Leucippus bound his hair upon his head, clothed himself in a light tunic, threw a quiver over his shoulders, and, in this disguise, pursued with Daphne the deer and the roe-bucks of the plain. Their furtive loves could not escape the jealous eyes of Apollo, who informed the companions of

Pausan. cap. 28. p. 659.

h Ibid. lib. 8. cap. 25. p. 651.

Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 638. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 1.
cap. 16. p. 19. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 1. v. 14. Geopon.
lib. 11. cap. 2. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. 3. v. 63.

Diana, and the unhappy Leucippus fell beneath their arrows. Clytia added that the nymph, unable to endure either the presence of the god, who obstinately continued his amorous pursuit, or the light which he dispensed to mortals, supplicated the earth to receive her into her bosom, and that she was metamorphosed into a laurel.*

We re-ascended the Ladon, and, turning to the left, took the road to Psophis, through several villages, and through the wood of Soron, in which are found, as well as in the other forests of Arcadia, bears, wild boars, and very large tortoises, the shells of which are used to make lyres. 1

Psophis is one of the most ancient cities of Peloponnesus; it is situate on the confines of Arcadia and Elis. A very high hill defends it from the north wind. To the east flows the river Erymanthus, which rises in a mountain of the same name, to which the inhabitants frequently resort to hunt wild boars and stags.^m To the west is a deep bottom, into which a torrent falls, that afterwards continues its course toward the south, and loses itself in the Erymanthus.ⁿ

^{*} The Thessalians affirm, that Daphne was the daughter of the Peneus, and that she was changed into a laurel on the banks of that river.

k Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 644.

¹ Id. ibid.

^{*} Homer. Odys. lib. 6. v. 103.

^{*} Polyb. lib. 4. p. 333.

Our attention was principally engaged by two objects. We here saw the tomb of that Alemæon, who, in obedience to the command of his father Amphiaraus, killed his mother Eriphyle, for which he was long pursued by the avenging furies, and at length wretchedly ended a life of dreadful agitation.

Near his tomb, which has no other ornament than some cypress trees of an extraordinary height,° we were shown a small field and a little cottage, where, some centuries since, lived a poor and virtuous man, named Aglaus. Alike a stranger to wishes or to fears, unknown to men, and ignorant of what passed among them, he peaceably cultivated his little farm, the narrow boundaries of which he had never passed. He had arrived at an extreme old age, when embassadors from the powerful king of Lydia, Gyges, or Crœsus, were commissioned to inquire of the oracle of Delphi whether there existed on the face of the whole earth a mortal more happy than that prince. The pythia replied, "Aglaus of Psophis." P

On our way from Psophis to Pheneos we heard mention made of several waters which possessed singular properties. The inhabitants of Clitor affirmed, that one of their springs inspires so

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 24, p. 646.
PId. ibid. p. 647, Plin. lib. 7, cap. 46, t. i. p. 402. Val.
Max. lib. 7, cap. 1.

great an aversion for wine, that those who drink of it are afterwards unable to endure even the smell of that liquor. Farther on, toward the north, among the mountains, near the city of Nonacris, is a very lofty rock, from which incessantly flows a deadly water, which forms the river of the Styx. This is that Styx, so formidable to gods and men. It winds through a valley, to which the Arcadians resort to confirm their promise by the most inviolable of oaths; but they never drink of it, however thirsty, nor does the shepherd ever lead his flocks to its banks. Its water, though limpid, and without odour, is mortal to all living creatures; they drop dead as soon as they have tasted it. It dissolves every kind of metal, and breaks every vessel which receives it, except those made of the hoof of certain animals.5

As the Cynætheans were then ravaging that country, we could not go thither to ascertain the truth of these reports. But having met on our road two deputies from a city of Achaia, who were journeying towards Pheneos, and who had more than once passed along that river, we

Eudox. ap. Steph. in Aζαν. Id. ap. Plin. lib. 31. cap. 2.
 ii. p. 549. Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 164.

Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 74.

Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 163. Var. ap. Solin. cap. 7.

Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 3. cap. 25. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 103.

t. i. p. 121; lib. 30. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 543; lib. 31. p. 550.

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 18. p. 635. Eustath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 301;

t. ii. p. 718; t. iii. p. 1667.

inquired of them; and concluded from their answers that the greater part of the prodigies attributed to this famous stream would disappear on the slightest examination.

These were intelligent and well-informed persons, and we put to them several other questions. They showed us, toward the north-east. Mount Cyllene, which lifts its majestic head above all the mountains of Arcadia, and whose perpendicular height may be estimated at fifteen or twenty stadia." This is the only part of Greece in which is found a species of white blackbirds.* Mount Cyllene joins to Mount Stymphalus, at the foot of which we find a city, a lake, and a river of the same name. The city was formerly one of the most flourishing in Arcadia. The river rises out of the lake, and, after having begun its course in this province, disappears, and terminates it under another name, in Argolis.2 In our time, Iphicrates, at the head of the Athenian troops, formed a design to dam up every outlet of the river, that, its waters returning upon the lake, and thence inundating the city, which he ineffectually besieged, the inhabitants might be compelled to

" Strab. lib. 8. p. 388.

^{&#}x27; Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 17. p. 633.

x Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 19. t. i. p. 934.

^y Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 169.

^z Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 76. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365.

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 24. p. 166; lib. 8. cap. 22. p. 640.

surrender at discretion; but, after great labour, he was obliged to abandon his project.^a

According to an ancient tradition, this lake was formerly covered with voracious birds, which infested the country. Hercules killed them with his arrows, or drove them away by the sound of certain instruments. This exploit did honour to the hero, and bestowed celebrity on the lake. The birds returned no more, but they are still represented on the money of Stymphalus. Such were the accounts given us by our travelling companions.

The city of Pheneos, though one of the principal in Arcadia, contains nothing remarkable; but the neighbouring plain presented to our curiosity one of the finest works of antiquity. Its date cannot be precisely ascertained; we only know that, in very remote ages, the torrents that rush from the mountains, by which the city is surrounded, entirely overwhelmed and destroyed the ancient Pheneos; and that, to prevent a similar calamity from again happening, a canal was dug in the plain fifty stadia in length, thirty feet theep, and of proportion-

Strab. lib. 8. p. 389.
Apollon. Argon. lib. 8. v. 1057. Schol. ibid. Pausan.

ib. 8. cap. 22. p. 640. Strab. lib. 8. p. 371.

See the coins published by Spanheim, Vaillant, and other antiquaries.

⁴ Pausan, lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 627.

^{*} Near three leagues. † A little more than twenty-eight French (or near thirty English) feet.

able breadth. It was intended to receive the waters of the river Olbius, and those of any extraordinary fall of rain. They were conducted to two caverns, which still subsist at the foot of the two mountains, under which Nature has opened for them secret passages.

These labours, which are attributed to Hercules, would appear to more advantage in the history of that hero, than his combat with the fabulous birds of Stymphalus. However this may be, the canal was gradually neglected; e and an earthquake having filled up the subterraneous passages by which the waters were carried off, the inhabitants took refuge on the eminences, where they constructed wooden bridges to maintain a communication with each other; and, as the inundation increased from day to day, they were obliged successively to erect other bridges, higher than the former.5

Some time afterward h the waters opened themselves a passage under ground through the obstacles by which their course was stopped, and carried consternation through several provinces. The Ladon, that beautiful and peaceful river of which I have spoken, and which had ceased to flow since the obstruction of the subterranean channels, had precipitated itself in

¹ Strab. lib. 1. p. 60.

Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 552.

h Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 117.

impetuous torrents into the Alpheus, and inundated the territory of Olympia.^k At Pheneos it was observed as a singularity, that the deal of which the bridges had been made, after it had been stripped of its bark, had not rotted.¹

From Pheneos we proceeded to Caphyæ, where we were shown, near a fountain, an old plane-tree, which bears the name of Menelaus, and which that prince is said to have planted himself before he went to the siege of Troy." In a neighbouring village we saw a sacred grove, and a temple dedicated to Diana the Strangled." A respectable old man informed us of the origin of this strange epithet. Some children, said he, playing near the temple, found a cord, and, having put it about the statue, dragged it along. crying out, laughing, We strangle the goddess. Some men, passing by at the time, felt such indignation at this sight, that they killed the children with stones. They imagined that they avenged the gods, but the gods avenged innocence. We experienced their anger; and the oracle being consulted, commanded us to erect a tomb to these unhappy victims, and annually to render them funeral honours.°

Further on we passed by the side of a large

k Eratosth. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 389.

Theophrast. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 522.

m Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643.

[&]quot; Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 32.

[·] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643.

causeway, which the inhabitants of Caphyæ have constructed to defend themselves from a torrent and a lake which are in the territory of Orchomenus.^P The latter city is situated on a mountain; we took a transient view of it; and were shown mirrors made of a blackish stone found in the environs. We afterwards took one of the roads that led to Mantinea."

Our guides stopped before a small hill, which is shown to strangers; and some Mantineans, who were walking in the environs, said to us: You have heard of Penelope, her griefs, her tears, and especially her fidelity; learn that she consoled herself for the absence of her husband with those lovers whom she had attracted to her; that Ulysses, on his return, drove her from his house, and that she here ended her days. This is her tomb. Seeing us appear astonished, they added: You would have met with what is no less extraordinary on the other road. You would have seen, on the brow of a hill, a temple of Diana, in which is annually celebrated the festival of the goddess. It is common to the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Mantinea; the one maintain a priest, and the other a priestess, whose ministry is for life. Both are obliged to observe the most austere regimen. They

<sup>P Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 642.
P Plin. lib. 37. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 779.
P Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 624.</sup>

[.] Id. ibid.

may not visit. The use of the bath, and the most innocent comforts of life are forbidden them. They are alone, and have no avocations, yet are not the less restricted to the most rigid continence.

Mantinea, formerly founded by the inhabitants of four or five of the neighbouring hamlets, is distinguished by its populousness, its riches, and the monuments by which it is decorated. It possesses fertile fields, and from it depart a considerable number of roads, which lead to the principal towns of Arcadia. Among those into Argolis, there is one called the Road of the Ladder, because steps have been cut over a high mountain for the convenience of foot-passengers.

The inhabitants of Mantinea, it is said, were the first who in their exercises combated man to man.^b They were also the first who wore a military dress, and made use of a kind of armour, which has taken its name from their city.^c They have always been considered as the bravest of all the Arcadians.^d When, in the

^e Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 625.

^u Xenoph, Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 553. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337.

^{*} Pausan. ibid. cap. 9. p. 616.

Xenoph. ibid. p. 552.

² Pausan. ibid. cap. 10. p. 618.

^a Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 610.

^{*} Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 154. * Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 154.

Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 336.

time of the Persian war, they did not arrive at Platæa till after the battle, they testified the greatest regret, and, to punish themselves, would pursue into Thessaly a body of the Persians which had fled, and, on their return home, banished their generals, by whose delays they had been deprived of the honour of fighting. In the wars which have since happened, the Lacedæmonians dreaded them when enemies, and esteemed themselves fortunate when they could obtain their alliance.f United by turns with Athens, with Sparta, and other foreign powers, they have been seen to extend their dominion over almost the whole province, and afterwards to be unable to defend their own frontiers.

A short time before the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians besieged Mantinea; and, as the siege continued a long time, they turned against the brick walls, by which the city was defended, the river which flows in the environs. The walls were thrown down, the city almost entirely destroyed, and the inhabitants dispersed in the villages which they had formerly occupied. Mantinea soon after arose from her ruins with new splendor, and did not blush to unite with Lacedæmon.

Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 76. Diod. Sic. ibid.

⁸ Thueyd. lib. 5. cap. 29.

^h Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Diod. Sic. lib. 15.

p. 331 et 336. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 8, p. 615.

and to declare against Epaminondas, to whom in part she had owed her liberty. Since that time this city has been continually agitated by foreign wars, or distracted by intestine factions. Such, indeed, in these latter times, has been the fate of almost all the cities of Greece, especially those in which the people exercise the supreme power.

This form of government has always subsisted at Mantinea; the first legislators modified it to prevent the dangers to which it is exposed. All the citizens have the right to give their opinion and vote in the general assembly, but only a small number may be appointed to the offices of magistracy. The other parts of the constitution were regulated with so much wisdom, that it is still cited as a model. At present the demiurgi, or tribunes of the people, exercise the principal functions, and sign their names to the public acts before the senators and the other magistrates."

At Mantinea we became acquainted with an Arcadian named Antiochus, who some years before had been one of the deputies which several cities of Greece had sent to the king of Persia to discuss in his presence their mutual interests.

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 615.

k Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 416.

¹ Polyb. lib. 6. p. 487. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 22.

m Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47.

Antiochus spoke in the name of his nation, and was not well received; when he returned he thus addressed the assembly of the ten thousand: I have seen in the palace of Artaxerxes a great number of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters; I have sought in his empire for soldiers which might oppose ours, but have found none. All that is said of his riches is mere boasting, as you may judge from the golden plane-tree of which so much has been said; it is so small, that its shadow would not be sufficient to cover a grasshopper."

As we went from Mantinea to Tegea, we had on our right Mount Mænalus, and on our left an extensive forest, in the plain between which was fought, some years since, that battle in which Epaminondas gained the victory and lost his life. Two monuments have been raised to him, a trophy and a tomb. They are near to each other, as if their places had been assigned them by philosophy.

The tomb of Epaminondas consists of a simple column, on which is suspended a buckler, that buckler which I had so often seen in his chamber, over his bed, upon the wall, or above the seat in which the hero usually sat. These local circumstances suddenly recurring to my mind,

Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621.
 Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 620.

^p Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 395. ^q Pausan. ibid. p. 622.

with the remembrance of his virtues, his benevolence, of an expression which he had used on such an occasion, a smile which had escaped him on such another, and a thousand minute particulars with which grief loves to nourish its melancholy, and all combining with the insupportable idea, that of this great man now only remained a heap of dry bones which the earth incessantly corroded, I was seized with an emotion so violent and painful that I was forced to tear myself from an object which I could neither look on nor leave. I was then alive to sensibility, but now am so no longer, as the feebleness of my language too plainly evinces.

I shall at least have the consolation here to add a new ray to the glory of this great man. Three cities dispute the trifling honour of having given birth to the soldier from whom he received his mortal wound. The Athenians assert that he fell by the hand of Gryllus the son of Xenophon, and have required that the painter Euphranor in one of his pictures should adopt their opinion. According to the Mantineans, he was killed by Machærion, a countryman of theirs; and according to the Lacedæmonians, by the Spartan Anticrates, to whose posterity they even granted honours and exemptions: ex-

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 621; lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 741.

Fld. ibid. p. 621.
Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 616.

travagant distinctions, which sufficiently prove how much they dreaded Epaminondas.

Mantinea.* These two cities, rivals and enemies from their proximity, have more than once engaged in bloody disputes; and, in the wars which have divided nations, have almost always taken different sides. At the battle of Platæa, which terminated the great quarrel between Greece and Persia, the Tegeatæ, who amounted to the number of fifteen hundred, disputed with the Athenians the honour of commanding one of the wings of the Grecian army. They did not obtain their claim to be allowed, but they proved that they deserved it by the most gallant behaviour.

Each city in Greece is under the special protection of a divinity. Tegea has chosen for its tutelary deity Minerva, surnamed Alea. The ancient temple having been burnt a few years after the Peloponnesian war, a new one was built, after the designs, and under the direction of Scopas of Paros, the same artist who has produced so many noble statues. He employed

^{*} About three leagues and three quarters.

^a Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 62 et 65.

^{*} Id. lib. 4. p. 134.

^y Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 391. ² Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 28 et 29.

^a Id. ibid. cap. 26. ^b Id. ibid. cap. 70.

the Ionic order in the peristyles which surround the temple. On the pediment in front he has represented the hunting of the wild boar of Calydon; it contains a number of figures, among others those of Hercules, Theseus, Perithous, and Castor. The subject on the other pediment is the combat of Achilles and Telephus. The temple is divided into three aisles by two ranges of columns, of the Doric order, above which is another of the Corinthian, which rise to and support the roof.

To the walls are suspended chains, which, in some of their ancient expeditions, the Lacedæmonians had prepared for the Tegeatæ, but with which they were themselves loaded. It is said that in the battle the women of Tegea, having placed themselves in ambuscade, fell upon the enemy, and decided the victory. A widow named Marpessa distinguished herself in such a manner on this occasion, that her armour is still preserved in the temple. Close to it are seen the tusks and skin of the Calydonian boar, which were allotted to the beautiful Atlanta of Tegea, who gave the ferocious animal the first wound. Lastly, we were shown a brazen manger, which the Tegeatæ, after the battle of

e Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 698.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. ⁵ Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 47. p. 695; cap. 48. p. 697. ⁵ Id. ibid. cap. 45, 46, et 47.

Platæa, carried off from the stables of the general of the Persians. Such spoils gratify the vanity of a people, and sometimes act as motives to emulation.

In this temple, which is the most beautiful of any in Peloponnesus, a young girl officiates as priestess, who resigns her sacred functions as soon as she arrives at the age of puberty.

We saw another temple, into which the priest only enters once in the year; and in the forum remarked two great columns, the one of which supports the statues of the legislators of Tegea, and the other the equestrian statue of a private individual who gained the prize of the horse races at the Olympic games. The inhabitants have decreed them all the same honours, but we surely ought not to believe that they hold them in the same esteem.

⁸ Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 70.

h Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 693.

¹ Id. ibid, cap. 47. p. 695. ¹ Id. ibid, cap. 48. p. 696.

¹ Id. ibid.

CHAP. LIII.

Journey through Argolis.*.

PROM Tegea we entered Argolis by a defile which passes between some high mountains. As we approached the sea, we saw the marsh of Lerna, formerly the haunt of that monstrous hydra which Hercules slew. From thence we took the road to Argos, through a beautiful meadow.

Argolis, as well as Arcadia, is intersected with hills and mountains, which have valleys and fertile plains in the intervals between them. These admirable irregularities no longer excited our surprise, but our attention was greatly interested from another motive. This province was the cradle of the Greeks, since it first received the foreign colonies by whom they were civilised. It became the theatre of the greater part of events recorded in the ancient annals of Greece. There was it that Inachus appeared,

^{*} See the map of Argolis.

Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 610.
 Fourm. Voyage Manuscr. de l'Argolide.

Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

who gave his name to the river which waters the territory of Argos; there also lived Danaus, Hypermnestra, Lynceus, Alcmæon, Perseus, Amphitryon, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, and so many other celebrated heroes and heroines.

Their names, which have been so often read with delight in the writings of the poets, and heard with ecstacy from the stage, make the stronger impression on the mind, as the heroes themselves seem again to live in the festivals and monuments consecrated to their memory. The view of the places which were the scenes of their illustrious deeds carries us back to the times in which they lived, realises fiction, and gives animation to the most insensible objects. At Argos, amid the ruins of a subterraneous palace, in which it is said king Acrisius confined his daughter Danaë, I seemed to myself to hear the complaints of that unhappy princess. the road from Hermione to Træzen, I imagined that I beheld Theseus raising the enormous rock beneath which were deposited the sword and other tokens by which he was to be recognised by his father.^q These illusions are a homage which we render to celebrity, and give new force to the imagination, which has more frequently need of such supports than reason.

P Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 164. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 89.
 Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 66;
 lib. 2. p. 188 et 192.

Argos is situate at the foot of a hill, on which stands the citadel." It is one of the most ancient cities of Greece, and from the earliest ages possessed such power and splendor that its name was sometimes given to the province. to the whole of Peloponnesus, and even to all Greece. The house of the Pelopidæ having established itself at Mycenæ, that city eclipsed the glory of her rival." Agamemnon reigned in the former city, and Diomedes and Sthenelus in the latter.* Some time after, Argos regained its rank," which it never afterwards lost.

The sovereign power was at first confided to kings, who oppressed their subjects, and who were soon only left in possession of that title which they had abused."

The title itself was afterwards abolished, and a democracy has subsisted ever since.^a The affairs of the state are discussed in a senate, before they are submitted to the decision of the people; but as the senate cannot take on itself the executive power, eighty of its members

Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

Strab. lib. 8. p. 370. Liv. lib. 32. cap. 25.

Strab. lib. 8. p. 369. Schol. Pind. in Isthm. od. 2. v. 17. Plut. Quæst. Roman. t. ii. p. 272. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 75.

[&]quot; Strab. ibid. p. 372. * Homer, Iliad. lib. 2. v. 564.

y Strab. ibid. ² Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 152.

^a Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 28, 31, et 41. Herodot, lib. 7. cap. 148. Thucyd. ibid. cap. 37.

continually watch over the safety of the state, with nearly the same functions as the prytanes of Athens.c More than once, and even in our time, the principal citizens have endeavoured to free themselves from the tyranny of the multitude by establishing an oligarchy; but these attempts have answered no other purpose than to occasion an effusion of blood.d

They still felt the effects of a fruitless attempt of this kind which they had made about fourteen years before. Wearied with the continual calamities and reproaches of the public orators, they engaged in a project to change the form of government. Their design was discovered, and many of them were apprehended. When brought to the torture, some killed themselves; and one of them accused thirty of his associates, who were put to death without further trial. Their property was confiscated; informations multiplied, and to be accused was to be found guilty. Sixteen hundred of the richest of the citizens were massacred; and as the orators, through fear of a new order of things, began to relax in their zeal, the people, conceiving they had deserted them, sacrificed them all to their fury. No city of Greece had seen within its walls the example

Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47. Diod. Sic. lib. 19.
Thucyd. ib. cap. 76, 81, 82. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372.

of such barbarity; and the Athenians, having heard the account of it in one of their assemblies. thought themselves so polluted by only listening to the horrid narrative, that they immediately had recourse to the ceremonies of expiation.e

The Argives are renowned for their bravery; they have had frequent disputes with the neighbouring nations, and have never feared to enter the lists with the Lacedæmonians, who have often sought their alliance.

We have already said, that the first period of their history is resplendent with illustrious names and shining achievements. In the latter, after they had conceived the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of all Peloponnesus, h they became enfeebled by unfortunate expeditions and intestine dissensions.

Like the Arcadians, they have neglected the sciences and cultivated the arts. Before the expedition of Xerxes, they were more versed in music than the other people of Greece. They were for some time so much attached to its ancient simplicity, that they imposed a fine on a musician who had dared to present himself to the competition with a lyre having more than

Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 131.

Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372. Plut. de Reip. Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 804. Hellad ap. Phot. p. 1593.

⁵ Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 36. f Herodot, lib. 6. cap. 77.
Thucyd, lib. 5. cap. 28.
Diod. Sic, lib. 12, p. 123.

seven strings, and to perform in modes which they had not adopted." Among the musicians born in this province, the most distinguished were Lasus, Sacadas, and Aristonicus; among the sculptors, Ageladas and Polycletus; among the poets, Telesilla.

The three former contributed greatly to the progress and improvement of music, as did Ageladas and Polycletus to that of sculpture. The latter, who lived about the time of Pericles, has filled Peloponnesus and all Greece with his immortal works. In adding new beauties to human nature, he surpassed Phidias; but in presenting to us the image of divinity, he never rose to the sublimity of the ideas of his rival. He chose his models from youth and infancy, but old age seemed to embarrass those hands which were accustomed to represent the graces. This species of composition accommodates itself so easily to a certain negligence, that Polycletus merits peculiar praise for having rigorously confined himself to correctness of design. In fact, there is a figure by him, in which the proportions of the human body are so accurately observed, that it has been called the

ii Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1144.

^k Id. ibid. p. 1141.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 1134.

^m Athen. lib. 14. p. 637.

Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 472; cap. 14. p. 487.

Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Anthol. Græc. lib. 4. p. 333.

Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744.

canon or rule^q by the unanimous consent of artists, who study it whenever they have to represent the same nature in the same circumstances, for it is impossible to form a single model which shall suit all ages, sexes, and characters. If Polycletus be charged with some errors, it may be said in reply, that if he did not attain, he at least approached near to, perfection. He himself seems to have doubted his own success. At a time when other artists inscribed on their works, Such a one has made it (Exolar), he contented himself with writing on his, Polycletus was making it (Exolare); as if to finish what he had begun he waited the judgment of the public.

He listened to advice, and knew how to appreciate its value. He made two statues of the same subject, on one of which he worked in private, consulting only his own genius, and the rules of his art which he had carefully considered; the other he sculptured in his shop, into which every one who chose might enter, correcting and amending it according to the opinion of as many as were pleased to bestow their advice. As soon as both were finished he exhibited them to the public. The first was

⁹ Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 659. Jun. de Pict. p. 168. [†] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 303. Œuyr. de Falconn. t. iii. p. 87.

⁵ Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 18. t. i. p. 351. ⁵ Plin. lib. 1. t. i. p. 5.

received with universal admiration; but at the second every body laughed aloud; upon which he said, That you laugh at is your work, the other is mine." Another anecdote will prove to what celebrity he had attained in his life-time. Hipponicus, one of the principal citizens of Athens, intending to consecrate a statue to his country, was advised to employ the chisel of Polycletus. No, replied he, the honour of my offering would then be wholly engrossed by the artist." We shall see below that his fertile genius employed itself with no less success in architecture.

Telesilla, who flourished about a hundred and fifty years ago, rendered her country illustrious by her writings, and saved it by her courage. The city of Argos was on the point of falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. It had lost six thousand men, among which was the flower of its youth. Telesilla collected the women most proper to second her designs, furnished them with arms, which she procured from the temples or from the houses of individuals, placed herself with them on the walls, and repulsed the enemy, who, through fear of being reproached either with defeat or victory, retired from before the city.

^y Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 76; lib. 7. cap. 148.
² Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 157. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 7. cap. 33. Lucian. in Amor. t. ii. p. 431. Clemen. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 618. Suid. in Τελεσίλ.

The most signal honours were rendered to these female warriors. Those who fell in the battle were buried by the side of the road to Argos; others were permitted to erect a statue to the god Mars. The figure of Telesilla was placed on a column, in front of the temple of Venus. Far from deigning to cast her eyes on the volumes represented at her feet, she appears to fix them with complacence on a helmet which she holds in her hand, and is about to put upon her head. Lastly, to perpetuate the remembrance of so extraordinary an event, an annual festival was instituted, in which the women wear the habit of men, and the men the dress of women.

In this city, as in all the others of Greece, the productions of the arts are very common, but their master-pieces extremely rare. Among the latter it may suffice to name several statues by Polycletus and Praxiteles.^d The following objects engaged our attention from other reasons.

We saw the tomb of a daughter of Perseus, who, after the death of her first husband, married Œbalus, king of Sparta. The Argive women before that time had never dared to

a Plut. de Virt. Mul. t. ii. p. 245.

Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 157. Plut. ibid. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 8. cap. 33.

Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 154; cap. 21. p. 160.

contract a second marriage. This event is of the highest antiquity.

We saw a group, representing Perilaus of Argos about to put to death the Spartan Othryadas.f The Lacedæmonians and Argives disputed the possession of the city of Thyrea. It was agreed that each state should name three hundred warriors, by a combat between whom their differences should be finally decided. They all fell, except two Argives, who, thinking themselves incontestably victors, hastened to carry the news to the magistrates of Argos. Othryadas, however, still breathed, and, notwithstanding his mortal wounds, had strength enough left to erect a trophy on the field of battle, on which he traced with his blood these words, "The Lacedæmonians conquerors of the Argives;" and then hastened his own death, that he might not longer survive his companions.

The Argives are persuaded that Apollo manifests future events in one of his temples. Once a month the priestess, who must observe the strictest continence, sacrifices a sheep during the night, and, as soon as she has tasted of the blood of the victim, is inspired with the spirit of prophecy.

^{*} Pausan, lib. 2, cap. 21, p. 159. f Ibid. cap. 20, p. 156. F Pausan, lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 156. Cryserm, ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 306. Suid. in Οθενάδ. Stat. Theb. lib. 4. 7, 43. Lact. ibid. Stob. Serm. 7, p. 92. Pausan, ibid. cap. 24, p. 165.

We saw the women of Argos assemble during several successive days in a kind of chapel, adjoining to the temple of Jupiter Saviour, to weep for Adonis. I could have wished to have said to them what philosophers have remarked on similar occasions: "Why should you weep for him if he is a god, or offer sacrifices to him if he is not?"k

At the distance of forty stadia* from Argos1 is the temple of Juno, one of the most celebrated in Greece, m formerly common to that city and Mycenæ.ⁿ The old one was burnt not a century since by the negligence of the priestess Chrysis, who had forgotten to extinguish a lamp placed in the midst of the sacred fillets.° The new one, built at the foot of Mount Eubœa, attests the progress of the arts, and will eternise the name of the architect Eupolemus of Argos.^p

That of Polycletus will be still more celebrated from the works with which he has decorated this temple, and especially the statue of Juno, of almost colossal size. The goddess appears seated on a throne with a crown on her head, on which are engraven the Hours and the

ⁱ Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 156.

^k Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Id. in Isid. p. 379.

^{*} About a league and a half.

¹ Strab. lib. 8. p. 368.

^m Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 147.

ⁿ Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.

^o Thucyd. lib. 4. eap. 133. Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.

<sup>P Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 147.
Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.</sup>

Graces. She holds in her right hand a pomegranate; a mysterious symbol which is not explained to the profane: in her left is a sceptre, on the top of which is the figure of a cuckoo, a singular attribute that has given birth to many puerile stories. While we were admiring the workmanship, worthy of the rival of Phidias, and the richness of the materials, which are of gold and ivory, Philotas showed me, laughing, a misshapen figure, in a sitting posture, made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and covered with dust. That, said he, is the most ancient statue of Juno; r after having long received the worship of mortals, it experiences the lot of old age and poverty; it is thrown into a corner of the temple, where no one addresses to it either prayers or vows.

The magistrates of Argos repair to the altar of this temple to bind themselves by oath to observe their treaties of peace; but strangers are not permitted to offer sacrifices on it.

The temple, from its foundation, has been served by a priestess, who is obliged, among other things, to abstain from certain fish. A statue is erected to her during her life-time; and after her death her name, and the time during which she exercised the priesthood, is

5 Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 81.

Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.

^t Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983. ^u Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 149.

inscribed on it. This range of statues, placed in the front of the temple, with those of different heroes,* furnishes a succession of dates which historians sometimes employ to ascertain and fix the order of time.y

In the list of the priestesses we found several illustrious names, as those of Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaus; Admeta, daughter of king Eurystheus; and Cydippe, who owed her glory less to her ancestors than to her children. They related to us her history during the celebration of the festival of Juno. The day of that festival, which assembles together an innumerable concourse of spectators, is especially distinguished by a solemn procession, that proceeds from Argos to the temple of the goddess. It opens with a hundred oxen, adorned with garlands, which are to be sacrificed, and distributed to the people.^a A body of youthful Argives march as guards, in shining armour, which they put off from respect before they approach the altar; and the procession is closed by the priestess, who appears in a chariot drawn by two beautiful white oxen.^c It happened, when Cydippe

x Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.

^y Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 2. Schol, ibid. Hellan, ap. Dionys. Halic, Ant. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 181. Excerpt. Polyb. p. 50. Meurs. de Archont. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Marsh. Chron. Can. p. 127. Freret, Defens, de la Chronol,

^a Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 7. v. 152.

Eneas Poliorc. cap. 17. p. 13. e Palæphat. de Incredib. cap. 51.

was priestess, that when the procession had filed off, the oxen had not yet arrived; upon which Biton and Cleobis yoked themselves to the chariot of their mother, and drew her, in triumph, the distance of forty-five stadia,* through the plain, and to near the middle of the mountain, to the place where the temple then stood.d Cydippe arrived there amid the shouts and plaudits of the people; and in the transports of her joy supplicated the goddess to grant to her sons the greatest good which could be bestowed on mortals. Her prayers, it is said, were heard; a gentle sleep fell on the two youths, in the temple itself; and they tranquilly passed from life to death: as if the greatest blessing which the gods can grant to man were to shorten his days.

Examples of filial piety are certainly not rare in great nations, but the memory of them is preserved with difficulty in the family in which they have been produced; whereas, in Greece, a whole city appropriates them to itself, and eternises them as no less honourable to it than victories over an enemy. The Argives sent to Delphi the statues of these generous brothers;

^{*} About a league and three quarters.

^a Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 17, p. 148. ^e Herodot, lib. 1. cap. 31. Axioch, ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367. Cicer. Tuscul, lib. 1. cap. 47, t. ii. p. 273. Valer, Maxim. lib. 5. cap. 4. extern. 4. Stob. Serm. 169. p. 603. Serv. et Philarg. in Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 532. Herodot, lib. 1. cap. 31.

and in one of their temples I have seen them represented harnessed to the chariot of their mother.

We had seen the illustrious reward which the Greeks had bestowed on the virtues of individuals; and we afterwards saw, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the temple, to what excesses they have been hurried by the jealousy of power. Some ruins, among which the tombs of Atreus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and Electra, are with difficulty distinguished, are all that remains of the ancient and famous city of Mycenæ, which was destroyed by the Argives about a century and a half ago. Its crime was, that it had refused to bend beneath the yoke they had imposed on almost all Argolis, and that in contempt of their commands, it had joined its forces to those which Greece had assembled against the Persians.k The unfortunate inhabitants wandered in different countries, and the greater part only found an asylum in Macedonia.1

The history of Greece presents us with more than one example of these dreadful emigrations, which ought not to excite our surprise. The greater part of the districts of Greece at first contained a number of independent republics,

⁵ Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 155.

^h Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 147. ^a Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.

k Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 146.

¹ Id. lib. 7. cap. 25. p. 589.

some subject to aristocracy, others governed by a democracy, and all of which easily obtained the protection and assistance of the neighbouring powers whose interest it was to divide them." In vain they endeavoured to unite together, by a general confederation; the most powerful, after having subjected the weaker, disputed the sovereignty with each other, and not unfrequently one among them, raising itself above the rest, exercised a real despotism under the specious forms of liberty. Hence those ancient hatreds and national wars which for so long a time have laid waste Thessaly, BϚtia, Arcadia, and Argolis. These have never desolated Attica and Laconia; not the former, because its inhabitants live under the same laws, like citizens of the same city; nor the latter, because the people of that country have been always held in subjection by the active vigilance of the magistrates of Sparta, and the known valour of the Spartans.

I am not ignorant that the infractions of treaties, and offences committed against the laws of nations, have been sometimes brought before the assembly of the Amphictyons, instituted from the earliest ages among the northern states of Greece. I know also that many cities of Argolis established among themselves a similar

Thucyd, lib. 1. cap. 35 et 40.

tribunal; but these councils, which only took cognisance of certain causes, either did not extend their jurisdiction over all Greece, or never possessed sufficient power to enforce the execution of their decrees.

On our return to Argos we went up to the citadel, where we saw, in the temple of Minerva, a statue of Jupiter, which, as we are told, was formerly preserved in the palace of Priam. It has three eyes, one of which is in the middle of the forehead; either to signify that this god reigns equally in the heavens, over the sea, and in the infernal shades; or to denote that he beholds the past, the present and the future.

We departed for Tiryns, distant from Argos about fifty stadia.* Of this very ancient city nothing now remains but the walls, which are about twenty feet thick, and of a proportionable height. They are constructed of huge stones, laid one upon another; the least of which is of such a prodigious size that two mules could scarcely draw it. As they are not cut, lesser stones have been employed to fill the interstices left by the irregularity of their shape. These walls have subsisted during a long series of ages, and will, perhaps, excite the admiration

ⁿ Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.

<sup>Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 166.
* About two leagues and a half.</sup>

P Pausan. ibid. cap. 15. p. 145.

Voyag. de Des Mouceaux, p. 473.
Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 169.

and astonishment of posterity for thousands of years to come.

The same kind of labour may be remarked in the ancient monuments of Argolis, and particularly in the half-destroyed walls of Mycenæ, and the vast excavations which are seen near the port of Nauplia, situated at a little distance from Tiryns.

All these works are attributed to the Cyclops, whose name naturally awakens ideas of greatness; since it was given by the most ancient poets, sometimes to giants, and sometimes to those children of heaven and earth who were employed to forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter. It was imagined that these gigantic constructions could not be the work of ordinary mortals. It doubtless had not been remarked that men, in the earliest ages, when they formed themselves dwellings, laboured more for solidity than elegance; and that they employed the most powerful means with which they were acquainted to ensure a long duration to indispensable labours. They hollowed in the rock deep caverns, for

<sup>Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 36. p. 983. Des Mouceaux, ibid.
Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 944. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 25.
p. 589. Hesych. in Κυκλώπ.</sup>

[&]quot; Strab. lib. 8. p. 373.

" Eurip. in Orest. v. 963; in Iphig. in Aul. v. 152 et 1501; in Elect. v. 1158; in Hercul. Fur. v. 15. Strab. ibid. Pausan. ibid. Eustath. in Iliad. p. 286. Stat. Theb. lib. 1. v. 251.

Homer. Odyss. lib. 9. Bochart. Geograph. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 30.

Mem. de l'Acad, des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hist. p. 28.

a place of refuge during their lives, or to receive their bodies after death. They detached huge fragments from the mountains, and with them surrounded their habitations. They thus displayed their strength, and triumphed over obstacles. They then laboured after the plan of nature, all whose works are simple, necessary, and durable. The exact proportions and beautiful forms since introduced in the productions of art, make more agreeable, but I doubt whether they leave such profound impressions on the mind. Even in those which have most claim to public admiration, and raise their heads majestically above the earth, the hand of art conceals that of nature, and magnificence only is substituted for grandeur.

We were told at Tiryns that the Argives, exhausted by long wars, had destroyed Tiryns, Midea, Hysia, and some other cities, to remove their inhabitants to Argos.^a Philotas regretted that he could not find here any of the ancient Tirynthians; and when I inquired his reason, It is not, replied he, because they are as fond of wine as the other inhabitants of this country, but because their humour would have amused me. I will relate to you what I have heard from an Argive.

They had contracted such a habit of jesting

² Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 27. p. 653. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 12. p. 438.

on every occasion, that they were no longer able to discuss seriously the most important affairs. Wearied at length with their own levity, they had recourse to the oracle of Delphi, which assured them they would be cured if, after having sacrificed a bull to Neptune, they should be able, without laughing, to throw it into the sea. It was manifest that the constraint imposed on them would prevent them from being able to comply with the condition required. They however assembled on the sea-shore, and carefully removed all the children; but as they were endeavouring to drive away one who had privately come in among them, he called out to them, "What, are you afraid I should swallow your bull?" On which they all burst into a loud laugh, and, being persuaded that their malady was incurable, quietly submitted to their lot.c

We left Tiryns, and, proceeding towards the extremity of Argolis, visited Hermione and Træzen. In the former we saw, among other things, a small grove consecrated to the Graces; a temple of Venus, in which all the maidens of the place before they are married must offer a sacrifice; and a temple of Ceres, before which are the statues of some of the priestesses. A festival is there celebrated in the summer, the principal ceremony of which I shall briefly describe.

^c Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 261. Eustath, in Odyss. lib. 18. p. 1839. lin. 47.

^d Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 34. p. 193.

At the head of the procession appear the priests of different divinities, and the magistrates in office: they are followed by women, men, and children, all clothed in white, crowned with flowers, and singing hymns. Next come four heifers, which are driven one after the other into the temple, and successively sacrificed by four matrons. These victims, which at first can with difficulty be held, become tame as soon as they hear the voice of these women, and present themselves of their own accord at the altar. We were not witnesses of the truth of the latter circumstance, for the doors are shut during the sacrifice.

Behind this edifice there are three places surrounded with stone balustrades. In one of these the earth opens and discovers a profound abyss. This is one of the mouths of the infernal regions, of which I have spoken in my journey through Laconia. The inhabitants of the country say that Pluto, when he carried off Proserpine, chose to descend by this gulf, because it is the shortest passage to his gloomy abode. They add that, on account of their situation, they are not required to pay any tribute to Charon, and that therefore they do not put a piece of money into the mouths of their dead, as is practised in every other part of Greece.

Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 35. p. 195. Ækan. Hist. Animal.
 lib. 11. cap. 4.
 f Strab. lib. 8. p.373. Callim. ap. Etymol. Magn. in Δαγάκ.

At Træzen we saw with pleasure the monuments that city contains, and heard with patience the long relations which a people, proud of their origin, gave us of their ancient kings, and of the heroes to which their country had given birth. We were shown the seat on which Pittheus, the son of Pelops, administered justice; h the house in which Theseus, his grandson and pupil, was born; that in which Hyppolytus dwelt; and his temple, in which the maidens of Træzen deposit their hair before their marriage. The Træzenians, who pay divine honours to the latter hero, have consecrated to Venus the place in which Phædra concealed herself to see him drive his chariot in the course. Some of them affirm that he was not killed by his horses, but placed among the constellations; others showed us the place where he was buried, which is near the tomb of Phædra.^m

We were also shown an edifice, in the shape of a tent, in which Orestes continued while he was purified; and a very ancient altar, on which sacrifices were offered at once to the Manes and to Sleep, on account of the union between these divinities." One part of Træzen is situate on the declivity of a mountain, and the other in a plain, that extends to the port, through which

⁸ Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 181.

h Id. ibid. cap. 31. p. 184. Id. ibid. cap. 32. p. 188.

^k Id. ibid. p. 187. ¹ Id. ibid. p. 186.

Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 32. p. 186 et 187.

Id. Ibid. cap. 31. p. 184.

winds the river Chrysorrhoas, and which is surrounded on all sides by hills and mountains, covered to a certain height by vines, olives, pomegranates, and myrtles, above which appear woods of pines and firs that seem to raise their lofty heads to the clouds.

The beauty of this scene did not detain us long in that city. At certain seasons the air of it is unwholesome; p its wines are no longer in repute, and the water of the holy fountain it possesses is of a bad quality."

We proceeded on our journey, along the seacoast, and arrived at Epidaurus, situate at the bottom of a bay, in front of the island of Ægina. which anciently belonged to it. It was formerly defended by strong walls against the attacks of the neighbouring powers." Its territory, which abounds in vineyards, is surrounded by mountains covered with oaks.y Without the walls, at the distance of forty stadia, ** are the temple and sacred grove of Æsculapius, to which sick persons resort from all parts to seek a cure for their various disorders. This small country is

^{*} Fourmont. Voyag. Manuscr, de l'Argolide.

P Chandl. Trav. in Greece, p. 216.

⁴ Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 9: cap. 20. Plin. lib. 14. cap. 18. t. i. p. 724.

Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 159. Plin. lib. 31. p. 548.

^{*} Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 56; lib. 5. cap. 55 et 56.

^{*} Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 561.

<sup>Strab. ibid. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 5. t. i. p. 194.
Liv. lib. 45. cap. 28. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2.
* About a league and a half. Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 26 et 27.</sup>

governed by a council consisting of one hundred and eighty persons.

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the history of Æsculapius, which is the reason so many different stories are told concerning him. If we may pay any regard to the reports of the people of Epidaurus, a shepherd, having lost his dog and one of his she-goats, found them on a neighbouring mountain, near a child who shone with an extraordinary resplendance, and whom the goat suckled and the dog guarded. This child was Æsculapius, the son of Apollo and Coronis.c He dedicated his days to the relief of the unhappy. The most dangerous wounds and maladies yielded to his operations, his remedies, his harmonious songs, and the magical words that he employed.d The gods pardoned him his success, but he dared to recall the dead to life, and, on the representation of Pluto, was struck dead with a thunderbolt.

Other traditions suffer us to perceive some glimmerings of the truth, and present us with a thread which we will follow for a moment without entangling ourselves in its windings. The tutor of Achilles, the sage Chiron, had acquired some slight acquaintance with the virtues of simples, and a still greater knowledge of the

Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 291.

^e Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 170. d Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 92. Pind. ibid. v. 10. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 125. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. tom. ii. p. 408. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 273. Plin. lib. 29. t. ii. p. 493.

method of reducing fractures and luxations. He transmitted what he knew to his descendants, who still exist in Thessalv, and who have at all times generously devoted themselves to the service of the sick.f

It appears that Æsculapius was his disciple, and that having been entrusted with his secrets. he taught them to his sons, Machaon and Podalirius, h who reigned after his death over a small city in Thessaly. During the siege of Troy they signalised their courage in the field of battle, k and their skill in the treatment of wounds;1 for they had carefully cultivated surgery, an essential part of medicine, and the only one, apparently, which was known in these remote ages." Machaon having been killed under the walls of Troy, his ashes were brought by Nestor to Peloponnesus." His children, who followed the profession of their father, settled in this country. They raised altars to their grandfather, and merited the same honours themselves by the services which they rendered to the human race.

f Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 30.

Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 80. Id. Nem. 3. v. 94.

h Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 219.

¹ Id. lib. 2. v. 730. Strab. lib. 8. p. 339; lib. 10. p. 448.

k Id. lib. 11. v. 832.

¹ Id. ibid. lib. 4. v. 219.

^m Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405, 406, &c. Cels. de Re Med. in Præfat.

ⁿ Pausan, lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 278.

[°] Id. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 136; cap. 23. p. 163.

The founder of so respectable a family soon became the object of public veneration, though his advancement to the rank of the gods must have been posterior to the time of Homer, who speaks of him only as a man. But at present divine honours are every where paid to him. His worship has passed from Epidaurus to the other cities of Greece, and even to distant countries; p and cannot but become still more extensive, because the sick will ever implore with confidence the compassion of a divinity who was subject to like infirmities with themselves.

The Epidaurians have instituted in honour of Æsculapius festivals which are annually celebrated, and to which from time to time are added new spectacles. Though these are most magnificent, the temple of the god, the edifices which surround it, and the scenes which pass in it, are more proper to gratify the curiosity of the inquiring traveller.

I mean not to speak of those rich presents which have been deposited there by the hope and gratitude of the sick; but the expressive words written over the gate of the temple immediately and forcibly arrest the attention.

Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 171 et 172.
 Liv. Epit. lib. 11. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2. Aurel. Vict. de Vir Illust. cap. 22. Ovid. Metani. &c.

F Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530. ³ Liv. lib. 45. cap. 28.

The statue of the god, the work of Thrasymedes of Paros, as is seen by his name inscribed on the base, is of gold and ivory. Æsculapius appears seated on his throne, with a dog at his feet, a staff in one hand, and stretching out the other over a serpent, which seems to raise itself up to reach it. The artist has engraven on the throne the exploits of some heroes of Argolis; we there see the triumph of Bellerophon, and Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa."

Polycletus, whom no one ever surpassed in the art of sculpture, and who has been equalled by few in architecture, erected, in the sacred grove, an elegant and superb theatre, to receive the spectators on certain festivals.* It is built near a marble rotunda, which attracts the eye, and the inside of which has lately been decorated by the painter Pausias. In one of his pictures, Love is no longer seen with the mepacing apparatus of a warrior; he has dropped his bow and his shafts, and to triumph only needs the lyre which he holds in his hand. In another, Pausias has represented intoxication under the figure of a woman whose features are distinguished through a glass bottle which she is on the point of emptying."

^{*}Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 652. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 19. p. 136.

[&]quot; Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 172.

* Id. ibid. p. 174.

In the environs we saw a number of columns, on which were inscribed not only the names of those who had been cured, but also a detail of the means by which they recovered their health.2 Similar monuments, the registers of the experience of ages, would be at all times valuable, but were indispensably necessary before there were any writings on medicine. We know that in Egypt the priests reserve in the temples a circumstantial account of the cures that have been wrought.2 In Greece, the priests of Æsculapius have introduced this custom, with their other rites, in almost every place in which they have been established. Hippocrates knew the value of this practice, and derived a great part of his doctrine concerning regimen from a series of ancient inscriptions near the temple which the inhabitants of Cos erected to Æsculapius.

Yet it must be acknowledged that the priests of this god, more desirous to be thought to work miracles than to effect cures, have but too often recourse to imposture to obtain an influence over the minds of the people. They however deserve praise for having placed their temples without the walls of cities, and upon eminences.d That of Epidaurus is surrounded

² Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 173. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.

^{*} Galen. de Compos. Med. lib. 5. cap. 2. p. 246.

<sup>Strab. lib. 8. p. 375. Gruter. Inscript. t. i. p. 71.
Strab. lib. 14. p. 057. Plin. lib. 29. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 493.
Plut. Quæst, Roman. t. ii. p. 286.</sup>

by a wood in which no person is permitted to die, nor any child to be brought into the world. For to banish from these places the terrifying image of death, sick persons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, are removed from them. A wholesome air, moderate exercise, proper regimen, and suitable remedies, are the means which have been wisely judged most proper to re-establish health; but these alone are not sufficient for the views of the priests, who, that they may be able to attribute natural effects to præternatural causes, add to them a number of superstitious practices.

Near the temple is a spacious hall, in which those who come to consult Æsculapius, after having deposited on the holy table some cakes, fruits, and other offerings, pass the night on little beds. One of the priests bids them keep a profound silence, whatever noise they may hear, resign themselves to sleep, and be attentive to the dreams which the god shall send them. He afterwards extinguishes the light, and takes care to collect the offerings with which the table is covered. Some time after the patients imagine they hear the voice of Æs-

^e Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 172.

f Aristoph. in Plut. v. 662. Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 173.

Aristid. Orat. t. i. p. 525. Philostr. Vit. Sophist, lib. 1. 535.

Plaut. in Circul. act. 1. scen. 1. p. 263. Solin. cap. 7.

Cicer. de Divin. lib. 2. cap. 59. t. iii. p. 89.

Aristoph. ibid. v. 676.

culapius, whether any sound be conveyed by some ingenious artifice, or the priest returning into the hall mutters some words near their bed; or whether, in fine, in the solemn stillness which surrounds them, their imagination realises the recitals and the objects by which it has never ceased to be acted on since their arrival at the temple.

The divine voice prescribes to them remedies proper to effect their cure, and which are much the same with those of other physicians. It enjoins them at the same time to perform certain religious ceremonies, as necessary to ensure their success. If the patient's complaint be only of the number of imaginary disorders, and he is judged a proper instrument for pious fraud, he is commanded to present himself, the next day, in the temple; to pass from one side of the altar to the other; and to lay his hand first on the altar, and afterwards on the suffering part, and publicly declare his cure, in the presence of a great number of spectators, whom this prodigy cannot fail to inspire with new enthu-Sometimes, to save the honour of Æsculapius, the sick persons are directed to go and perform similar injunctions at some distant place.1 At other times they receive the visit of

Le Clerc. Hist. de la Med. liv. 1. chap. 20. p. 60.

^k Gruter. Inscript. t. i. p. 71.
¹ Aristid. Orat. t. i. p. 516 et 549.

the god disguised under the form of a great serpent, the caresses of which reanimate them with new hope.^m

Serpents, in general, are consecrated to this god, either because the greater part of them have properties useful in medicine," or for other reasons which it would be useless to enumerate; but Æsculapius appears to have had a particular predilection for those found in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus, which are of a colour approaching to a yellow, have no poison, are tame and gentle, and love to live in familiarity with man. That which the priests keep in the temple will sometimes wind round their bodies, or raise himself on his tail to take the food which they present him on a plate. He is rarely suffered to go out; but when this liberty is permitted him, he walks majestically through the streets, and, as his appearance is deemed a happy omen, it excites universal joy.4 Some revere him, because he is under the protection of the tutelary divinity of the place; and others prostrate themselves before him, because they confound him with the god himself.

These familiar serpents are found in the other temples of Æsculapius, as also in those of Bac-

^m Aristoph. in Plut. v. 688.

ⁿ Plin. lib. 29. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 505.

Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 28. p. 175.

P See coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

<sup>Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2.
Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 137.</sup>

chus, and some other divinities. They are very common at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. The women there keep them for their amusement. In the great heats of summer they wind them round their necks like necklaces, and in their orgies wear them as ornaments, or shake them on their heads. During my stay in Greece, it was said that Olympias, queen of Philip king of Macedon, had one of them, which she frequently took to bed with her; and it was even added, that Jupiter had taken the form of that animal, and that Alexander was his son.t

The Epidaurians are very credulous, and the generality of sick persons much more so. They repair in crowds to Epidaurus, and submit with implicit resignation to remedies from which they have never before received any benefit, and which their firm confidence sometimes renders more efficacious. The greater part related to me with a lively faith the dreams with which they had been honoured by the gods. Some were so simple that they were highly offended at every attempt to reason with them; and others so timid, that no arguments could for a moment divert their attention from their complaints. All of them related instances of cures, into the truth of which they had never exa-

Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 690.
Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Lucian, in Alex. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 215.

mined, but which received additional confirmation by passing from mouth to mouth.

We returned to Argos, and took the road to Nemea, a city famous for the solemn games celebrated there, every third year, in honour of Jupiter. As they are nearly the same with those at Olympia, I shall say no more of them. It will be sufficient to observe, that the Argives preside at them," and that the victor is rewarded with a crown of parsley.* We afterwards entered the mountains, and at the distance of fifteen stadia from the city, our guides showed us, with a kind of shuddering, the cavern which was the den of the lion that fell beneath the club of Hercules,

From thence, returning to Corinth, we once more took the road to Athens, where, when I arrived, I continued my researches into the different parts of the administration, the opinions of the philosophers, and the various branches of literature.

[&]quot; Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 144. Julian. Epist. pro Argiv.

p. 408. * Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 48. p. 697. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 8. p. 179. Lucian. Gymnas. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 888. Pausan, lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 144.

CHAP. LIV.

The Republic of Plato.

TWO great questions employ the attention of the philosophers of Greece, the one concerning the manner in which the universe is governed, and the other the mode in which men ought to be governed. These problems, perhaps equally difficult to resolve, are the perpetual subject of their conversations and their writings. We shall hereafter see what Plato, following Timæus, thought concerning the formation of the world. I shall now explain the means he imagined to constitute the most happy of political societies.

He had more than once conversed with us on this subject, but he explained himself with greater care one day in the academy, where, for some time, he had ceased to give lessons. He undertook to prove, that he who is just must be happy, even though he should have no good to hope from the gods, and every evil to fear from men. The better to show what justice is in an individual, he examined what would be its effects in a government, in which

it manifests itself with a more marked influence, and in more sensible characters. The following is nearly the idea which he gave us of his system. I shall introduce him speaking, but must intreat the indulgence of my reader; for, were it required to clothe his thoughts with the beauties with which he knew to embellish them, the Graces themselves must hold the pencil.

I mean not to give the plan either of a monarchy or a democracy. Whether the sovereign authority be confided to a single man, or exercised by a number of persons, is of small importance. I propose to form a government in which the people shall be happy under the empire of virtue.

I shall divide the citizens of such a state into three classes; that of the mercenaries, or the multitude; that of the warriors, or the guardians of the state; and that of the magistrates, or sages. To the first of these I shall prescribe nothing; they were born blindly to follow the impressions of the two others.

I would form a body of warriors, who should always have their arms in their hands, and whose object it should be to preserve the state in profound tranquillity. They shall not be intermingled with the other citizens, but shall

² Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373.

remain in a camp, and be constantly in readiness to quell internal factions, and repel foreign invasions.

But as men so formidable may be infinitely dangerous, and as, since they are in possession of the whole force of the state, it will be but too easy for them to usurp a power over it, we will hold them in restraint, not by the laws, but by the vigour of an institution which shall regulate their passions, and even their virtues. We will cultivate their minds and their hearts by instructions which are relative to music, and we will increase their courage and their health by the exercises of the gymnasium.

Their education shall commence from their earliest years, and the impressions which they shall then receive will not be contrary to those which they must afterwards experience. Care shall especially be taken not to amuse them with the idle fictions contained in the writings of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets. The dissensions and acts of vengeance falsely attributed to the gods can only present to them great crimes justified by great authorities; and it is indeed a serious misfortune to have been early

^a Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 415.

^b Id. ibid. p. 416.

^{&#}x27;Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 376.
'Id. ibid. p. 377.

accustomed to find nothing extraordinary in the most atrocious actions

Let us never degrade the divinity by such images. Let poetry present herself to the children of warriors with equal dignity and beauty. Let them be incessantly taught that God can only be the author of good, that no real evil originates from him, that his chastisements are benefits, and that the wicked are to be lamented, not when they suffer, but when they find the means to avoid them.

Care shall be taken to educate them in the most perfect contempt of death, and the terrific apparatus of the infernal shades. The menacing and exaggerated descriptions of Cocytus and of Styx may be useful on certain occasions, but were not made for men, who ought only to be acquainted with fear by the effects of that with which they inspire their enemies.

Intimately convinced of these truths, that death is not an evil, and that the sage is sufficient to himself, they shall see their friends and relatives expire around them without shedding a tear or heaving a sigh. Their souls shall be alike superior to the excess of grief, of joy,

Ld. ibid. 3. p. 387.

^{*} Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 379. f Id. ibid. p. 380. Id. in Georg. t. i. p. 472-et 509.

⁸ Id. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 386.

or of anger; they shall neither know vile interest, nor falsehood, if possible still more vile. They shall blush at the weakness and cruelty which the poets have attributed to the ancient warriors, and they shall know that true heroism consists only in the government of the passions, and in obedience to the laws.

On their minds shall be engraven, as on brass, in indelible characters, the internal ideas of justice and of truth; that the wicked are miserable in prosperity, and that virtue is happy in persecution and even in oblivion.

But these truths ought not to be presented in colours which may diminish their majesty. Banished be those actors who degrade them on the stage, by combining with them a too faithful picture of the infirmities and vices of humanity; their talents would inspire our pupils with that taste for imitation, the habit of which, when early contracted, enters into the manners, and influences them every moment of their lives. It is not for them to copy gestures and language which are unsuitable to their character; their behaviour and expressions should breathe the sanctity of virtue, and have no other ornament than their extreme simplicity. Should any of those poets, who are so versed

Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 391.

^k Id. ibid. p. 392.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 394, &c.

in all the various forms of discourse, and able indiscriminately to represent every character, enter our city, we will shed perfume on his head, and give him his dismission.^m

We will exclude from our music both the plaintive accents of the Lydian harmony, and the effeminacy of the Iönian song; but we will retain the Dorian mode, the masculine and nervous expression of which shall animate the courage of our warriors; and the Phrygian, whose peaceful and religious airs may suit the tranquillity which we would preserve in the soul. Yet shall even these two modes be restrained in their movements, and compelled to assume a loftiness of expression consonant to circumstances, conformable to the airs which they are to regulate, and to the words to which they should ever be subservient."

From this happy relation established between words, harmony, and numbers, shall result that propriety, and by consequence that beauty, of which the idea ought to be ever present to our pupils. This idea painting, architecture, and all the arts, shall unceasingly offer to their eyes, that, surrounded and assailed on every side by images of beauty, and living in the midst of those images, as in a pure and serene air, they

m Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 398 et 399.

[&]quot; Id. ibid.

may be penetrated by them to their inmost souls, and accustomed to reflect them in their actions and manners. Fostered by these divine influences, they shall shudder at the first aspect of vice, because they perceive not on it the sacred impress which they bear in their hearts; and shall exult with joy at the voice of reason and of virtue, because they shall appear to them under known and familiar forms. They shall love beauty with all the transports, but without the extravagances, of love.

The same principles shall direct that part of their education which relates to the necessities and the exercises of the body. But they cannot be subjected to any uniform and constant rule of regimen, because men who are to lead their lives in a camp, and to follow the operations of a campaign, ought to be inured to support hunger and thirst, cold and heat, wants, fatigues, and all the severities of the seasons. They will find in a frugal diet the treasures of health, and in constant exercise the means of increasing their courage rather than their strength. Those who shall have received from nature a delicate constitution shall not seek to fortify it by the resources of art. As the artisan has not leisure to repair the ruins of

[•] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 401.

P Id. ibid. p. 403.

Id. ibid. p. 410.

a body which labour consumes, they would blush to prolong with their cares a dying life, which is useless to the state. Prompt and simple remedies shall be applied in cases of accidental maladies, but the disorders which arise from intemperance and other excesses shall be unknown, and those, the seeds of which they brought with them into the world, left to chance; we shall thus proscribe that part of medicine which is of no other use than to multiply our sufferings, and prolong our dying moments.

I shall say nothing here of the chace, dancing, or of the combats of the gymnasium; nor shall I speak of that inviolable reverence to be paid to parents, and to aged persons," or of a number of other observances, the detail of which would lead me too far. I shall only establish general principles, from which the particular rules will result of themselves, and may be easily applied to existing circumstances. The most essential of these is, that music and the gymnastic exercises have an equal influence on education, and that a just proportion should be carefully maintained between the exercises of the body and those of the mind; for music alone softens and renders

Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 406.

^{*} Id. ibid. p. 310.

¹d. ibid. p. 412. "Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 425.

effeminate the character which it tempers, and the exercises of the gymnasium, while they bestow on it vigour, render it harsh and ferocious. It is only by combining these two arts, and correcting the one by the other, that we can be able to bend or relax in a just proportion the springs of a too feeble or too impetuous mind; by these means only our warriors, uniting strength and courage to mildness and amenity, will appear in the eyes of their enemies the most formidable, and in those of their fellow citizens the most amiable, of men.y But, to produce this happy effect, care must be taken to make no innovation in the system of the institution once established. It has been said that, to introduce an alteration in the rules of music, would be to shake the fundamental laws of government: I add, that we should be exposed to the same danger by making any alteration in the games, spectacles, or most trifling customs.2 Because, among a people which are governed rather by manners than by the laws, the least innovations are dangerous; and because the moment received usages are departed from in a single point, the opinion of their wisdom is destroyed, an abuse is in-

^{*} Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 410.

^y Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 376. ^z Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 424.

^a Id. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 797.

troduced, and poison circulates in the veins of the state.

In our republic every thing will depend on the education of the warriors, and this education must depend wholly on the severity of discipline. They must be taught to consider the minutest observance as an indispensable duty, and the most trifling negligence as a crime. Nor let any one be astonished at the importance which we annex to practices apparently frivolous: even though they should not immediately tend to promote the general good, exactness in their observance will yet be of the most inestimable value, because it will teach to curb and guide the inclinations. We wish to exalt the mind to the highest degree of perfection for itself, and of utility to its country; to adapt it equally to the smallest and the greatest things; to teach it incessantly to oppose and subject the will, till every thought and action has no other object than the public good. Those who are incapable of this self-renunciation cannot be admitted into the class of warriors, but shall be banished into that of the artists and labourers; for the difference of rank shall not with us be determined by birth, but solely by the qualities of the mind.

<sup>Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 423, &c.
Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 415.</sup>

Before we proceed any farther, let us call on our pupils to cast a glance on the life which they are one day to lead; they will then be less astonished at the rigour of our discipline, and better prepared for the high destiny which awaits them.

If our warriors possessed lands and houses, if gold and silver should once pollute their hands, ambition, hatred, and all the passions which follow in the train of riches, would insinuate themselves into their hearts, and they would soon become no more than ordinary men. We will therefore deliver them from the influence of those low cares which would bow them to the earth. They shall be maintained in common at the expense of the public, and their country, to which they shall dedicate all their thoughts and all their desires, shall undertake to provide for their wants, which shall be reduced to what absolute necessity demands. And should it be objected to us that by these privations they must enjoy less happiness than the other citizens, we will reply, that a legislator ought to propose to himself the happiness of a whole society, and not that of any single class of citizens of which it is composed. Whatever means he may employ to this end, if he succeeds, he will always have effected individual,

· Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 420.

Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 416.

which depends on general, good. I besides mean not to found a city which shall revel in pleasures, but to regulate labour in such a manner as to banish poverty without introducing riches; f and if our warriors differ from the other citizens, it will only be because they possess more virtues and have fewer wants.

We have endeavoured to preserve them from the infection of that sordid interest which is the source of so many crimes; it will be also necessary to extend, or rather to perfect in their hearts, those affections which nature inspires, and to unite them among themselves by the very means which contribute to divide them. I enter into a new track, in which I proceed with trembling; the ideas which I mean to propose will appear equally offensive and chimerical. In fact, I distrust myself; and this disposition of mind, if I err, ought to ensure me a previous pardon for my involuntary error.

May not that sex which we confine to obscure and domestic employments be intended for more noble and more exalted functions? Have not women a thousand times given examples of courage, wisdom, excellence in every virtue, and success in all the arts? The qualities of their minds may perhaps be tinctured with their

f Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 421.

Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 452.

h Id. ibid. p. 455.

natural feebleness, and may be inferior to ours; but does it thence follow that they ought to be left useless to their country? No: Nature bestows no talent to remain unemployed, and the great art of the legislator is to avail himself of all the springs she furnishes, and to leave none of them inactive. Our warriors shall share with their wives the care of preserving the tranquillity of the state, as the faithful dog shares with his companion the guardianship of the flock entrusted to their mutual cares. Both shall be educated in the same principles, in the same places, and under the same masters. They shall be instructed together in the elements of the sciences and the lessons of wisdom; and in the gymnasium our youthful maidens, laying aside their garments, and adorned with their virtues, as the most honourable of vestments, shall dispute the prize of the exercises with the youths their rivals.k

We have too great a sense of what we suppose to be decency, and are too much corrupted, not to revolt at a regulation which long habit and purer manners would render less dangerous. The magistrates shall nevertheless be attentive to prevent abuses.\(^1\) At certain festivals, instituted to form legitimate

Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 451; lib. 7. p. 537.

Id. ibid. p. 452 et 457.
Id. ibid. p. 458.

and sacred unions, they shall cast into an urn the names of those who shall be selected to give defenders to the republic. These shall be warriors from the age of thirty years to that of fifty-five, and females of the same class from that of twenty to that of forty." The number of these shall be regulated by the losses which the state may have sustained, since the excess and the defect of population ought to be avoided with equal care. Chance, apparently, shall join their hands, but the magistrates, by adroit contrivance, shall so properly correct the caprices of fortune, that the persons of either sex most proper to preserve the race of our warriors in its purity shall always be united. At the same time, the priests and priestesses shall pour forth the blood of victims on the altar, the air. shall resound with hymns and epithalamiums," and the people, at once the witnesses and guardians of the unions formed by lot, shall supplicate heaven to grant to the republic sons still more virtuous than their fathers.

The children born of these marriages shall be immediately taken from their parents, and lodged in a place to which their mothers shall repair, without knowing them, to distribute, sometimes to one and sometimes to another, that sustenance which Nature has provided for infants, and which

^m Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 460.

[&]quot; Id. ibid. p. 459.

they shall not be permitted to reserve exclusively for the fruits of their own affections.

In this nursery of warriors shall not be admitted children born with any deformity; they shall be removed and concealed in some obscure retreat: nor shall those be received into it whose birth shall not have been preceded by the august ceremonies before described, nor those which shall be the fruit of a premature or too late union.

When the husband and wife shall have fulfilled the wishes of the state, they shall separate and remain at liberty till the magistrates call on them again to unite, and chance shall assign to them other connections. From this succession of marriages and divorces it will result, that the same women may from time to time appertain to many warriors.

But when either men or women shall have passed the age prescribed by the laws to the engagements they ordain, they shall be permitted to contract others; always provided that on the one side no fruit of their union be suffered to appear, and on the other that they form no connections with those from whom they derive their birth, or to whom they have given existence.

But as this may be difficult to ascertain, it

º Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 460.

P Id. ibid.

^q Id. ibid. p. 457.

^{&#}x27; Id. ibid. p. 461.

shall suffice for them to consider as their sons and daughters all the children born at the same time with those of whom they were actually the parents; and this maxim shall be a principle of union unknown in other states., In fact each warrior shall imagine himself united by the ties of blood with every other, and the tender and beloved names of father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, shall be common to all. The sentiments of nature, instead of concentrating to particular objects, shall be abundantly diffused through this extensive family, and animate the whole with the same spirit. All hearts shall with ease fulfil duties which they shall impose on themselves, and, renouncing all personal advantage, shall mutually divide their griefs, which they shall enfeeble, and their pleasures, which they shall augment, by participation. The seeds of dissension shall be destroyed by the authority of the chiefs, and all violence enchained by the fear of offending against nature.

This precious affection, which shall unite them during peace, shall act with still greater force in war. Let us imagine, in the field of battle, a troop of youthful warriors, of ardent courage, exercised in combats from their infancy, ready to display the virtues they have

[·] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 463.

^t Id. ibid. p. 465.

[&]quot; Id. ibid. p. 471.

acquired, and persuaded that by an act of cowardice they shall become base and contemptible, by noble deeds exalted to honour, and that by death they shall merit altars; let us suppose that at this moment the powerful voice of their country meets their ears, and that to this voice are joined the plaintive exclamations of friendship, which shows them from rank to rank all their friends in danger: lastly, to awaken in their souls the strongest emotions, let us place in the midst of them their wives and children; their wives who come to fight beside them, and reanimate them with their voices and their eyes; their children, to whom it is their duty to give lessons of valour, and who, it may be, are on the point of perishing by the barbarous sword of the enemy: can we believe that this body of men, actuated by these most powerful interests as by an ardent flame, will for a moment hesitate to collect all their forces and all their rage; to fall like a thunderbolt on their enemies, and crush them with an irresistible fury?

Such shall be the sublime effects of the union established between our warriors. But they shall likewise possess exalted sentiments, which they shall owe only to their virtues. They shall be able to check their passions in their impetuous career, and become mild, compassionate,

^{*} Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 469, &c.

and humane, after their victory. They shall not once entertain the thought of loading with chains a vanquished enemy, nor shall they insult the dead on the field of battle, nor suspend trophies in the temples of the gods, who have no pleasure in such offerings, nor carry fire and sword through a defenceless country. These cruelties, which they shall scarcely permit themselves to exercise on the barbarians, ought never to be known in Greece, in that republic of friendly nations, the divisions of which should never present the image of war, but rather that of the transitory dissensions which sometimes happen between the citizens of the same city.

We may now be satisfied that we have sufficiently provided for the happiness of our warriors. We have enriched them by depriving them of all property; without possessing any thing they shall enjoy all things. There is not one among them but may say: Every thing belongs to me. And who ought not to add, said Aristotle, who had hitherto remained silent: Nothing appertains to me in reality. Oh Plato! it is not those possessions which we share with others that we value most, but those which are personal and peculiar to us. The moment your warriors shall have no kind of property, expect

² Id. ibid.

from them only an interest without animation as it is without object. Their affection, unable to fix on that multitude of children which surround them, shall become languid, and each shall rely on the other to furnish examples and bestow instruction, as we see the domestics in a family addicted to neglect those duties which are common to them all.³

Plato replied: We have placed in the hearts of our warriors two principles; sentiment and virtue, which in concert must continually inspire them with zeal. The former shall not only act on them in a general manner by their considering themselves as all citizens of the same country, but its influence shall become still more forcible and extensive, since they shall view each other as all children of the same family: and such they shall be in fact; for the obscurity of their birth shall not render dubious their claims to affinity. If the allusion be not equally powerful with the reality, it shall at least be more extensive; for little does it signify whether the affections be carried to an excess between certain individuals, provided they enter all hearts, and suffice to connect them by one common chain. But if by chance they should be too feeble to render our warriors attentive and vigilant, have we not another motive in that

Aristot. de Polit. lib. 2, cap. 3 et 4. t. ii. p. 314, &c.

sublime virtue which shall incessantly transport them even beyond their duty?

Aristotle was about to reply, but we prevented him, and he contented himself with asking Plato whether he believed it possible that his republic should exist.

Plato mildly replied: Recollect the object of my inquiry. I wish to prove that happiness is inseparable from justice, and with this view I examined what form of government would be the best, that I may hereafter show which would be the most happy. If a painter should present to us a figure, the beauty of which should surpass all our ideas, should we object to him that nothing equal to it is produced by nature? I in like manner present to you the image of the most perfect republic. I propose it as the model to which all other governments ought more or less to approach, to be more or less happy. I will go farther, and add, that my project, chimerical as it may appear, may in some manner be realised, not only among us, but in every other government, were a change made in the administration of affairs. And what should be that change? That philosophers should ascend the throne, or that sovereigns should become philosophers.c

This idea will no doubt offend all those who are

Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 472.

e Id. ibid. p. 473.

not acquainted with true philosophy; but those who are will be sensible that no other remedy can be found for the evils which afflict humanity.

I am now come to the third and most important class of citizens, I mean the magistrates; that small number of men, chosen from among the virtuous; those chiefs who, taken from the class of warriors, as much excel them in merit as they excel the artists and the labourers.

What precautions will not be necessary in the choice of men so rare! what study and observation to discern and what labour to form them! Let us enter into that sanctuary in which are educated the sons of the warriors, and into which the children of the other citizens may merit to be admitted. Let us select those who, joining the advantages of person to other natural graces, distinguish themselves from their companions in all the exercises of body and mind.d Let us examine if the desire of knowledge and the love of virtue early sparkle in their eyes, and manifest themselves in their discourse; let us observe whether, in proportion as the powers of the mind expand, they are inspired with a more ardent love for their duty, and whether the signs of the character we seek more frequently escape them as their years increase. Let us lay snares for their infant reason; and if the principles it has

⁴ Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 485 et 486; lib. 7. p. 535.

imbibed can neither be altered by time nor by contrary principles, let us attack them by the fear of pain, by the allurements of pleasure. and by every kind of violence and seduction. Let us afterwards place our young pupils in the presence of the enemy, not to engage in the conflict, but to be spectators of it; and let us carefully remark the impression made on them by the view of labours and dangers. After having seen them come forth from these trials as pure as gold from the crucible; f after having convinced ourselves that they naturally entertain an aversion to the pleasures of sense, and feel a horror at falsehood; that they join a propriety of thinking to exalted sentiments, and vivacity of imagination to solidity of character; h let us watch over their conduct with still increased attention, and redouble our cares to continue and complete their education.

We have spoken above of the principles which should regulate their manners; we are at present to consider the sciences most proper to expand and improve their mental faculties. The first of these should be arithmetic and geometry; both proper to increase the strength and discernment of the mind; both useful to

Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 413.

f Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 503.

Id. ibid. p. 485.

^h Id. ibid. p. 503.

¹ Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 522 et 526.

the warrior to guide him in his military operations, and absolutely necessary to the philosopher to accustom him to fix his ideas, and raise him to the perception of truth. Astronomy, music, and all the sciences which produce the same effect, shall also enter into the plan of our institution.k But our pupils must apply themselves to these studies without effort, without constraint, and as it were for amusement. At the age of eighteen they shall suspend them, to resign themselves wholly, during two or three years, to the exercises of the gymnasium; after which they shall resume them, and observe the relation which they have to each other." Those among them who shall continue to justify the expectations we had conceived of them in their infancy shall obtain honourable distinctions; and as soon as they shall have arrived at the age of thirty years, they shall be initiated into the science of meditation, into those sublime dialectics which ought to be the conclusion of their first studies, and the object of which is less the knowledge of the existence than that of the essence of things.*

We have to blame ourselves alone if this object has not hitherto been fulfilled. Our youth,

^k Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 527 et 530.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 536.

<sup>Id. ibid. p. 537.
In the time of Plato, by the term dialectics were under</sup>stood at once logic, natural theology, and metaphysics.

attaching themselves too early to dialectics, and not being able to ascend to the principles of the truths which they teach, convert their studies into an amusement, and engage in contentions in which, sometimes victors and sometimes vanquished, they only acquire doubts and errors. Hence those defects which they retain through their whole lives, that love of contradiction, that indifference for the truths which they have been unable to defend, and that predilection for the sophisms which have obtained them the victory.

Success so frivolous and dangerous shall have no temptations for our pupils; more solid instruction shall be the fruit of their conversations and their studies. Disengaged from the fetters of the senses, and absorbed in meditation, they shall gradually be filled with the idea of good; that good after which we ardently sigh, and of which we form such confused images; that supreme good, the source of all truth and all justice, which ought to animate the sovereign magistrate, and render him inflexible in the discharge of his duties.º where does this good reside, and where is it to be sought? In pleasures by which we are intoxicated? In knowledge that inflates us with pride? In the splendid decoration by which we are dazzled? No: for whatever is moveable

<sup>Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 539.
Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 505 et 508.</sup>

and changeable cannot be the true good. Let us then leave the earth and the shades in which it is buried, and raising our minds towards the abode of light, declare to mortals the truths of which they are ignorant.

Two worlds exist,—the one visible, and the other ideal. The first, formed on the model of the other, is that which we inhabit. In it every thing, being subject to generation and corruption, changes and passes away incessantly, while we only behold the images and fugitive portions of being. The second contains the essences and prototypes of all visible objects. and these essences are real beings, since they are immutable. Two kings, one of whom is the servant and slave of the other, diffuse their splendors in these two worlds. In the expanse of heaven the sun discloses and perpetuates the objects which he renders visible to our eyes. From the most exalted part of the intellectual world, the supreme good produces and preserves the essences which he renders intelligible to our souls. The sun enlightens us with his light, the supreme good by his truth; and as our eyes have a distinct perception when they are fixed on bodies which receive the light of day, in the same manner our soul acquires real knowledge when it considers beings which reflect the truth.

P Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 509. Id. ibid. p. 508.

But would you know how much the light which illumines these two worlds differs in splendor and beauty? Imagine a deep cavern, in which are men, who, from their infancy, have been so loaded with heavy chains that they are unable to move from the place in which they are, or to behold any objects but those before their faces. Behind them, at a certain distance, is placed, on a height, a fire, which diffuses a feeble light through the cavern. Between this fire and the captives is a wall, along which persons go and come, some in silence, others conversing together, and holding in their hands, and raising above the wall, the figures of men or animals, and moveables of every kind, the shades of which are projected on the side of the cavern exposed to the eyes of the captives, who, struck by these transient images, will take them for real beings, and attribute to them motion, life, and speech. Let us now suppose that we take one of these captives, and, to dissipate his illusion, break his chains, and oblige him to rise and turn his head. Astonished at the new objects which present themselves, he will doubt their reality, and, dazzled and hurt by the brightness of the fire, he will turn away his eyes, again to fix them on the vain phantoms which before engaged his attention. Let us

Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 514. Id. ibid. p. 515.

make him undergo a new trial; let us force him from his cavern, in despite of his cries, his resistance, and all the diffiulties which he has to encounter. When brought above the surface of the earth, he will find himself suddenly overwhelmed by the splendor of day, and it will not be till after frequent trials that he will be able to distinguish shadows and bodies, to view the stars, and to observe the sun, and consider him as the author of the seasons and the fruitful principle of every sensible object.

But what idea must he then entertain of the praises he has heard given in his cavern to those who first noticed and distinguished the shadows in their passage? What must he think of the pride, hatreds, and jealousies, which those discoveries have excited among his wretched companions? A sentiment of pity will no doubt compel him to fly to their succour, to teach them the deception of their false wisdom and puerile knowledge; but since, passing so suddenly from so great a light to such profound obscurity, he will at first be able to discern nothing, they will raise a cry against him, and, never ceasing to reproach him with his blindness, will exhibit him as a terrible example of the dangers to which those are exposed who venture into the superior region."

" Id. ibid. p. 517.

^t Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 516.

Such is precisely the picture of our wretched condition. The human race is buried in an immense cavern, loaded with chains, and only able to discern and employ their attention on unreal and artificial shadows.* Pleasures here have only a painful conclusion, the good most eagerly pursúe a deceitful splendor, virtue a frail foundation, and bodies themselves an illusory existence. We must leave this place of darkness, break our chains, raise ourselves by redoubled efforts to the intellectual world, papproach by degrees the supreme intelligence, and contemplate his divine nature in the silence of the senses and the passions. Then shall we see that from his throne flow, in the order of moral essences, justice, knowledge, and truth: and in that of natural, the light of the sun, the productions of the earth, and the existence of all things. No; a soul which has arrived at this sublime elevation, which has once experienced the emotions and the transports excited by a view of the Supreme Good, will never again deign to return and partake in our labours and our honours; or, if it should descend among us, and, before it is familiarised to our darkness, be forced to explain itself on the real essence of justice, to men who are only acquainted with

^{*} Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 517.

Id. ibid.

² Id. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 250. Id. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 485.

its phantom, the novel principles it must teach will appear so absurd or so dangerous, that it must either be ridiculed for its madness, or punished for its temerity.

Such, nevertheless, are the sages who shall be at the head of our republic, and who shall be formed by dialectics. During the space of five whole years dedicated to this study, b they shall meditate on the nature of what is fitting, just, and true. Not satisfied with the vague and uncertain notions now taught, they shall investigate their true origin. They shall read their duties not in the precepts of men, but in the instructions which they shall immediately receive from the most exalted of beings. From the familiar conversations which, if I may so speak, they shall have with him, they shall derive infallible light to discern the truth, unshaken firmness in the exercise of justice, and that obstinate perseverance in good which nothing can vanquish, but which, in the end, triumphs over all things.

But while thus closely connected with the Supreme Good, and living a true and real life, they shall forget all nature; the republic, which possesses claims on their virtues, shall recall them to itself, to confide to them military employments and other functions suitable to their

^a Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 517.

b Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 539.

^{&#}x27; Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 490.

age. They shall then pass new trials till they have arrived at their fiftieth year, when they shall be invested, in despite of themselves, with the sovereign authority, and shall approach with increasing fervour the Supreme Being, that he may guide them in their conduct. Thus appertaining to heaven by philosophy, and to earth by their duties, they shall instruct and render happy their fellow citizens. After their death they shall revive in their successors, who have been trained by their lessons and example; their grateful country shall erect monuments to them, and invoke them as tutelary genii.

The philosophers whom we shall place at the head of our republic shall not then be idle declaimers, and sophists despised by the multitude whom they are incapable to conduct; they shall possess great and vigorous minds, they shall be wholly occupied in promoting the good of the state, well informed in every branch of the administration by long experience and the most sublime of theories, and become by their virtue and knowledge the images and interpreters of the gods on earth. As our republic shall be but of small extent, they will easily, at a single glance, embrace all its parts. Their authority, to respectable in itself, shall be supported, in

^a Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 519 et 540.

^{*} Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 414; lib. 7. p. 540.

f Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 493.

^{*} Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 433.

case of need, by that body of invincible and pacific warriors who shall know no other ambition than to defend the laws and their country.h The people shall find their happiness in the enjoyment of a moderate but certain fortune, the warriors in their exemption from domestic cares, and the praises bestowed on their success; and the magistrates in the pleasure of doing good, and having the Supreme Being for a witness to their actions.

To these motives Plato added another still more powerful, by presenting the prospect of the happiness and misery reserved in another life to vice and virtue. He dwelt at length on the immortality and various transmigrations of the soul.k He next enumerated the essential defects of the government already established, and concluded by observing, that he had prescribed nothing concerning the worship of the gods, since the regulation of that appertained to the oracle of Delphi.

When he had ended speaking, his disciples, captivated by his eloquence, remained absorbed in admiration; but others of his hearers affirmed that he had raised an edifice more specious than solid, and that his system ought only to be considered as the delirious offspring of a

h Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 395. Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 468.

¹ Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 608.
¹ Aristot, de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 367.

heated imagination and a virtuous heart. Others pronounced sentence with still more severity: Plato, said they, is not himself the author of this project; he has borrowed it from the laws of Lycurgus and the writings of Pythagoras, in which he has found almost the whole of it. While he was in Sicily he wished to realise it in a corner of that island; but the Younger Dionysius, king of Syracuse, who had at first granted him his permission, afterwards refused it him. He appears now only to propose his plan with restrictions, and as a simple hypothesis; but, by declaring more than once in his discourse that it is possible to carry it into execution, he has sufficiently discovered his secret sentiments.

Formerly, added they, those who sought to correct the form of government were sages who, enlightened by their own experience or by that of others, knew that the disorders of a state are exasperated instead of being cured by too violent remedies; at present they are philosophers who possess more ingenuity than knowledge, and wish to institute a government without defect, and produce men without frailties. Hippodamus of Miletus was the first who, without having had any part in the administration

Arîstox. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 37.

<sup>Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 21.
Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 471 et 472; lib. 6. p. 499; lib. 7.
p. 540.</sup>

of affairs, projected a new plan of a republic. Protagoras^q and other authors have followed his example, who will also hereafter be imitated by others, since nothing is so easy as to invent systems to ensure the happiness of the people, and nothing so difficult as to carry them into execution. Perhaps indeed no person is more convinced of the truth of this observation than Plato, who has never communicated his projects of reform to those who have requested them from him, though he has bestowed them on others who were unable to make use of them." He refused them to the inhabitants of Megalopolis because they would not consent to admit a perfect equality of possessions and honours; and to those of Cyrene, because they were too rich to obey his laws. But if these states had been so virtuous and so regardless of wealth and distinctions as he required, they would not have needed the assistance of his philosophy. Yet these pretexts did not prevent him from giving his advice to the people of Syracuse, when, after the death of Dion, they consulted him on the form of government which they

⁹ Diogen. Laërt. lib. 9. § 55. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328

Plut. in Lucull. t. i. p. 492. Id. ad Princip, Inert. t. ii. p. 779. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 30.

P Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 325.

^s Pamphil. ap. Diogen, Laërt. lib. 3. § 23. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 42.

should establish in their city.^u It is true that his plan was not followed, though it was much more easy to reduce to practice than that of his republic.

It was thus that many of those who heard Plato expressed themselves, either from conviction or from jealousy, concerning the political projects of that philosopher.

" Plat. Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 352.

CHAP. LV.

On the Commerce of the Athenians.

HE harbour of the Piræus is much frequented, not only by Grecian vessels, but also by those of the nations which the Greeks denominate barbarians; and a still greater number would resort thither if the republic knew better to profit by the happy situation of the country, the goodness of its harbours, the superiority of its shipping, its silver mines, and the other advantages it possesses: and if honours were bestowed as a reward on the merchants whose industry and activity have increased the national wealth.y But when the Athenians felt the necessity of a navy, too much actuated by the spirit of conquest, they aspired to the sovereignty of the sea, only to obtain that of the land; and their commerce has been confined to the procuring from other countries the commodities and productions necessary to their subsistence.

Throughout all Greece, the laws have imposed shackles on commerce; and those of Carthage have sometimes laid restrictions on the property

Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 948. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

of their colonists. After the latter city had taken possession of a part of Sardinia, and peopled it with new inhabitants, she forbade them to sow their lands, and commanded them to exchange the fruits of their industry for the too abundant commodities of the metropolis.^a The Grecian colonies are not held in the same dependence, and are in general more in a condition to furnish provisions to their parent cities than to receive their supplies of necessaries from them.

Plato compares gold and virtue to two opposite weights in a balance, one of which cannot rise unless the other sinks. According to this idea, a city ought to be situate at a distance from the sea, and neither to receive too many nor too few commodities. Besides that it would preserve its manners uncorrupted, it would require but half the number of laws which are necessary to other states; for the more commerce flourishes the more must these be multiplied. The Athenians have a great number, relative to captains of ships, merchants, duties, interest of money, and the different kinds of contracts and agreements which they are continually making at the Piræus, or among the bankers.

The object of many of these laws is to remove

Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 31.
Aristot. de Mirab Auscult. t. i. p. 1159.

^b Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. p. 550. Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842.

and prevent as much as possible the litigations and obstacles which impede the operations of commerce. They inflict a fine of a thousand drachmas,* and sometimes the punishment of imprisonment, on him who shall accuse a merchant of any crime which he is unable to prove.d As merchant ships keep the sea only from the month of Munychion to the month Boedromion, + all causes relative to commerce are only to be heard during the six months which intervene between the return of the vessels and their again leaving port. To these wise regulations Xenophon has proposed to add rewards for those judges who shall soonest determine the suits brought before their tribunal.f

This jurisdiction, which only takes cognisance of causes of a commercial kind, is particularly attentive to the conduct of merchants. Commerce certainly derives more advantages from those who lend than from those who borrow; and I have seen a citizen, the son of an Athenian who had commanded armies, punished with death, because, having borrowed great sums, he had not furnished sufficient securities.

^d Orat. in Theocr. ap. Demosth. p. 850.

^{* 900} livres (£. 37. 10s.)

⁺ In the Metonic cycle the month Munychion began, at the soonest, on the 28th of March of the Julian year, and the month Boedromion on the 23d of August; so that the ships kept the sea from the beginning of April to the end of September.

Demosth, in Apat. p. 937. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 423. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

Demosth. in Phorm. p. 947.

As Attica produces but little corn, the exportation of it is prohibited, and those who fetch it from distant countries are forbidden, under rigorous penalties, to carry it to any other market but that of Athens. A great quantity is brought from Egypt and Sicily, and a still greater from Panticapæum and Theodosia, cities of the Chersonesus Taurica, because the sovereign of that country, the master of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, has exempted the Athenian vessels from paying the duty of the thirtieth which he levies on the exportation of that commodity. In consequence of this privilege they trade in preference to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from which Athens receives annually four hundred thousand medimni of corn.1

They import from Panticapæum, and the different coasts of the Euxine sea, timber for building, slaves, salt, honey, wax, wool, leather, and goat-skins; m* from Byzantium, and some other parts of Thrace and Macedonia, salt-fish and

h Ulp. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.

Demosth in Lacrit, p. 956. Id. in Phorm. p. 945. Liban, in Demosth, adv. Theocr. p. 848.

k Demosth, adv. Dionys. p. 1122.

¹ Id. in Leptin. p. 945.

m Id. in Lacrit. p. 953 et 954. Id. in Phorm. p. 941.

Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306.

^{*} The same trade still subsists. A great quantity of salt-fish, corn, leather, wool, &c. are annually exported from Caffa (the ancient Theodosia) and the environs. (Voyag. de Chardin, t. i. p. 108 et 117.)

timber; from Phrygia and Miletus, carpets. coverlets for beds, and the fine wool of which they make their cloths;° from the islands of the Ægean sea, wine, and the various kinds of fruits which they produce; and from Thrace, Thessaly, Phrygia, and many other countries, a greater number of slaves.

Oil is the only commodity which Solon has permitted them to exchange for foreign merchandise: the exportation of all the other productions of Attica is prohibited; nor is it permitted to carry out of the country, without paying heavy duties, timber for building, such as fir, cypress, plane, and other trees which grow in the environs of Athens.

The Athenians find a great source for their commerce in their silver mines. As several states practise the debasing of their coin, the money of Athens, in greater estimation than that of other countries, procures them an advantageous exchange. In general, they purchase wine in the islands of the Ægean sea, or on the coasts of Thrace; for it is principally by

cap. 3. p. 100. Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120.

° Aristoph. in Av. v. 493. Id. in Lysistr. v. 730. Id. in Ran. v. 549. Spanh. ibid.

P Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 108. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5.

Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Casaub. ibid. p. 160. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 805. Polyb. Excerpt. Leg. p. 833 et 842. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

means of this commodity that they traffic with the people who inhabit the borders of the Euxine sea.'s The taste conspicuous in the works of their artists renders the productions of their industry every where in great request. They export to distant countries swords, and arms of different kinds, cloths, beds, and various utensils. Books themselves are with them an article of trade.

They maintain correspondents in almost all the places to which they are attracted by the hope of gain; and, on the other hand, many of the states of Greece appoint agents at Athens to superintend the interests of their trade."

Those foreigners who have settled at Athens may, after having paid the tax imposed on them, buy and sell in the public market; but all other strangers must expose their merchandise to sale in the Piræus. And that corn may not rise above its ordinary price, which is five drachmas the medimnus, y* every citizen is prohibited, under pain of death, from buying above a certain quantity.2+ The same punishment is de-

Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 249 et 254. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306.

Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 412.

[&]quot; Demosth, in Callip. p. 1099. ⁹ Id. in Phorm. p. 946. * Id. in Eubul. p. 887.

^{*} Five drachmas, 4 liv. 10s. (3s. 9d.) The medimnus was about four of our bushels (Goguet, de l'Origine des Lois, &c. t. iii. p. 260.)

Lys. in Dardan, p. 388. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 420.
 † The text of Lysias has ωεντήποντα φοςμών, which may be rendered fifty baskets; it is a measure, the exact value of which is not known.

nounced against the inspectors of corn if they neglect to prevent a monopoly; a practice at all times forbidden to individuals, but in some places employed by the government to augment its revenues.

The greater part of the Athenians employ their money in trade; but they are not permitted to lend it for any place but Athens.c They receive an interest for the use of it, which is not fixed by the laws, but stipulated in a contract, deposited either in the hands of a banker, d or some friend to both parties. If, for instance, a voyage is to be made to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the instrument specifies the time of the departure of the vessel, the kind of commodities with which she is to be freighted, the sale which is to be made of them in the Bosphorus, and the merchandise which she is to bring back to Athens; and as the duration of the voyage is uncertain, some agree that their money shall not be payable till the return of the vessel; while others, more timid, and contented with a less profit, require that it shall be repaid at the Bosphorus, immediately after the sale of the goods carried out; in which case they either

² Lys. in Dardan. p. 392.

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 309.

Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 957.

Id. in Phorm. p. 941.
Id. in Lacrit. p. 949.

Demosth, in Phorm. p. 943.

themselves repair to the place where they are to receive it, or send thither some person in whom they can confide, and whom they empower to act for them.⁸

The lender has his security either on the merchandise or the goods of the borrower; h but as the dangers of the sea are in part risked by the former, and the profit of the latter may be very considerable, the interest of money thus lent may rise as high as thirty per cent. more or less, according to the length and hazards of the voyage.k

The usury of which I have spoken is known by the name of maritime; that called landed is more oppressive and no less variable.

Those who, without risking the dangers of the sea, wish to derive profit from their money, lend it to bankers or other persons at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum; or rather one per cent. for every new moon. But as the laws of Solon do not prohibit those who have money from demanding the most extravagant interest for it, some persons receive more

⁵ Demosth. in Phorm. p. 944. ^h Id. in Lacrit. p. 950, 951, &c.

¹ Id. in Phorm. p. 940 et 944. ¹ Id. ibid. p. 943. Id. in Lacrit. p. 948. Id. in Pantæn, p. 988.

¹ Id. in Aphob. p. 900. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 444.

^m Aristoph. in Nub. v. 17. Schol. ibid. Duport, in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. p. 349.

ⁿ Lys. in Theomn. p. 179.

Plat. de Repub. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 255.

than sixteen per cent. monthly, and others, especially among the lower classes of people, exact every day the quarter of the principal. These extortions are not concealed, and cannot be punished, except by the public opinion, which condemns, but does not sufficiently despise, those who are guilty of them.

Commerce increases the circulation of wealth, and this circulation has given birth to the occupation of bankers, which facilitates it still more. A person who is about to make a voyage, or who fears to keep by him too great a sum of money, lodges it in the hands of these bankers, sometimes only as a trust, and without requiring any interest, and sometimes on condition of sharing with them the profit it shall produce. They advance money to generals who go to take on them the command of armies, or other individuals who stand in need of their assistance.

In the greater part of bargains made with them no witness is required. They content themselves with entering in a register that such a person has deposited in their hands such a sum, which they must repay to such another,

^q Theophr. Charact. cap. 6. Casaub. ibid.

Herald. Animadver. in Salmas. p. 178 et 182.

P Pet. Leg. Att. p. 403.

Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 994. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. eap. 10.

^t Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1074.

^u Isocr. in Trapez. t. ii. p. 449.

if the former should happen to die.* It would sometimes be very difficult to prove that they have received a sum of money were they to deny it; but if they should expose themselves to such a charge more than once, they would lose the confidence of the public, on which depends their success in the business in which they have engaged.

By employing the money deposited in their hands, and lending it at a greater interest than they are to pay for it, they amass riches, which gain them friends, whose protection they purchase by assiduous services. But all is lost when, unable to call in their money, they are incapable of fulfilling their engagements. They are then obliged to conceal themselves, and can only escape the severity of justice by surrendering all their remaining property to their creditors.

Those who wish to exchange foreign money, as daries, cyziceni, &c. for these are current in commerce, apply to the bankers, who, by different means, as the touchstone and the balance,

^{*} Demosth. in Callip. p. 1098.

y Isocr. in Trapez. p. 458. Demosth. in Phorm. p. 965.

² Herald, Animady, in Salmas, p. 182. ^a Demosth, in Phorm, p. 959 et 965.

^b Isocr. in Trapez. p. 449.

Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1083.

d Id, in Apat. p. 934.

c Id. in Phorm, p. 966.

f Lys. in Eratosth. p. 194.

Menand. ap. Phrynich. Eclog. p. 192. Lysias, ap. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 170. Theorr. Idyll. 12. v. 37. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 84. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. p. 176 et 177.

examine whether they are not adulterated or deficient in weight.^h

The money of the Athenians is of three kinds. It appears that they first coined silver, and afterwards gold. It is only within this century that they have made use of copper for that purpose.

The silver coins are the most common. It has been found necessary to have them of different values, for the pay of the troops, which frequently varies; for the bounties from time to time granted to the people, and for the convenience of trade. Above the drachma,* consisting of six oboli, is the didrachm, or double drachma, and the tetradrachm, or quadruple drachma; below, are the pieces of four, three, and two oboli, after which come the obolus, and the semi-obolus. The latter, though of small value, not being sufficiently convenient for the dealings of the common people, copper money was coined about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and pieces of that metal were

k Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 62.

+ 12 sols (6d.), 9 sols ($4\frac{1}{2}d.$), 6 sols (3d.), 3 sols ($1\frac{1}{2}d.$), 8 deniers ($\frac{3}{2}d.$)

h Theorr. ibid. Lysias in Theomn. p. 179. Lucian in Hermot. t. i. p. 810. Poll. ibid. Hesych. in Αργυρογν. et in Οξολ.

Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 224.

^{* 18} sols (9d.)

Aristoph, in Eccles. v. 810. Id. in Ran. v. 737. Schol. et Spanh. ibid. Callim. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 3. p. 669. Spanh. in Nub. Aristoph. v. 861. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. v. p. 219 et alii.

struck which were not worth more than the eighth part of an obolus.**

The largest piece of gold weighs two drachmas, and is worth twenty silver drachmas. **

Gold was very scarce in Greece when I first arrived in that country. It was brought from Lydia, and some other parts of Asia Minor; from Macedonia, where the peasants daily collected the small pieces which the rains washed down from the neighbouring mountains; and from the Island of Thasos, the mines of which, formerly discovered by the Phænicians, still exhibit proofs of the immense labours formerly undertaken by that industrious people.

In certain cities a part of this precious metal is employed for the fabrication of money, and almost every where it is used to make ornaments for the women, and offerings to the gods.

Two events which happened while I was in Greece rendered gold more common. Philip king of Macedon having been informed that there were in his dominions gold-mines that had anciently been worked, but since abandoned, caused those near Mount Pangæus to be opened.

Thilem. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 65. * 4½ deniers (three-fourths of a farthing).

[&]quot; Hesych. in Xquo.

^{† 18} livres (15 shillings).

Thucyd, lib. 4. cap. 105. Aristot. t. i. p. 1153. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331.

Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 100.

Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

⁹ Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 5. p. 773. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331.

The success of this undertaking exceeded his most sanguine expectations; and that prince, who before possessed no gold but a small phial which he placed every night under his pillow, drew annually from these mines more than a thousand talents.** At the same time the Phocians carried off from the treasure at Delphi the golden offerings which the kings of Lydia had sent to the temple of Apollo; t and the quantity of that metal in Greece was soon so much increased, that its proportion to silver was no longer one to thirteen, as it had been a century before," nor one to twelve, as it was some time after, but only one to ten.

Senes Quart Million & p. 7.3. South Rb 7. 9. 21.

⁷ Athen. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 231. ⁵ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.

^{*} About 1,400,000 livres (above £.58,000).

Athen. ibid. p. 232. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 456.

Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.

^{*} Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 231.

Menand, ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6. § 76.

CHAP. LVI.

Of the Taxes and Finances of the Athenians.

THE revenues of the republic of Athens have sometimes amounted to the sum of two thousand talents:^{2*} and these revenues are of two kinds; those which are raised in the country itself, and those that are drawn from the tributary cities and states.

In the first class are to be enumerated, 1st. The product of the houses, lands, and woods, appertaining to the republic, and which it farms out for a certain sum.²

- 2d. The twenty-fourth, which it reserves to itself, from the silver mines, when permission to work them is granted to individuals.^b
- 3d. The annual tribute received from freedmen, and from the ten thousand foreigners settled in Attica.

² Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 685.

^{* 10,800 000} livres (£.450,000).

Andocid de Myster. p. 12. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 926.

Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 891.

^b Suid. in Ατράφ: μετάλ. ^c Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ.

4th. The fines and confiscations, the greater of which go to the treasury of the state.d

5th. The fifth levied on the corn and other merchandise imported, as also on several commodities which are exported from the Piræus. **

6th. A number of other taxes of less importance,^g such as those paid by certain commodities exposed to sale in the market,^h and that levied on such as keep courtesans in their houses.ⁱ

They are put up by auction, in a public place, in the presence of ten magistrates, who receive the different offers, and assign them to the best bidder. I once had the curiosity to be present at a meeting of this kind, and observed the conduct of the several competitors. Some endeavoured to deter their rivals by threats, others to sooth them with promises, while others dissembled their union under the appearances of hatred. After some offers and slow advances, the farm was about to be continued to those

Demosth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Lacrit. p. 952. Etymol. Magn. in Πεντηκοστ.

* See note XVI. at the end of the volume.

" Haspocr. et Suid. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 99.

d Demosth, in Timocr. p. 791. Id. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 392.

Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Casaub. ibid. p. 160. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. v. 100.

⁸ Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 809. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 132. Demosth. in Eubulid. p. 887.

Eschin. in Timarch. p. 278. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 202. lib. 9. cap. 5. § 29.

who had before held it, when a stranger bid another talent. The alarm was immediately spread among them. They demanded that he should give securities, for this is a necessary condition. He gave them; and, as they could no longer invent any objection, they entered into a secret negotiation with him, and ended by associating him with themselves.^k

The farmers of the duties must, before the ninth month of the year, remit the sum stipulated to the receivers of the revenue. When they fail in their engagements they are thrown into prison, condemned to pay double, and deprived of a part of the privileges of citizens, till they have discharged the debts due to the state. Their securities are subject to the same penalties.

The second and principal branch of the revenues of the state consists in the tributes which are paid by a number of cities and islands dependent on it. Its claims of this kind are founded on the abuse of power. After the battle of Platæa, the conquerors having resolved to revenge on Persia the insults offered to Greece, the inhabitants of the islands who had entered into the league agreed to set apart

Andocid. de Myster. p. 17. Plút. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.

Ulpian, in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 812.

Aristoph. in Vesp. p. 705.
Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 19 et 96. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. Nep. in Aristid. cap. 3. Pausan. lib. 8. p. 705.

every year a considerable sum to defray the expences of the war. The Athenians, who were to receive the money, collected, in different places, four hundred and sixty talents,* which they kept untouched so long as they had not a decided superiority; but when their power increased, they changed the gratuitous contributions of the allied cities into an humiliating exaction, imposing on some the obligation to furnish ships whenever they should be called on," and demanding of others the annual tribute to which they had formerly subjected themselves. They taxed their new conquests in the same manner; and the sum total of the foreign contributions amounted, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, to six hundred talents, p+ and towards the middle of the same war to twelve or thirteen hundred. During my stay in Greece the conquests of Philip had reduced this sum to four hundred talents, but the Athenians flattered themselves they should again be able one day to advance it to twelve hundred. 't

These revenues, considerable as they are, are

^{* 2,484,000} livres (£.103,500).

[·] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 85; lib. 7. cap. 57.

P Id. lib. 2. cap. 13. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333,

^{† 3,240,000} livres (£.135,000.)

Andocid. de Pace, p. 24. Plut. ibid.

r Plut. t. ii. p. 842.

 $[\]stackrel{;}{\downarrow}$ 6,480,000 livres (£.270,000). See note XVII. at the end of the volume.

not sufficient to defray the expences of the states; recourse is frequently obliged to be had to free gifts and forced contributions.

Sometimes the senate declares to the general assembly the pressing necessities of the state, on hearing which some endeavour to make their escape, and others keep a profound silence, while the reproaches of the people force them to blush either for their avarice or their poverty. At length others declare aloud the sum they are willing to contribute to the service of the republic, and receive such applauses that the merit of their generosity may be doubted.

Sometimes each of the ten tribes, and all the citizens that compose it, are taxed in proportion to their property; so that an individual who has possessions within the districts of different tribes must pay in several places. The collection of this tax is often attended with great difficulties. At first the person who failed in his payment might be imprisoned; but this practice was abolished, as contrary to the nature of the government. In general, time is allowed; and when that is expired, the goods are seized and sold by auction.

Demosth. in Timocr. p. 788.

Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Casaub. ibid. p. 155. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1085.

Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 18. Demosth. in Androt. p. 705 et 707. Id. in Timocr. p. 798.

Of all the branches of taxation, that for the maintenance of the navy is certainly the heaviest. It is not long since two or three rich individuals fitted out a galley at their joint expence. A law was afterwards enacted, that still subsisted at the time of my arrival in Greece, which taxed, according to the number of the tribes, distributed into ten classes of a hundred and twenty persons each, all the citizens who possessed land, manufactories, or money employed in trade, or placed in the hands of bankers. As these divided among them almost all the riches of Attica, they were obliged to pay all the taxes, and especially to keep up and increase, in case of need, the naval force of the republic. Each of them being only obliged to furnish his contingent every other year, the twelve hundred persons liable to contribute were subdivided into two great classes of six hundred each, of which three hundred were richer than the other three hundred. The former were answerable for the latter, and advanced money in cases of emergence.

When an armament was to be fitted out, each of the ten tribes levied in its district the same number of talents as there were galleys to be equipped, and demanded them from the same

Lys. in Polyeuch. p. 327. Demosth. in Mid. p. 628.

Isæus de Success. Apollod. p. 67. Demosth. in Leptin.

p. 542. Id. in Polyel. passim. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 274.

Demosth. de Class. p. 135. Id. in Phænip. p. 1023.

Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 33.

number of companies, composed sometimes of sixteen persons liable to contribute. These sums, when collected, were distributed to the trierarchs, or captains of the ships, two of which were appointed to each galley, and served six months each. They were to provide for the subsistence of the crew, for, in general, the republic only furnished the rigging and sailors.

The arrangement which I have described was defective, since it too much retarded the operations, and because, without having regard to the inequality of fortunes, those who were richest sometimes did not contribute more than one sixteenth part to the fitting-out of a galley. Towards the latter years of my stay in Greece, Demosthenes procured another decree to be passed, which renders the collection of this tax more easy and equitable; the substance of it was as follows:

Every citizen whose fortune amounts to tentalents, must, in case of need, furnish the state with a galley; if he possesses twenty talents, he shall furnish two; but however rich he may be, no more shall be required of him than three galleys and a boat. Those whose substance is less than ten talents shall join to contribute a galley.

Demosth. de Cor. p. 490.

e Id. in Mid. p. 628. Ulpian, ibid. p. 682.

d Id. in Polycl. p. 1089 et 1093, &c.

Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.
Demosth. in Mid. p. 628.

Id. de Cor. p. 490.

This tax, from which the archons alone are exempted, is proportioned, as much as possible, to the abilities of the citizens; the weight of it always falls on those who are the wealthiest, and it is founded on the principle that taxes ought not to be laid on the persons but the property.

As the fortunes of some persons may increase while those of others diminish, Demosthenes suffered the law of exchanges to subsist. Every year the magistrates who have the administration of the marine department permit every contributor to give information against any person who is less taxed than himself, though he has become, or may always have been, more wealthy. If the person named admits the augmentation or superiority of his fortune, he is substituted for the informant in the list of contributors: if he does not admit it, a trial is had, and he is frequently obliged to exchange his property for that of his accuser.k

The appointments granted to the commanders of the galleys, either by the government or their respective tribes, would be insufficient, did not their zeal and emulation supply the defect. As it is to their interest to distinguish themselves from their rivals, many of them spare no expence to procure the best ships and sailors,

i Id. in Androt. p. 707.

^b Demosth. in Leptin. p. 540.

^k Id. in Philipp. 1. p. 52. Id. in Phænip. p. 1023 et 1027.

¹ Id. in Polycl. p. 1084.

and others increase, at their own expence, the pay of their men, which is commonly fixed at three oboli a day.*

This emulation, excited by the hope of honours and rewards, m is extremely beneficial in a state in which every war necessarily exhausts the public treasury, and intercepts the revenues. So long as the war continues, the tributary cities and islands, incessantly menaced or subjugated by the enemy, are unable to send any succours to the republic, and even necessitated to have recourse to it for assistance. In these critical circumstances its fleets carry desolation to distant coasts, and sometimes return loaded with plunder. When they are able to make themselves masters of the strait of the Hellespont," they exact from all the vessels which trade to the Euxine sea the tenth of the merchandise they carry, and this resource has more than once saved the state.

The obligation to furnish ships and contributions in money ceases with the war; but it is customary for the rich citizens to give entertainments, on certain days, to their fellow-citizens of the same tribe, to contribute to the support of the gymnasia, and to procure, for the public games, choruses to dispute the prize

^{*} Nine sols $(4\frac{1}{2}d.)$

Lys. in Mun. Accept. Def. p. 378.

N. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 430. Demosth. in Leptin.

p. 549.

in dancing and music.º Some voluntarily undertake to defray these expences; others are appointed by the choice of their tribe, and cannot refuse unless they have obtained an exemption by services which they have rendered the state. Both have claims to the favour of the people, who indemnify, by employments and honours, those who have ruined themselves to give splendors to their festivals.

Several companies of officers elected by the people are appointed to inspect the administration of the finances, and each of the ten tribes names an officer to the greater part of these companies. Some of them grant the farms of the duties on importation, deliver out, at a certain rate, the permissions for the working of mines, preside at the sale of confiscated goods, &c. Others enter in a register the sum that each citizen must contribute in cases of urgent necessity."

The different kinds of revenues are deposited in so many different treasuries, which are each in particular under the management of ten receivers or treasurers, with whom the senate regulates the destination of the sums received, conformably to the decrees of the people, and in presence of

Lys. in Mun. Defens. p. 374. Demosth. in Mid. p. 605 et 628. Argum. ejusd. Orat. p. 601. Harpocr. in Έστιάτ.

P Demosth. in Leptin. p. 545, &c.

Harpoer. in Πωληπ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 99.

Harpoer. et Etymol. Magn. in Επιγς. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. \$ 103.

^{*} Harpoer. in Αποδεκτ. et in Ελληνοτ. Suid, in Αποδεκτ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 97, &c.

two comptrollers, who keep a register, the one in the name of the senate, and the other in behalf of the administrators.

The receivers of the public money keep lists of the sums in which the citizens are respectively taxed." They efface, in the presence of the senate, the names of those who have paid, and lodge an information before one of the tribunals against those who have not. The tribunal names inquisitors,* who are appointed to prosecute the latter in due course of law, and who proceed, in case payment is refused, even to the confiscation of their goods. Recourse, however, is only had to the tribunals in cases of importance; on other occasions it is left to the receivers to terminate the disputes which arise in their department.

The receivers into whose hands fines are paid possess the singular right of revising the sentences of the judges, in the first instance, and moderating or remitting the fine if they think it too heavy.²

The expences relative to the war, and all the parts of the administration, are assigned on the different treasuries of which I have just spoken. In time of war the laws direct that the surplus

Harpocr. in Arrive.

¹ Id. et Suid. in Αποδεκτ. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8.

^{*} Demosth. in Timocr. p. 775.

^y Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 97. ² Lys. pro Milit. p. 163 et 165. Poll. ibid.

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of the other treasuries shall be paid into the military; but a decree of the people is necessary to change the order of the assignations.

Every year considerable sums are deposited in a treasury superintended by particular officers, which are to be publicly distributed to enable the poorer citizens to pay for their places at the public shows. The people will not suffer this money to be touched; and we have seen them, in our time, decree that the punishment of death should be inflicted on the orator who should propose to employ it in the service of the state when exhausted by a long war. The annals of nations do not afford a second example of such madness.

Harpoer. in Θεωφ.

and the color by the second process which is the

² Demosth. in Neær. p. 861.

^{*} Ulpian. in Olynth. 1. p. 13. Liban. Argum. ejusd. Orak

CHAP, LVII.

Continuation of an Athenian Library. Logic.

BEFORE my journey through the provinces of Greece, I had passed several days in the library of Euclid; and, on my return to Athens, I renewed my visits.

He showed me, on some ranges of shelves, the works which treat on logic and rhetoric, placed beside each other, because these two sciences are intimately connected. There are but few of them, said he, for it is only within about a century that attempts have been made to investigate the arts of thinking and speaking. We are indebted for them to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, and they were the fruit of that impulse which the philosophy of Pythagoras gave to the human mind.

In justice to Zeno of Elea, we ought not to forget that he first published an essay on logic;

Diogen. Laërt. in Procem. § 18. Arist. ap. eund. lib. 8. § 37; lib. 9. § 25.

Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 370.

but in honour of Aristotle it is our duty to add, that he brought the methods of reasoning to such perfection that he may be considered as the inventor of the art.

Habit teaches us to compare two or more ideas in order to discover and show to others their connection or opposition. This is natural logic, and would be sufficient for a people which, deprived of the faculty of generalising their ideas, should only see, in nature and civil life, individual objects. They would be frequently deceived in their principles, because they would be very ignorant; but their consequences would be just, because their notions would be clear, and always expressed by the proper words.

But among enlightened nations, the human mind, by exercising itself in generals and abstractions, has created an ideal world, of which it is perhaps as difficult to acquire a knowledge as of the natural. To the astonishing number of perceptions received by the senses is added the prodigious multitude of combinations formed by the mind, the fecundity of which is so great that it is impossible to assign it limits.

If we likewise consider that among the objects of our thoughts a very great number have sensible relations which seem to identify them,

Aristot. Sophist. Elench. cap. 34. t. i. p. 314.

and slight differences which in effect distinguish them, we shall admire the courage and sagacity of those who first formed and executed the design of reducing to order and arranging the ideas which men had till then conceived, and which they might conceive in time to come.

This is, perhaps, one of the sublimest efforts of the human mind; it is at least one of the greatest discoveries of which the Greeks can boast. We have received from the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and perhaps from some more remote nation, the elements of almost every science and every art; but posterity shall be indebted to us for that method, the happy artifice of which subjects reasoning to rules. Let us proceed to cast a rapid glance over its principal parts.

There are things which we are contented with indicating, without denying or affirming any thing concerning them. Thus I say a man, a horse, a two-footed animal; there are others that are signified by words which contain an affirmation or negation.

However numerous the former may be, ten classes have been invented into which they may be distributed; one containing the substance, and the others its modes. To the first of these are referred all substances, as man, horse, &c.; to the second the quantity of whatever nature it may be, as the number, the time, the extent, &c.; **

Aristot. Categ. cap. 4. t. i. p. 15,

Id. ibid. cap. 6.

to the third the quality; and under this name are comprised, 1st. The habits, such as the virtues and the sciences; 2d. The natural dispositions which render one man more apt than another to certain exercises; 3d. Sensible qualities, as sweetness, bitterness, cold, heat, colour; 4th. The form or figure, as round, square, &c.

The other classes contain the different kinds of relations, actions, situations, possessions, &c. in such a manner that these ten classes comprise all beings and manners of being. They are named categories, or attributes, because nothing can be attributed to any subject which is not substance, or quality, or quantity, &c.

To have reduced the objects of our thoughts to so small a number of classes was to have effected much, but more still remained to be done. If we attentively examine each category, we shall soon perceive that it is susceptible of a multitude of subdivisions, which we conceive as subordinate one to the other: let us explain this by an example drawn from the first category.

In infancy the mind only sees and conceives individual objects; * we still call them first substances, k either because they first attract our notice, or because they are in effect the most real substances.

Aristot. Categ. cap. 8. p. 26.

* Individuals are in Greek called atoms or indivisibles.

Aristot. Categ. cap. 2. p. 15.

* Aristot. ibid. cap. 5. t. i. p. 16.

But, in time, those objects which have the most striking resemblance, presenting themselves to us with a sameness of form and appearance, we distribute them into several distinct classes; thus from the ideas of such and such a man, and such and such a horse, we have formed the specific idea of a man and a horse.

As the different branches of the same family ascend to one common origin, in like manner various species which approach each other by strong marks of conformity are ranged under one genus or kind.^m Thus, from the specific ideas of a man, a horse, an ox, and all beings which possess life and feeling, is constituted the generical idea of an animal, or living being, for these expressions in our language mean the same thing. Above this genus we conceive others more comprehensive, such as substance, till at length we arrive at the principal of all, which is being.

In this scale, in which Being occupies the highest place, and by which we descend to individuals, each intermediate degree may be genus with regard to that below, and species with respect to that above it.

Philosophers have employed themselves to invent similar systems of affinity and gradation

Aristot. Topic. lib. 9. cap. 7. t. i. p. 184.

Id. Metaph. lib. 5. cap. 28. t. ii. p. 901,

for all the objects in nature or perceptions of the mind; they enable them more easily to follow the generations of ideas, and to go through the different classes, from rank to rank, as a general reviews his army.º Sometimes, considering the genus as unity, or finitude, the species as plurality, and the individuals as infinitude, they discuss various questions on the nature of finitude and infinitude, unity and plurality; questions which then only turn on the nature of the genus, the species, and individuals.P

Each species is distinguished from its genus by an essential attribute which characterizes it, and which is named difference. Reason being in man the noblest and most incommunicable of his privileges, he is by that distinguished from other animals.* If, therefore, we join to the generic idea of an animal the idea of rational, we shall have the specific idea of man.r It is no less difficult than important to ascertain the differences included under the same genus, and those of the species comprised under genera which have affinity between themselves. By employing ourselves in this research, we discover in each species properties

º Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 534.

P Id. in Phileb. Id. in Parm.
Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. i. p. 245; cap. 6. p. 248.
See note XVIII. at the end of the volume.

Porphyr. Isagog. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 7.

which are inherent in it, and modifications which are accidental to it.

The question here is not concerning that property which is confounded with the essence of a thing, but that by which it may be distinguished. In this point of view, it is an attribute which belongs only to the species, and originates from that principal attribute which we have named the difference. Man is capable of learning certain sciences; this is one of his properties; it arises from his faculty of reason, and applies only to his species. His capacity of sleeping, or that of moving his body, cannot be properties, since he possesses them in common with other animals.

The accident is a mode, an attribute, which the mind easily separates from the thing. To be seated is an accident to a man, and whiteness to a body."

The ideas of which we have hitherto spoken, not being accompanied either by affirmation or negation, are neither true nor false.* Let us now proceed to those which may receive one of these characters.

An enunciation is a proposition by which something is affirmed or denied. The enunci

Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 4 et 5.

¹ Id. ibid. et lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 230.

<sup>Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 183.
Id. de Interpr. cap. 1. t. i, p. 37.</sup>

^{*} Id. de Interpr. cap. 1. t. 1, p. 37. 7 Ibid. cap. 4 et 5.

ation, therefore, is alone susceptible of truth or falsehood. The other forms of discourse, as prayer, or command, contain neither of these.

In every enunciation several ideas are united or separated. In it is distinguished the subject, the verb, and the attribute. In this, for example, Socrates is wise; Socrates is the subject, is the verb, and wise the attribute.

The subject signifies that which is placed beneath, and is so called because it expresses the thing spoken of, which is submitted to the attention; or, perhaps, because being less universal than the attributes which it is to receive, it is in some measure subordinate to them.²

The subject expresses sometimes an idea which is universal and belongs to many individuals, as those of man and animal; and sometimes a particular idea which can only belong to one individual, as those of Callias and Socrates. According as it is universal or particular, the enunciation in which it is contained is also universal or particular.

That a universal subject may be taken in its whole extent, the words all or none must be joined with it. The word man is a universal term. If I say every man, or no man, I take it

² Aristot. Categ. cap. 5. t. i. p. 17. ² Id. de Interpr. cap. 7. t. i. p. 39.

in its utmost extent. If I say some man, I restrain its universality.

The verb is a sign which declares that such an attribute agrees to such a subject. b It was requisite to connect them, and this is effected by the verb to be, always expressed or understood: I say understood, because it is implied when other verbs are used; for instance, the words I go, signify I am going.

With respect to the attribute, we have already seen that it is taken from one of the categories which comprise all the different kinds of attributes.d

Thus the judgments we form are only operations of the mind by which we affirm or deny one thing of another; or rather they are only glances of the mental eye which perceives that such a property or such a quality may be attributed or not attributed to such an object; for the understanding which makes this discovery is to the soul what the sight is to the eye.

Enunciations are of different kinds; we will say a word of those which, employed on the same subject, are opposed to each other by affirmation or negation. It should seem that the truth of the one must establish the falsehood of

^b Aristot. de Interpr. cap. 3. p. 37.

Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 46.
Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. i. p. 185. ! Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 192.

the other; but this rule cannot be general, because the opposition between them is of different kinds.

If in both the subject is universal, and taken in its utmost extent, the two enunciations are called contrary, and may be both false; as, for example, all men are white; no man is white. If it is limited in the one, and not in the other, they are then named contradictory, and the one is true and the other false; as, for instance, all men are white; some men are not white: or, no man is white; some men are white. The opposition of particular enunciations is the same as that of the contradictory, and the one must necessarily be true and the other false; as, Socrates is white; Socrates is not white.

Two particular propositions, the one affirmative and the other negative, are not, properly speaking, opposed to each other; the opposition lies only in the terms. When I say, some men are just; some men are not just; I do not speak of the same men.

The preceding notions, and a great number of others which I pass over in silence, were the fruit of a long series of observations. It was however easy to discover that the greater part

f Aristot. de Interpr. cap. 7. t. i. p. 39.
f Id. Categ. cap. 10. t. i. p. 33. Id. de Interpr. cap. 7.
t. i. p. 40.
ld. Analyt. Prior. cap. 15. t. i. p. 117.

of our errors originate in the uncertainty of our ideas, and their representative signs. Unacquainted with external objects, except from the information of our senses, we often confound their nature with their qualities and accidents. As to intellectual objects, they excite in the generality of minds only obscure, vague, and transient images. The confusion is still more increased by that multitude of equivocal and metaphorical words with which all languages abound, and especially by the great number of universal terms which we employ, frequently without understanding them.

Meditation alone can bring near the objects which this obscurity seems to remove from us. Thus the only difference between an enlightened and an ignorant mind is, that the one views objects at a proper distance, while the other only sees them afar off.

Happily men have only occasion for a certain analogy in ideas, and a certain approximation in language, to fulfil their duties in society. In the communication of ideas, discerning minds traffic with good money, of the precise value and fineness of which they are often ignorant; and the rest with counterfeit coin, which is nevertheless received without scruple in trade.

The philosopher ought to employ the most

^{*} Aristot. Sophist. Elench. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 281.

usual expressions; but, carefully distinguishing their acceptations, when they have many, he should determine the precise idea which he annexes to each word.

To define a thing is to make known its nature by characters which will not suffer us to confound it with any other thing. Formerly no rnles had been laid down to arrive at or ascertain this exactness. They were established by observing that there can be but one good definition for each thing; " that such a definition ought to agree only with the thing defined;" that it ought to comprise in it all that is contained in the idea of the thing defined; that it ought to extend to all beings of the same species, as that of man, for example, to all men; that it should be concise, every word which may be omitted is superfluous;4 that it should be clear, and that consequently no words should be employed that are equivocal, figurative, or seldom used; and that to understand it, it ought not to be necessary to have recourse to the thing defined, since it would otherwise resemble the figures in old pictures, which were

Aristot. Topic. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 196.

¹ Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 5. t. i. p. 182. ^m Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 14. t. i. p. 260.

^a Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 264. ^c Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 247.

P Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 241.

Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 243.

Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 242.

not to be known but by their names written under them."

But in what manner may these conditions be fulfilled? We have spoken above of those scales of ideas which lead us from individuals to being in general. We have seen that each species has immediately above it a genus, from which it is distinguished by the difference. An exact definition will be composed of the immediate genus and the difference of the thing defined, and by consequence will comprise its two principal attributes. I define man a rational animal." The genus, animal, connects man with all living beings; and the difference, rational, distinguishes him from them.

It hence follows, that a definition points out the resemblance of several different things by the genus, and distinguishes them by the difference. Nothing therefore is of more importance than to discern this resemblance and diversity, when we exercise ourselves in the art of thinking and reasoning.x

I omit a number of very acute remarks on the nature of the genus and the difference, as also on the various kinds of propositions usually employed in reasoning. As I mean only to give

Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 243.

Id. ibid, lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 185; lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 242.
Id. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 6. p. 24.

^{*} Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 13, 16, et 17.

some essays on the progress of the human mind, it will not be requisite that I should collect all the traces of light it has left in its path; but the discovery of the syllogism deserves that we should bestow on it our attention for a moment.

We have said that, in this proposition, Socrates is wise; Socrates is the subject, wise the attribute; and that, by the substantive verb which connects them, it is affirmed that the idea of wise agrees to the idea of Socrates.

But how are we to be convinced of the truth or falsehood of a proposition, when the relation of the attribute to the subject is not sufficiently apparent? This is effected by passing from a thing known to the thing unknown; by recurring to a third idea, the double relation of which to the subject and attribute is more perceptible.

To make myself better understood, I shall only consider the affirmative proposition. I doubt if A be equal to B; but if I perceive that A is equal to C, and C to B, I conclude, without hesitation, that A is equal to B.

Thus, to prove that justice is a habit, it is sufficient to show that justice is a virtue, and every virtue a habit. But to give this proof a syllogistical form, let us place the word virtue

Aristot. Metaph. lib. 7. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 909.

² Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.

^a Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 17; cap. 4. p. 21.

between the subject and the attribute of the proposition, and we shall have these three terms; justice, virtue, habit. That in the middle is called the mean, either on account of its position, or because it serves as an intermediate object to compare the two others, named the extremes. It has been demonstrated that the mean ought to be taken universally at least once, and that one of the propositions ought to be universal. I shall then first say,

Every virtue is a habit.

And I shall afterwards say,

But justice is a virtue;

Therefore justice is a habit.

It hence follows, 1st, That a syllogism is composed of three terms, of which the last is the attribute of the second, and the second the attribute of the first. In the above example habit is an attribute with regard to virtue, and virtue an attribute with respect to justice.

The attribute being always taken from one of the categories, or from the series of beings which compose them, the relations of the mean to both the extremes will be sometimes the relations of substances, qualities, quantities, &c. and sometimes the relations of genera, species, properties, &c. In the preceding example they

Aristot. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.

¹d. Topic. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 267; cap. 14. p. 280.

⁴ Id. Analyt. Prior, cap. 4, t. i. p. 54. ^e Aristot. Top. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. i. p. 185.

are those of genera and species; for habit is a genus relatively to virtue, and virtue relatively to justice. But it is certain that whatever is true of a superior genus, must be true of all the genera and species in the descending line.

It follows, 2dly, That a syllogism is composed of three propositions. In the two first the mean is compared with each of the extremes, and in the third a conclusion is drawn that one of the extremes must be the attribute of the other, which was to be proved.

It follows, 3dly, That a syllogism is a reasoning in which, by making certain assertions, we obtain another different from the first.

The various combinations of the three terms produce different kinds of syllogisms, the greater part of which may be reduced to that we have proposed as an example.^b

The conclusions likewise vary according as the propositions are affirmative or negative, and according as more or less universality is given to them and to the terms; and hence a number of rules have been invented which discover, at the first view, the accuracy or defect of an argument.

Inductions and examples are employed to persuade the multitude, and syllogisms to convince philosophers. Nothing is so powerful

f Aristot. Top. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 213; lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 247.

Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180. Id. Sophist. Elench.
lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 281.

h Id. Analyt. Prior. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. i. p. 60.
i Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. i. p. 188; lib. 8. cap. 2.
p. 269.

and irresistible as a conclusion drawn from two truths which an opponent is compelled to admit.k

This ingenious mechanism is only the development of the operations of the mind. It had been observed that, except first principles, which convince of themselves, all our assertions are only conclusions, and that they are founded on an act of reasoning which the mind performs with astonishing celerity. When I say, Justice is a habit, I mentally form the syllogism which I have given at length above.

Sometimes one of the two propositions which it is easy to supply is suppressed, in which case the syllogism is called an enthymem, and though imperfect, is not less conclusive; as for example, Every virtue is a habit, therefore justice is a habit; or, Justice is a virtue, therefore it is a habit. I shall easily arrive at the same conclusion if I only say, Since justice is a virtue, it is a habit; or, Justice is a habit, since every virtue is a habit.

Such is this other example, taken from one of our poets,

Mortal, cherish not an immortal hatred."

To change this sentence into a syllogism, we must say: No mortal ought to cherish an immortal hatred; but you are mortal; therefore,

k Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75.

Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180.

^m Demetr. Fal. de Eloc. cap. 32. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. ñ. p. 571.

&c. To make an enthymem, one of the two first propositions must be suppressed.

Thus every sentence, and every reflection, whether it carries its proof with it, or shows itself without that support, is a real syllogism; with this difference, that in the former case the proof is the mean that connects or separates the attribute from the subject, and that in the latter the mean must be supplied.

Philosophers, by studying attentively the connection of our ideas, have discovered the art of rendering the proofs of our reasonings more evident, and completing and classing the imperfect syllogisms which we incessantly employ. It is easily perceived that to succeed in such an attempt must require an unwearied constancy, and that observing genius which indeed invents nothing, because it adds nothing to nature, but which discovers what has escaped ordinary minds.

Every demonstration is a syllogism, but every syllogism is not a demonstration. A syllogism is demonstrative, when it is established on first principles, or on those which immediately result from them; it is dialectic, when it is founded on opinions which appear probable to all men, or at least to those of the most enlarged understandings; and it is captious, when it

Aristot. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.
 Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180.

concludes from propositions which it is wished to make pass for probable when they are not so

The first furnishes weapons to philosophers, who search after truth; the second to dialecticians, who are often obliged to content themselves with the probable; and the third to sophists, to whom the smallest resemblance of proof suffices.

As we more frequently reason from opinions than from certain principles, young persons early apply themselves to dialectics, which is the name given to logic when it draws its conclusions only from probabilities. By proposing to them problems, and theses in physics, morals, and logic, we accustom them to try their strength on different subjects, to weigh conjectures, alternately to support opposite opinions, and to employ sophistry that they may become acquainted with its artifices.

As our disputes frequently arise from this, that some persons, seduced by example, deal too much in generals; while others, misled by contrary examples, run into the opposite extreme: the former teach us that we ought not to conclude from the particular to the general

^q Aristof. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 189. Id. Sophist, Elench. cap. 1. p. 282. Id. Metaph. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 871.

^{*} Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 181.

⁵ Id, ibid, cap. 11. p. 187. ¹ Id, ibid, cap. 14. p. 189.

ⁿ Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514, * Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 517,

and the latter that an exception does not destroy the rule.

The subject in dispute is sometimes discussed by questions and answers. As the object of the question is to elucidate a doubt, and direct the dawning reason, its solution ought neither to be too evident, nor too difficult.

We ought carefully to shun maintaining theses so improbable that the defender of them must quickly be reduced to absurd consequences; as also the discussion of subjects concerning which it is dangerous to doubt; as, whether the gods ought to be honoured, and whether it is our duty to love our parents.

Though it may be to be feared that minds thus habituated to a rigorous precision should ever after preserve an inclination to it, and even join with it the love of contradiction; it is no less true that they possess a real advantage over others. In the acquisition of the sciences they will be more disposed to doubt, and in their intercourse with the world better able to discover the defect of an argument.

Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 268.

<sup>Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 187.
Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 9. t. i. p. 275.
Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 187.</sup>

CHAP. LVIII.

Continuation of the Library .- Rhetoric.

WHILST the edifice of logic was laboriously erecting, continued Euclid, that of rhetoric rose by its side, less solid it is true, but more elegant and more magnificent.

The former, replied I, might be necessary; but I do not conceive the utility of the latter. Did not Eloquence before exercise her power over the nations of Greece, and even in the heroic ages dispute the prize with Valour? Is not every beauty to be found in the writings of Homer, who ought to be considered as the first of orators, as well as the first of poets? and are they not also to be found in the writings of those men of genius who have followed in his footsteps? When we have so many examples, of what use are so many precepts? It is necessary, replied Euclid, to make a selection of these examples. I answered: Were Pisistratus,

Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 10. t. i. p. 344. Hermog. de id. ap. Rhet, Ant. t. i. p. 140.

Solon, and those orators who, in the assemblies of the people and the tribunals of justice, employed only the persuasive language of a natural eloquence, mistaken in their choice? Why should we substitute the art of speaking to the genius of oratory?

That art, replied Euclid, is only intended to restrain the too irregular flights of genius, and to oblige it by restriction to concentrate its powers. You doubt of the advantages to be derived from rhetoric; yet you know that Aristotle, though prejudiced against the art of oratory, e nevertheless allowed that it might be useful!f You doubt of them, yet you have heard Demosthenes! Demosthenes, answered I, without the lessons of his masters, would always have swayed at will the minds of his hearers. Æschines, perhaps, without the assistance of his, would not have expressed himself with so much elegance. You grant then, replied Euclid, that art may give to genius a more pleasing form; I will be equally sincere, and allow that this is nearly all its merit.

Then, approaching the shelves, Here, said he, are the authors that have given us precepts, and also those that have furnished us with examples of eloquence. They almost all lived in the last or present century. Among the former are

^e Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 38. t. i. p. 229. f Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii, p. 514.

Corax of Syracuse, Tisias, Thrasymachus, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, Theodorus, Evenus, Calippus, &c.: among the latter, those who are deservedly held n great estimation, as Lysias, Antiphon, Andocides, Isæus, Callistratus, Isocrates, and those who begin illustriously to distinguish themselves, as Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, &c.

I have read the works of your orators, replied I, but I am unacquainted with those of the rhetoricians. In our preceding conversations you have deigned to instruct me in the progress and present state of several branches of literature: may I venture to request from you the same obliging condescension with respect to rhetoric?

The progress of the sciences, answered Euclid, may be easily known; because, as they have but one way to arrive at the end they propose, we perceive at a single glance the point from which they set out, and that to which they tend. But it is not the same with the arts of imagination; the taste which judges of them being arbitrary, the object they propose frequently indeterminate, and the track they pursue divided into several paths extremely near to each other, it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to ascertain their efforts and their success.

^{*} Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514.

How indeed may we discover the first steps of genius, and follow it, with the rule in hand, in its gigantic strides? How also may we be able to separate the light from the false splendors which surround it, define the transient graces which disappear the moment they are analysed, and appreciate, in fine, that supreme beauty which in each kind constitutes its perfection?h I shall, since you request me, proceed to give you some remarks which may serve for the history of rhetoric; but on a subject so susceptible of ornament expect from me only a small number of facts and common observations.

Our writers, for several centuries, had only spoken the language of poetry; that of prose appeared to them too familiar and too limited to suffice for all the ideas of the mind, or rather of the imagination, for that was the faculty which was then cultivated with the greatest care. The philosopher Pherecydes of Syros, and the historian Cadmus of Miletus, began, about two centuries since, to emancipate themselves from the rigid laws by which diction was confined. Though they had opened a new and more easy path, it was still imagined so difficult to forsake the old one, that we find Solon attempting to translate his laws into verse, and Empedocles

¹ Cicer. Orat. cap. 11. t. i. p. 428.

i Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278. Suid. in Φερεκ. et in Συγίαφ.

k Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 80.

and Parmenides adorning their doctrines with the charms of poetry.

The use of prose, at first, only served to multiply historians.1 A number of writers published the annals of different nations, and their style presents defects which the revolutions in our taste render extremely sensible. It is clear and concise," but destitute of ornament and harmony. Short sentences succeed each other without support; and the eye is wearied with following them, because it in vain seeks the connection by which they ought to be united. At other times, and especially in the first historians. it abounds with poetical turns, or rather consists wholly of fragments of verse, the measure of which has been broken. We continually perceive that these authors have had poets for their models, and that time has been necessary to form the style of prose, as well as to discover the principles of rhetoric.

The first essays in the latter art were made in Sicily. About a hundred years after the death of Cadmus, a Syracusan, named Corax, collected disciples, and composed a treatise on rhe-

Dionys. Halic. Thucyd. ud. t, vi. p. 818.

m Id. ibid. p. 820.

Demetr Phal. de Eloc cap. 12. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. Aristot. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 345. Id.

^o Aristot, ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12, t. 1, p. 345. Id. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 150. Quintil, lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 141.

P Prolegom, in Hermog, ap. Rhet, Ant, t. ii. p. 5.

toric still held in esteem, though he makes the secret of eloquence consist only in a deceitful calculation of certain probabilities. The manner in which he proceeds will be best shown by an example. A man strongly suspected of having beaten another, is tried for the assault. He is either stronger or weaker than his accuser. In the former case, says Corax, how can it be believed that he is guilty? or, in the latter, that he should expose himself to appear so? This method, and others similar to it, have been explained and enlarged, in a work which is still extant, by Tisias, a pupil of Corax, who employed them to deprive his master of the salary which he owed him.

Artifices of the same kind had been already introduced into logic, the principles of which had begun to be formed into a system; and from the art of thinking they passed without difficulty into the art of speaking. The latter was also tinctured with the taste for sophistry, and the spirit of contradiction which predominated in the licentious extravagances of the former.

Protagoras, the disciple of Democritus, had been a witness, during his stay in Sicily, to the

^{*} Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 581. ^{*} Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273.

Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 610.

Proleg. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 6. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 307.

glory which Corax had acquired. He had before distinguished himself by profound researches into the nature of beings, and soon acquired no less celebrity by the works he published on grammar, and the different parts of the art of oratory. To him also is ascribed the honour of having first collected those general propositions which are called *common-places*, and which an orator employs either to multiply his proofs, or to discourse with facility on every kind of subject.

These places, though very numerous, are reduced to a small number of classes. An action is examined, for example, relatively to the cause, to the effect, to the circumstances, to the persons, &c. and from these relations arise a series of contradictory maxims and propositions, accompanied by their proofs, and all exemplified by questions and answers in the writings of Protagoras, and other rhetoricians who have continued his researches.

After having regulated the manner of constructing the exordium, disposing the narration, and awakening the passions of the judges, the professors of oratory began to extend the empire of eloquence, which had been till then

* Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 518; cap. 6, 7, &c. Cicer. Topic. t. i. p. 483.

Cicer. de Clar. Grat. cap. 12 t. i. p. 345. Quintil. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 142.

Aristot. Sophist. Elench. lib. 2. t. i. p. 314.

Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 513.

confined to the forum and the bar. Become the rival of poetry, she at first celebrated the gods, the heroes, and citizens who had fallen in battle. Afterward Isocrates composed eulogiums on individuals of distinguished rank. Since that time, men who have served, and men who have been of no utility to their country, have been indiscriminately praised, incense has fumed on every side, and it has been determined that neither praise nor censure ought to be confined by any limits.

These different attempts have employed almost a century, and during that interval the formation of style has been attended to with the same care. Not only has it preserved the riches which in its origin it borrowed from poetry, but endeavours have been made to add to them, and every day it has been adorned with new colours and melodious sounds. These brilliant materials were at first thrown at random one on the other, like the stones which are collected to construct an edifice. Taste and judgment took on them the care of assorting and exhibiting them in a beautiful arrangement. Instead of those unconnected sentences which, wanting strength and support, stumbled almost at every word, groups of well-selected expressions formed a whole, all the parts of which

^a Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 73. ^b Gorg. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 12. t. i. p. 346. Demeir. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 13. mutually and without difficulty sustained each other. The most deficate ears were delighted to hear the harmony of prose, and the most accurate judgments no less gratified to perceive a thought unfold itself with grace and propriety in a single period.

This happy form, the discovery of those eminent rhetoricians Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Thrasymachus, was brought to perfection by Isocrates, the disciple of the former.d The periods of a discourse were then distributed into intervals nearly equal; their members were connected and contrasted by words or thoughts interwoven in them. The words themselves, by frequent inversions, seemed to wind through the space assigned to them, yet so that from the beginning of the sentence the end might be discovered by attentive hearers. This artifice, when skilfully employed, was a source of pleasure, but, too frequently repeated, became so fatiguing, that sometimes, in our assemblies, persons have been known to raise their voices, and finish, before the orator, the long period which he recited with complacency.f

Reiterated efforts having at length rendered elocution numerous, flowing, harmonious, adapted to every subject, and susceptible of every

Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut, cap. 12. Cicer. Orat. cap. 52. t. i. p. 464.

Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 12.

Id. ibid. cap. 15.

passion, language among the Greeks became distinguished into three kinds; that of poetry which is noble and magnificent; that of conversation, which is simple and modest; and that of more elevated prose, which approaches more or less to one or other of these, according to the subject on which it is employed.

Orators also are distinguished into two classes: in the first are comprised those who dedicate their eloquence to the instruction of the people in their assemblies, as Pericles; to defend the interests of individuals at the bar, as Antiphon and Lysias; or to adorn philosophy with the brilliant colours of poetry, as Democritus and Plato: in the second are placed those who, only cultivating rhetoric from sordid views of interest or vain ostentation, declaim in public, and pronounce elaborate orations on the nature of government or laws, on manners, sciences, and arts, in which the thoughts are only rendered more obscure by the language.

The greater part of the latter, known by the name of sophists, are spread over all Greece. They travel from city to city, and are every where received with applause, and followed by a great number of disciples, who, desirous to raise themselves to the first stations by their eloquence, pay liberally for their lessons, and, while they attend

^{*} Cicer. Orat. cap. 20. t. i. p. 436.

on their masters, lay in a large stock of those general notions or common-places of which I have, spoken above.

Their works, which I have collected, are written with so much symmetry and elegance, and contain such a profusion of beauties, that the reader is fatigued with the idea of the labour they must have cost their authors. If they sometimes seduce, they never move the passions, because in them paradox holds the place of truth, and the ardour of the imagination that of the warmth of the heart.

They consider rhetoric sometimes as an instrument of persuasion, the exercise of which requires more ingenuity than sentiment, and sometimes as a species of tactics, of which the object is to collect a great number of words, to contract, extend, and sustain them one by another, and make them march intrepidly against the enemy. They have also ambuscades and bodies of reserve, but their principal resource is in the noise and splendor of their arms i

This splendor especially shines in the eulogiums or panegyrics on Hercules and the demigods. These are subjects which are chosen in preference, and the rage for encomium has in-

h Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 459.
Cicer. de Orat, lib, 2. cap. 22. t. i. p. 214.

creased to that degree that it has even extended to inanimate objects. I have a book that is entitled *The Praise of Salt*, in which all the riches of the imagination are exhausted to exaggerate the services which that substance has rendered to mortals.

The impatience which the greater part of these works excite rises even to indignation, when their authors insinuate, or endeavour to demonstrate, that the orator ought to be able equally to procure a triumph for guilt and innocence, falsehood and truth.^m

It becomes disgust when they found their reasonings on the subtleties of dialectics. The most ingenuous minds, with a view to try their strength, engage in these captious quibbles. Xanthippus, the son of Pericles, used to divert himself with relating that, during the celebration of certain games, a javelin that had carelessly been thrown having accidentally killed a horse, his father and Protagoras passed a whole day in investigating the cause to which the mischance ought to be attributed, whether to the javelin, the hand that threw the javelin, or the institutors of the games."

^k Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 530.

¹ Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 177. Isocr. in Helen. Encom.
ii. p. 119.

t. ii. p. 119.

^m Plut. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261.

ⁿ Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172.

You may judge from the following example of the enthusiasm which the artifice of eloquence formerly excited. During the Peloponnesian war, a Sicilian arrived in Athens, who filled all Greece with astonishment and admiration. This was Gorgias, whom the inhabitants of Leontium, his native country, had sent to implore our assistance. He ascended the rostrum, and pronounced an harangue, in which he had accumulated the boldest figures, and the most pompous expressions. These frivolous ornaments were distributed into periods, sometimes regulated by the same measure, and sometimes closing with the same cadence. The Athenians were so dazzled with the glare of this artificial language," that they immediately voted that succours should be sent to the Leontines, compelled the orator to settle among them, and ran in crowds to receive from him lessons in rhetoric.5 The highest praises were lavished on him when he pronounced the eulogium of those citizens who had sacrificed their lives in the service of their country, when, at the theatre, he declared that he was prepared to speak on any subject that should

[°] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 168.

P Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii p. 282. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 106. Cicer. Orat. cap. 49. t. i. p. 461. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. cap. 2. t. vi. p. 792; cap. 17. p. 808.
Dionys, Halic. de Lys. t. v. p. 458.
Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xv. p. 169.

Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 1. p. 493.

be proposed," and when, at the public games, he recited a discourse to invite the different states of Greece to unite against the barbarians.*

On another occasion, the Greeks, assembled at the Pythian games, decreed him a statue, which was placed, in his presence, in the temple of Apollo. In Thessaly his talents had been crowned with still more flattering success. The people of that country were as yet only acquainted with the arts of breaking horses, and enriching themselves by commerce; Gorgias appeared among them, and they quickly aspired to distinguish themselves by the endowments of the mind.

Gorgias acquired a fortune equal to his reputation: but the revolution he effected in the minds of men was only a transient intoxication. In reality he is a frigid writer, labouring to attain to the sublime by efforts which only remove him farther from his object, while the magnificence of his expressions frequently only serves to manifest the sterility of his

* Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 599. Pausan.

lib. 6. p. 495. Philostr. ibid. p. 493.

Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 70. Philostr. Epist. ad. Jul. p. 919.

Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

^{*} Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 447. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 101. Id. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 22. t. i. p. 153. Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. p. 482.

Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 32. t, i. p. 310. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 15. Plin. lib. 33. cap. 4. p. 619. Philostr. ibid. Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505.

ideas.^b He nevertheless extended the limits of his art, and his very faults may be useful as lessons.

Euclid, while he showed me several harangues of Gorgias, and different works composed by his disciples, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, &c. added, I value less the pompous ornament which these display in their writings than the noble and simple eloquence which characterizes those of Prodicus of Ceos.^c This author possesses what accurate minds must esteem a principal beauty; he almost always chooses the proper term, and discovers very acute distinctions between words that appear synonymous.^d

That, said I, is true; but he never suffers one to pass without examining it with a scrupulous and fatiguing exactness. You recollect what he one day said to Socrates and Protagoras, when he wished to reconcile their opinions? "It appertains to you to discuss, and not to discuss pute; for we discuss with our friends, but we dispute with our enemies. By that you will obtain our esteem, and not our praise; for esteem is in the heart, and praise often only on the lips. On our side we shall receive satisfaction, and not pleasure; for satisfaction

Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 210. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 163.

Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75. Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 197.

is the sentiment of the mind when it is enlightened, and pleasure the feeling of the senses in enjoyment."

If Prodicus had expressed himself in this manner, answered Euclid, who would ever have had patience to hear him, or read his works? If you examine the latter, you will be compelled to admire the sense, as well as the elegance, of his style. The language you have just repeated is attributed to him by Plato, who diverted himself in the same manner at the expence of Protagoras, Gorgias, and the most celebrated rhetoricians of his time. He has represented them in his dialogues disputing with his master, and in these pretended conversations has exhibited some very pleasant scenes.

Has not Plato, then, replied I, faithfully related the conversations of Socrates? I doubt he has not, answered Euclid; I even believe that the greater part of these conversations never really passed. But will not almost every one exclaim against such a supposition?—Phædon, after having read the dialogue which bears his name, declared that he did not recollect any thing of the discourse which Plato has attributed

e Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 337. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 169.

Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737.
Plat. in Protag. in Gorg. in Hipp. &c.

^b Cicer, de Orat, lib. 3. cap. 32. t. i. p. 310.

to him. Gorgias said the same of the dialogue which is entitled after his name: he only added, that the young author had great talents for satire, and would soon be qualified to succeed the poet Archilochus. But you will at least agree that his portraits in general have a resemblance.

—As we ought not to form our judgment of Pericles and Socrates from the comedies of Aristophanes, so neither ought we to judge of the three sophists of whom I have spoken from the dialogues of Plato.

He had, no doubt, reason to oppose their doctrines, but he ought not to have represented them as men without ideas or knowledge, incapable of following an argument, ever ready to be entangled in the grossest snares, and whose productions merit only contempt. If they had not possessed great abilities, they would not have been so dangerous. I do not say that he was jealous of their reputation, as some may perhaps hereafter suspect; but it appears that, in his youth, he too much addicted himself to a taste for fictions and pleasantry."

However this may be, the abuses introduced, in his time, into eloquence, occasioned between philosophy and rhetoric, which till then had been occupied on the same objects, and borne

Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505.

k Hermip. ap. Athen. ibid.

Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 756.

Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 505.

the same name, a kind of divorce which still subsists," and which has often deprived them of the succours they might mutually afford to each other.º The former reproaches the latter, sometimes in the style of contempt, with usurping her rights, and daring to treat circumstantially on religion, politics, and morals, without being acquainted with their principles. But it may be replied to philosophy, that, as she is unable herself to terminate our differences by the sublimity of her dogmas and the precision of her language, she ought to permit her rival to become her interpreter, to adorn her with her charms, and render her more familiar; and this in fact is what has been done, in our time, by the orators, who, profiting by their acquaintance both with philosophy and rhetoric, have dedicated their talents to public utility.

At the head of these I, without hesitation, place Pericles. He was indebted to the lessons of the rhetoricians and philosophers for that propriety of arrangement and extensive knowledge which, in concert with his genius, carried the art of oratory almost to its perfection. Alcibiades, Critias, and Theramenes, followed

P Id. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 143.

Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 7. p. 342.

ⁿ Cicer, de Orat, lib. 3. cap. 16 et 19. t. i. p. 294 et 296. ^o Id. Orat, cap. 3. p. 422.

et 12. t. i. p. 345.

in his footsteps. Those who succeeded have equalled, and even sometimes surpassed, while they laboured to imitate them; and it may be asserted that the taste of true eloquence is now fixed in all its different kinds.

You are acquainted with the authors who have distinguished themselves in our time, and are able to appreciate their merit. As I have only judged, answered I, from natural sentiment, I could wish to know whether the impressions I have received are justified by the rules of art. Those rules, replied Euclid, the fruits of long experience, were formed from the works and success of great poets and the first orators.

The empire of this art is very extensive: it is exercised in the general assemblies, in which the interests of a nation are discussed; before tribunals, by which the disputes of individuals are determined; in discourses which represent vice and virtue in their true colours; and on all occasions, in fine, when the object is the instruction of mankind. Hence originate three species of eloquence, the deliberative, the judiciary, and the demonstrative. Thus to hasten or prevent the decision of the people, to defend the innocent or convict the guilty, to praise

⁸ Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 31. p. 161.

^t Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261. ^u Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 2. p. 610.

virtue and censure vice, are the noble functions of the orator. And how is he to acquit himself of these? By persuasion. And by what means may persuasion be effected? By profound study, say the philosophers; by the assistance of rules, say the rhetoricians.*

The merit of rhetoric, according to the former, consists not in a happy connection of the exordium, the narration, and the other parts of a discourse; nor in the artifices of style, voice, and gesture, which are employed to seduce a corrupted people. These are only accessories, sometimes useful, but almost always dangerous. What then shall we require from the orator? That to natural genius he joins science and study.

Let the man whom nature has destined to the exercise of eloquence wait till philosophy has conducted him to it by slow steps; a till she shall have proved to him that the art of speaking, which should convince before it persuades, must derive its principal strength from the art of reasoning; till she shall have taught him to conceive accurate ideas, to express them with perspicuity, to distinguish and observe all the relations and contrasts of their objects, and to know and make known to others what each

^{*} Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.

y Plat. ibid. p. 266. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1, p. 512.
² Aristot. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583.

^a Cicer. Orat. cap. 4. p. 423.

Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.

thing essentially is. He shall thus become largely endowed with the knowledge proper for a statesman, an upright judge, and a virtuous citizen; d and shall be well acquainted with the different forms of government, the laws and interests of nations, the nature of man, and the inconstant play of human passions.f

But this knowledge, purchased by long and laborious researches, must easily be contaminated by the contagious breath of opinion, unless it be supported, not only by acknowledged probity and consummate prudence, but also by an ardent zeal for justice, and a profound veneration for the gods, the witnesses of his actions and his words.h

Then shall his language, become the organ of truth, possess the simplicity, energy, ardour, and persuasive dignity by which truth is characterized; it shall be less embellished by the splendor of his eloquence than by that of his virtues, and all his shafts shall reach their destined aim, because every hearer shall be persuaded that they proceed from a hand which has never wilfully erred.

Such an orator only shall assume the right to explain to us in the popular assembly what is

Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 277.

^d Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 4, 9, et 10.

e Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 521.

f Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 481. s Aristot. ibid lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 547.

h Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273. Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

truly useful, at the bar what is truly just, and in discourses dedicated to the memory of great men, or the panegyric of noble actions, what is truly praise-worthy.

We have seen what is the opinion of philosophers with regard to rhetoric; let us now proceed to examine the end which rhetoricians propose to themselves, and the rules which they have laid down. But Aristotle has undertaken to collect them in a work! in which he will doubtless treat his subject with that superiority which is so conspicuous in his former writings."

Those who have preceded him have confined themselves, sometimes properly to arrange the parts of a discourse without paying attention to strengthen it with convincing proofs, sometimes to collect a number of general maxims or common-places, and sometimes to give us some precepts in style, and the means of moving the passions. At other times they teach a variety of artifices which may give to probability a superiority over truth, and make the worse appear the better cause. But all have neglected

¹ Aristot. Rhetor. t. ii. p. 512. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 35. t. i. p. 313.

^k Plat. in Phædr. p. 274. Arist, Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 2. p. 610.

^m Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 38. t. i. p. 229.

ⁿ Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 513.

[°] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 518.

P Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 577; cap. 24. p. 581.

the most essential parts, as the regulation of the action and voice of the speaker; and all have laboured to form the pleader, without saying a word of the public orator. That, said I, excites my surprise; for the functions of the latter are much more useful, noble, and difficult, than those of the former. They, no doubt, thought, replied Euclid, that in an assembly where all the citizens have the same interest, eloquence ought only to relate plain facts, and give salutary counsel; but that every artifice of rhetoric is required to induce judges to favour a cause to which they are naturally indifferent and strangers."

In the work of Aristotle the opinions of these authors will be given and examined, often attacked, and almost always accompanied with acute observations and important additions. As you will one day read it, it is unnecessary for me to say any more of it at present.

I put a great number of questions to Euclid, but to very little purpose, as he would scarcely return me answers.—Have the rhetoricians adopted the principles of the philosophers? They frequently depart from them, and especially when they prefer probability to truth.* What is the first quality of an able orator? To

Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

^t Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 605. ^u Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.

be an excellent logician. What is his first duty? To show that a thing is, or is not. What ought to be his principal attention? To discover in each subject the means proper to persuade. Into how many parts is a discourse divided? The rhetoricians admit a great number, which are reducible to four; the exordium, the proposition or fact, the proof, and the peroration: the first and last may even be omitted. I was proceeding in my inquiries, but Euclid requested me to desist, and I could only obtain from him a few remarks on style.

Notwithstanding the Greek language is so rich and copious, said I, you cannot but have perceived that the expression does not always correspond to the idea. No doubt, replied he, but we possess the same right as the first institutors of language; we are permitted to hazard a new word, either by creating it ourselves, or deriving it from a word already known. At other times we add a figurative to the literal sense of an expression consecrated by custom; or we intimately unite two words to form a third; but this latter licence is commonly reserved to the poets, and

^e Id. ibid. p. 512. ^a Id. ibid. cap. I et 2.

y Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 513.

Plat in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. Aristot. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.

d Quinctil. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 486.
Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 95, 96, &c.
Id. ibid. cap. 93. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 586.

especially to the writers of dithyrambics.8 As to their innovations, they ought to be used with discretion, and they are never adopted by the public except when they are conformable to the analogy of the language.

The beauty of an expression consists in the sound with which it delights the ear, and the sense that it contains; but let none be admitted into a work which may offend modesty or disgust good taste. One of your authors, answered I, will not admit any difference between the signs of our thoughts, and affirms that, in whatever manner an idea be expressed, it always produces the same effect. He is mistaken, replied Euclid; of two words which are at our choice, one is more modest and decent than the other, because it only indicates the image which the other places immediately before our eyes.h

We have proper and figurative, simple and compound, foreign and native words; some are more noble or more ornamental than others, because they awaken in us more exalted or more agreeable ideas; to others are so mean, or so dissonant, that they ought not to be admitted either into prose or verse.1

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 587.

h Id ibid. cap. 2. p. 586.

¹ Id Poet. cap. 21 et 22. t. ii. p. 668 et 669. ¹ Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 175, 176, &c.

¹ Theophr. ap. Dionys Halic. de Compos. Verb. cap. 16. t. v. p. 105. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 179.

From the different combinations of words are formed periods, some of which consist only of a single member, while others are composed of two, three, or four members; but none ought to contain more than four.

A discourse ought not to present an unvaried succession of complete and symmetrical periods, like the orations of Gorgias and Isocrates, nor a series of short and detached sentences, like those of the ancients. The former fatigue the mind, the latter wound the ear. The measures of the period should be incessantly diversified, by which the style will at once display the beauties of art and of simplicity; it will even acquire majesty if the last member of the period be the most extended, and if it concludes with one of those long syllables on which the voice reposes in a harmonious close.

The two most essential requisites to good language are propriety and perspicuity."

1st. Propriety. It was early perceived that to express great ideas in abject terms, and mean

Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 16.

^m Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 592.

^o Id. ibid. cap. 15. ^p Id. ibid. cap. 4.

⁹ Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 49. t. i. p. 326.

Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 15.
Id. ibid. cap. 18.

^t Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 591. ^u Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 584.

thoughts in pompous expressions, was to clothe the chief magistrates in rags, and array in purple the dregs of the people: it was also perceived that the soul speaks a different language according as it is in motion or at rest; that an old man does not express himself like a youth, nor the inhabitants of the country like those of the city. Hence it follows, that the diction should vary according to the character of him who speaks, and that of those whom he addresses; according to the nature of the subject he treats, and the circumstances in which he may chance to be placed. It also follows, that the style of poetry, and that of oratory, history and dialogue, must essentially differ from each other; and even that in each of these kinds of style the manners and talents of an author must produce a sensible difference in his language."

2d. Perspicuity. An orator or a writer ought accurately to have studied the language in which he speaks or writes. If the rules of grammar are violated, it will be frequently difficult to understand his meaning. If he make use of ambiguous words, or useless circumlocutions, place improperly the conjunctions which connect the members of a sentence, confound the plural with the singular, disregard the distinction which has

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 591.

Id. ibid. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 594. Demetr. Phaler, de Elocut. cap. 19. Cicer. Orat. cap. 20. t. i. p. 436.

² Cicer. Orat. cap. 11. p. 428.

been established in these modern times between masculine and feminine nouns, employ the same expression to signify the impressions received by two different senses,* distribute at random, after the manner of Heraclitus, the words of a sentence so that the reader cannot guess at the punctuation intended by the author; all these defects will equally contribute to the obscurity of his style; which will be still more increased if the profusion of ornaments and the length of the periods bewilder the attention of the reader, and do not suffer him to take breath, or if, by a too great rapidity of expression, the thought escapes him, like those racers who disappear in an instant from the eyes of the spectator.

Nothing contributes more to perspicuity than words in common use; but if their ordinary acceptation is never varied, the style will become familiar and creeping; it should be elevated by new turns and figurative expressions.

The movement of prose ought to be regulated by an easy rhythmus, and should avoid the too artificial cadence of poetry. The greater part

^a Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 588. Id. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 26. p. 632.

b Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 208.

e Id. ibid. cap. 202.

^{*} This has been done by Æschylus (in Prometh. v. 21). Vulcan says that Prometheus shall no more see the voice or figure of a man.

d Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Id. ibid. Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 591. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 8. t. i. p. 343. Id. Orat. cap. 20. p. 436; cap. 51. p. 463.

of critics exclude from it verse; and this interdiction is founded on a principle that ought never to be lost sight of, which is, that art should conceal itself; and an author who would move or persuade, ought not too openly to discover his intent. But prose which changes into verse betrays constraint and artifice. What! said I, if a verse should escape a writer in the warmth of composition, must it be rejected at the hazard of enfeebling the thought? If it has only the appearance of verse, replied Euclid, it should be retained, and it will be an embellishment; if it is regular, it should be broken, and its fragments will render the period more sonorous. Several writers, and Isocrates himself, have exposed their works to censure from having neglected this precaution.k

Glycera, when forming a garland, is not more attentive to the arrangement of colours than an author whose ear is delicate is to the harmony of sounds. On this subject numerous precepts have been given that I omit; but one question has arisen on which I have frequently heard disputes. May two words immediately follow each other, one of which ends and the other

⁸ Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 228.

h Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 184. Hermog. de Form.

Orat. lib. 2. t. i. p. 122.
i Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 183.

k Id. ibid. cap. 118. Hieronym. ap. Cicer. Orat. cap. 56. t. i. p. 468.

begins with the same vowel? Isocrates and his disciples carefully avoid this concurrence, as does Demosthenes frequently; but Thucydides and Plato rarely pay attention to it. Some critics rigorously forbid it; others accompany the law with restrictions, and maintain that an absolute prohibition would sometimes be detrimental to the gravity of the language.

I have heard speak, subjoined I, of different kinds of style; such as the noble, the grave, the simple, the agreeable, &c. Let us leave to rhetoricians, answered Euclid, the care of assigning to these their respective characters. I have indicated them all in two words. If the language be clear and proper, if an exact proportion be maintained between the words, the thoughts, and the subject, prothing more ought to be required.

If we reflect attentively on this principle we shall not be surprised at the following assertions. The eloquence of the bar differs essentially from that of the rostrum. An orator will be pardoned negligences and repetitions which would not be allowed in a writer. A discourse applauded in the general assembly shall not be endured in the closet, because the action and manner constitut-

¹ Cicer. Orat. cap. 44. t. i. p. 457.

^m Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 36. t. ii. p. 632. ⁿ Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 322 et 323.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 598. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 36.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 590.
 Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 597.

ed its principal merit; while another, written with the greatest care, shall not succeed in public, for want of the action suitable to a popular harangue. The language which seeks to dazzle us by its magnificence becomes excessively frigid when it is inharmonious, when the labour of the author is too apparent, and when, to use an expression of Sophocles, he violently inflates his cheeks to blow into a little flute.5 The style of some orators is insupportable from the multiplicity of verses and compound words which they borrow from poetry.t On the other hand, Alcidamas disgusts us by a profusion of redundant epithets, and Gorgias by the obscurity of his farfetched metaphors." The greater part of hyperboles infuse a mortal frigidity. Those authors are only to be ridiculed who confound a nervous with a forced style, and labour with contortions to bring forth expressions of genius. One of these, speaking of the rock which Polyphemus threw at the ship of Ulysses, says, "The goats were seen to feed undisturbed on the rock as it cleaved the air."x

I have often observed, replied I, the abuse of figures; and perhaps they ought to be entirely banished from prose, as has been done by some

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 597.

⁸ Longin. de Sublim. § 3.

Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 117.

[&]quot;Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 587.

^{*} Demetr. ibid. cap. 115.

modern authors.y Proper words, replied he, constitute the language of reason, and figurative expressions that of passion. Reason may design a picture, and wit scatter over it some slight ornaments, but it appertains to passion alone to give it motion and life. A soul which wishes us to share its emotions, calls all nature to its aid, and creates to itself a new language. By discovering among the objects that surround us features of resemblance or opposition, it rapidly accumulates figures, which may be reduced to a single one, which I call similitude. If I say, Achilles rushes on his adversary like a lion, I make a comparison; if I say, simply, that lion rushes, it is a metaphor. Achilles swifter than the wind, is an hyperbole. If his courage be contrasted with the cowardice of Thersites, an antithesis will be produced. Thus, the comparison places two objects near to each other, the metaphor confounds them, and the hyperbole and antithesis separate after having brought them together.

Comparisons are more suitable to poetry than prose; the hyperbole and antithesis more proper for funeral orations and panegyrics than popular harangues and pleadings; but metaphors are essential to every kind and style of language. They give an air of novelty to the most common

Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 67.

Aristot, Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 588.

Id. ibid. Demetr. Phaler, de Elocut. cap. 90.

idea.^b The reader remains for a moment in suspense, but soon discovers through the thin veil the relations, which were only concealed from him that he might enjoy the satisfaction of the discovery. Some time since surprise was excited when an author compared old age to straw; that straw which, once filled with grain, is become empty, and ready to be reduced to dust. But the emblem was adopted because it paints, at a single stroke, the transition from flourishing youth to barren and feeble decrepitude.

As the pleasures of the mind are only pleasures of surprise, and endure but for an instant, the same figure cannot be repeatedly employed with the same success, but will soon be confounded with common and appropriate terms, as has happened to many metaphors, which have been multiplied in all languages, and especially in ours. These expressions, a clear voice, rugged manners, and others similar, have lost their metaphorical value by becoming familiar.^d

A metaphor should, as much as possible, represent the object in action. Observe how all things are animated beneath the pencil of Homer; the spear *thirsts* for the blood of the enemy, and the dart is *impatient* to strike.

^b Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585,

e Id. ibid. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 593.

d Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 87 et 88.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 11. t. ii. p. 595.

In certain cases, metaphors which awaken agreeable ideas are to be preferred. Homer has said, rosy-fingered Aurora, because he had perhaps remarked that Nature sometimes diffuses over a beautiful hand tints of a rose-colour, which contribute to heighten its beauty. What would have become of his image, if he had said purple-fingered Aurora?

Each figure should preserve an accurate and manifest similitude. You no doubt recollect the consternation of the Athenians when Pericles said to them, "Our youth have fallen in battle. It is as if the year were deprived of the spring." Here the analogy is perfect, for youth is to the different periods of life what the spring is to the other seasons of the year.

This expression of Euripides, The oar, sovereign of the seas, has been with reason condemned, because so lofty a title is unsuitable to such an instrument. The expression of Gorgias, You reap in grief what you have sowed in shame, has likewise been condemned, no doubt, because the words to sow and reap have not hitherto been used in a figurative sense except by the poets. Lastly, Plato has been censured when, to express that a well-consti-

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 586.

⁸ Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 594. ^h Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 586. ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 587.

tuted city ought not to have walls, he has said, that the walls should be left to sleep lying on the ground.k

Euclid proceeded to enlarge on the different ornaments of discourse. He cited several happy transitions, fine allusions, ingenious thoughts, and repartees abounding in wit. He confessed that the greater part of these add nothing to our knowledge, and only show with what rapidity the mind can proceed to a conclusion without stopping at the intermediate ideas. He allowed likewise that certain modes of expression have been by turns approved and rejected by critics of equal abilities.

After having made a few remarks on the manner of regulating the voice and gesture, and reminding me that Demosthenes considered action as the first, second, and third quality of an orator, he added, Eloquence has every where assimilated itself to the character of the nation. The Greeks of Caria, Mysia, and Phrygia, are still rude and unrefined, and seem to admire only what resembles the luxury of the satraps, of whom they are the slaves. Their orators declaim with forced intonations, ha-

k Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t, ii. p. 773. Longin. de Sublim.

Aristot. ibid. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 596. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 271.

"Cic. de Clar. Orat. cap. 38. t. i. p. 368.

rangues overloaded with fastidious redundance; while the Spartans, with severe manners and a sound judgment, hold in profound contempt every species of ostentation; they say but a word, but sometimes that word contains a treatise on morals or politics.

Let a stranger listen to our ablest orators, or read our best writers, and he will soon be convinced that he is in the midst of a sensible, learned, and polished nation, abounding in wit and taste. He will every where find the same facility to discover the beauties most suitable to each subject, and the same discretion in their distribution; and he will constantly perceive that these are heightened by touches which awaken the attention, and graces which embellish reason.°

Even in the works in which the greatest simplicity reigns, how much will he be surprised to find a language that might be easily mistaken for the most common and usual, though it is separated from it by a very wide interval! And how great must be his astonishment to discover in it transcendant beauties, which he would never have perceived had he not vainly endeavoured to transfer them to his own writings!

^a Cicer. Orat. cap. 8. t. i. p. 425; cap. 18. p. 433.

[•] Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426. Id. de Opt. Gen. Orat, t. i. p. 451. Quinctil. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 373 et 395. P_Cicer, Orat. cap. 23. t. i. p. 438.

I now asked Euclid what author he would propose as a model of style. None in particular, replied he; but all in general. I shall name no one expressly, because those two of our writers who approach nearest to perfection, Plato and Demosthenes, sometimes err, the one by excess of ornament," and the other by defect of elevation. I say all in general, because by studying them, and comparing one with another, we may learn not only to give a colouring to our language, but may also acquire that pure and exquisite taste which directs and judges the productions of genius, a rapid sentiment which is become so widely diffused among us that it may be considered as the instinct of the nation.

You are well acquainted, indeed, with what contempt the Athenians reject whatever is incorrect or inelegant in a discourse, and how hastily they exclaim in their assemblies against an improper expression, or a false intonation, and what labour it costs our orators to satisfy ears so scrupulously delicate. They are offended, replied I, when the harmony is deficient, but not when decency is violated. Do they not continually revile each other with the most gross and filthy abuse? What are the means

^p Cicer. Orat. cap. 8. t. i. p. 425.

⁹ Cicer. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426.

Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 758.

Eschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412. Cicer. Orat. cap. 8. p. 426.

^t Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 205.

which some among them have employed to arrive at admiration and applause? The frequent use of the hyperbole, the glare of the antithesis, and all the gaudy ornaments of rhetoric, violent gestures, and frantic exclamations.

Euclid answered, that these extravagances were condemned by persons of sound judgment. But, replied I, are they by the Athenians in general? Every year, are not detestable dramatic pieces preferred, at the theatre, to those that possess the greatest excellence? Some transient success, said he, obtained by surprise or intrigue, cannot establish the reputation of an author. One proof, answered I, that good taste is not general among you is, that you still have bad writers. One, after the example of Gorgias, scatters with profusion through his prose all the embellishments of poetry; b another turns, smooths, rounds, and lengthens his periods, till we forget their beginning before we hear their conclusion.c Others carry their affectation to the most ridiculous absurdity; as, for instance, he who speaking of a centaur called him a man on horseback on himself.d

These authors, said Euclid, are like abuses

y Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 181.

* Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 4.

^e Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 4. d. Id. ibid. cap. 191.

x Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 597.

² Æschin. in Timarch. p. 264. Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 528.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584.

which insinuate themselves into every thing, and their triumphs like those dreams which leave behind them only regret. I exclude them, and their admirers likewise, from that nation of which I boast the taste, and which is only composed of enlightened citizens. These, sooner or later, must fix the decisions of the multitude, and you will not deny that they are more numerous among us than among any other people.

It appears to me, that eloquence has now arrived at its highest degree of improvement. Who can say what will be its fate hereafter? It is easy to foresee it, answered I. It will be enervated if you are subjected by any foreign power, and annihilated if philosophy should establish her dominion over you; but happily you are secure from the latter danger. Euclid perceived my idea, and requested me to explain it more at length. I will, replied I, on condition that you pardon me my eccentricities and paradoxes.

I understand by philosophy a reason transcendently enlightened; and I would ask you, whether those illusions which have entered into language, as well as into our passions, would not vanish at its appearance, like phantoms and shadows at the dawning of the day?

Lucian, in Hermot. t. i. cap. 2. p. 853.
Theophr. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 394.

² Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 344. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 214.

Let us take for our judge one of those genii which inhabit the celestial spheres, and whose sole nourishment is pure truth. Let us imagine him descended to earth, and that I place before him a discourse on morals. He will applaud the solidity of the principles, the clearness of the ideas, the strength of the proofs, and the propriety of the terms. Yet, nevertheless, say I, this discourse cannot succeed unless it be translated into the language of the orators. The members of this period must be rendered more symmetrical, and the words in this other differently arranged, to produce more agreeable sounds.h I have not always expressed myself with sufficient precision. My hearers would never pardon me for having distrusted their understanding. My style is too simple; I ought to have embellished it with luminous points.i What are those luminous points? asks the genius.—Hyperboles, comparisons, metaphors, and other figures, to exalt things above, or debase them below, their value.k

This language, no doubt, astonishes you; but we mortals are so constituted, that, to defend even the truth, it is necessary to employ fiction. I shall cite to you some of these figures, borrowed for the most part from the writings of

h Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 139.

¹ Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 25. t. i. p. 303. Id. Orat. cap. 25. p. 440. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 79. p. 402.

^k Quinctil. lib. 9. cap. 2. p. 5₄7.

the poets, who have given them in strong colours, and from whose works some orators transplant them into their prose. They are the ornament of an eulogium, of which the beginning is as follows:

I am about to render the name of my hero for ever celebrated among men. Stop, says the genius, Can you be certain that your work will be known and applauded in every age and country? No, answer I, but it is a figure. His ancestors, who were the eye of Sicily," fixed their abode near Mount Atna, the column of heaven." I hear the genius say, in a low voice, Heaven supported by a small rock in this insignificant globe called earth! What extravagance! Words sweeter than honey flow from his lips," they fall without interruption as the fleeces of snow descend on the plain. P What have words in common with honey and snow? says the genius. He has gathered the flower of music, and his lyre extinguishes the flaming thunderbolt." The genius surveys me with astonishment, and I continue: He has the mien and the prudence of Jupiter, the terrible aspect of Mars, and the strength of Neptune.s

I Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 71.

^m Pind. Olymp. 2. v. 17.

ⁿ Id. Pyth. 1. v. 36.

[·] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 249.

^p Id. ibid. lib. 3. v. 222.

⁹ Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 22.

¹ Id. Pyth. 1. v. 8.

[.] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 169 et 478. Eustath. t. i.

The number of beauties of which he has made the conquest equals the number of the leaves of the trees, and that of the waves which roll in succession to expire on the shore of the ocean. At these words the genius disappears, and wings his way toward the abodes of light.

Though it may be objected to you, said Euclid, that you have heaped together too many figures in this eulogium, I can admit that our exaggerations falsify our ideas as well as our sentiments, and that they give offence to a mind unaccustomed to them. But it is to be hoped that our reason will not remain in an eternal infancy. Do not flatter yourself, replied I; man would no longer bear a just proportion to the rest of nature, could he attain to the perfection of which he imagines himself capable.

Were our senses to become exquisitely acute, the palate would be unable to bear the impression of honey and milk, or the hand to rest on any body without feeling great pain; the scent of a rose would throw us into convulsions, the least noise rend the membrane of our ears, and our eyes would discover frightful wrinkles in the texture of the most beautiful skin. It is the same with the qualities of the mind; if that should acquire a more piercing discernment and more rigorous accuracy, how much must it be disgusted at the feebleness and impro-

Anacr. Od. 32.

priety of the signs which represent our ideas! It would no doubt create to itself another language; but what would become of that of the passions? What would become of the passions themselves under the absolute government of a reason so rigid and so pure? They and the imagination likewise would become extinct, and man would no longer be the same creature.

In the state in which he at present is, every production of his mind, his heart, and his hands, only announces his insufficiency and his wants. He is inclosed within narrow limits, and nature severely punishes him if he attempts to pass them. Do you imagine that by becoming civilised he has made any great advances toward perfection? What then has he gained? In the general order of society he has substituted laws made by men for those natural laws of which the gods are the authors; in manners, hypocrisy for virtue; in his pleasures, illusion for reality; and in politeness, ceremony for sentiment. His taste has been so corrupted by refinement, that he has found himself constrained to prefer, in the arts, those that are agreeable to those that are useful; in eloquence, the merit of style to that of the thought;" and in every thing, artifice to truth. I will venture to affirm it, the only superiority which enlightened

[&]quot; Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584.

nations have over us is, that they have brought to perfection the art of feigning, and found the secret to affix a mask on every countenance.

That this is the great aim of rhetoric I perceive by all that you have said, and to attain to it words are arrayed in pleasing colours. Far therefore from studying the precepts of such an art, I shall only regard the observation of Aristotle, who, when I once asked him by what marks a good work might be known, answered me, "If it is impossible to add any thing to it, or to take the least thing from it."

After this conversation, Euclid and I left the library, and took a walk toward the Lycœum. As we went he showed me a letter which he had just received from the wife of one of his friends, the orthography of which appeared to me faulty. Sometimes an i was written for an e, or a z for a d. I have always been surprised, said I, at this negligence of the Athenian ladies. They write, answered he, as they speak, and as words were formerly pronounced. Changes then, replied I, have taken place in your pronunciation? Very many, answered Euclid: formerly, for example, we said himera (day); afterward we said hémera, the first e close; and afterward hèmera, the first e open.

Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.

x Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 22.

Custom, to render certain words more sonorous, or more majestic, drops some letters and adds others: and these continued alterations deprive those who wish to make researches into the origin of the language of all hope of success.² Custom likewise condemns to oblivion many words which were formerly in common use, and which, perhaps, it would not be amiss to revive.

As we entered the first court of the Lycæum, our attention was excited by loud exclamations that proceeded from one of the halls of the gymnasium. The rhetorician Leon and the sophist Pythodorus were engaged in a violent dispute. We had great difficulty to make our way through the crowd. Come near, said the former to us: here is Pythodorus, who maintains that his art does not differ from mine, and that the object which we both have in view is to deceive those who listen to us. What effrontery from a man who ought to blush at the name of sophist!

That name, replied Pythodorus, was formerly honourable; it is that which those assumed who from the time of Solon to Pericles dedicated themselves to the study of wisdom, for that is its real import. Plato, wishing to ridicule some by whom it had been abused, rendered it con-

Plat, in Gorg. in Protag. in Hipp. &c.

² Lys. in Theomn. p. 18. Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 414. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 234.

temptible among his disciples. Yet do I see it every day applied to Socrates, whom you no doubt respect, and to the orator Antiphon, whom you profess to esteem. But the present question is not merely concerning a name; I here lay it down in your presence, and am prepared, without other interest than that of truth, or other aid than that of reason, to prove to you that the rhetorician and the sophist employ the same means to arrive at the same end.

I can scarcely restrain my indignation, exclaimed Leon. What! shall vile mercenaries, shall mere workmen in words, who accustom their disciples to arm themselves with sophisms and quibbles, and to defend indifferently either side of a question, shall these have the effrontery to compare themselves to those respectable men who defend the cause of innocence at the bar, demonstrate the true interests of the state in the popular assembly, and essentially benefit mankind by the discourses they pronounce in honour of virtue? I do not compare men, said Pythodorus; I speak of the art they profess. We shall soon see whether these respectable men be not more to be dreaded than the most dangerous sophists.

Will you not grant me that both your disciples

Eschin. in Timarch. p. 287.

^c Xenoph. Memor, lib. 1. p. 729. ^d Mnesarch. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 18. t. i. p. 148.

and mine, little solicitous to arrive at truth, commonly stop short at probability? —Yes; but the former found their reasonings on great probabilities, and the latter on frivolous appearances. —And what do you understand by probable? —That which appears such to all, or the greater part of men. —Consider well your answer; for it will follow from it, that those sophists who by their eloquence have obtained the suffrages of a nation have advanced only probable propositions. —They can only dazzle the multitude; the wise will not be misled by the illusion.

Must we then, asked Pythodorus, appeal to the tribunal of the sages, to know whether a thing is probable or not?—No doubt, replied Leon; and I add to my definition, that, in certain cases, that only ought to be considered as probable which is acknowledged to be such by the greater number of sages, or at least by the best informed and most discerning among them.—It happens then, sometimes, that it is so difficult to know what is probable, that it even escapes the greater part of sages, and can only be perceived by the most discerning?—Well—And when you hesitate concerning the reality of these probabilities, which are imperceptible to almost all the world, do you repair

^e Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 514 et 517; lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

cap. 1. p. 584.

f Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180.

g Id. ibid.

to this small number of men of superior knowledge and discernment to consult them?—No; I rely on my own judgment, and presume what their decision would be. But what conclusion do you draw from these tiresome subtleties?

You see, continued Pythodorus, that you make no scruple to adopt an opinion which you have decided to be probable by your own authority, and that deceitful probabilities suffice to determine the orator as well as the sophist. —But the former is sincere, the other not. —They then only differ by intention; and this in fact has been confessed by philosophical writers. I will endeavour, however, to deprive you of this advantage.

You accuse the sophists of maintaining indifferently either side of a question; but I would ask you whether rhetoric as well as logic does not lay down rules successfully to defend two contrary opinions. —I grant it; but we exhort the young pupil not to make an improper use of these rules. He ought to know them, that he may be able to avoid the snares that an artful enemy may prepare for him. —That is to say, after you have put into the hands of a youth

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 581.

¹ Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514. ^k Id. ibid. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 7 et 53. t. i. p. 199 et 243.

¹ Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 457.

m Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t, ii. p. 514.

a poniard and a sword, you say to him: When the enemy shall press you closely, and you find yourself strongly urged by interest, ambition, and the desire of vengeance, strike with one of these weapons, but make no use of the other, even though you were certain it would gain you the victory. I should admire this moderation; but to be certain whether he will really exercise it, let us follow him to the combat, or rather permit me to lead you to it myself.

Let us suppose that you are to conduct the prosecution of a man whose crime is not proved; and suffer me to recall to your memory the precepts which the teachers of your art every day inculcate to their pupils. I shall say to you: Your first object is to persuade; and to effect this persuasion, you must please, and move the passions. You have wit and abilities, and are in possession of the highest reputation. Let us derive profit from these advantages: they have already inspired your hearers with confidence in you, which you will increase by interspersing through the exordium, and the following parts of your discourse, maxims of justice and probity;

^a Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. i. p. 293.

^a Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515. ^b Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584. Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1. t. i. p. 541. Quinctil. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 154.

^q Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

^r Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 547. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 650.

⁶ Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 530, &c.

but especially by flattering your judges, whose knowledge, sense, and equity, you would be careful to extol. Neglect not the suffrages of the assembly; it will be easy for you to obtain them. Nothing so easy, said Socrates, as to praise the Athenians in the midst of Athens; conform to their taste, and represent every thing as praise-worthy which they are inclined to honour.

According to the nature of your cause, give to the defects or good qualities of the two parties the colours of the virtues or vices on which they border. Place in the most advantageous light the real or imaginary merit of him for whom you speak. Excuse his failings, or rather declare they are the excess of virtue. Transform insolence into greatness of mind, temerity into courage, prodigality into liberality, the transports of anger into expressions of frankness, and you will dazzle and mislead your judges.*

As the noblest privilege of rhetoric is to embellish and disfigure, to magnify and diminish all objects, fear not to paint your adversary in the blackest colours; dip your pen in gall; be careful to aggravate his smallest failings, to instil

^a Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532. x Id. ibid.

Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 37. t. ii. p. 643.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 568. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 298.

your venom into his best action, and to spread a gloomy shade over his character. Is he circumspect and prudent, say that he is suspicious and capable of treachery.

Some orators crown the victim before they give the fatal blow: they begin by bestowing praise on the adverse party, and, after having removed far from them all suspicion of insincerity, they at their leisure plunge the poniard in his heart. If you hesitate to employ this refinement in mischief, I can supply you with another weapon no less formidable. When your adversary shall overwhelm you with the weight of his arguments, instead of answering them, attack him with ridicule, and you will read his defeat in the eyes of your judges.

If he has only advised an act of injustice, affirm that he is more culpable than if he had committed it; if he has merely followed the suggestions of another, maintain that the action is more criminal than the advice. This I have seen done, not long ago, by one of our orators,* in his pleadings on two different causes.^d

² Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 4 et 7. t. ii. p. 617 et 620.

^a Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 602. • Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 606. Cicer. Orat. cap. 26.

p. 441. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 54. p. 244.

* Leodamas prosecuting the orator Callistratus, and afterwards Chabrias the general.

Aristot. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. cap. 7. p. 527.

If the written laws are expressly against you, have recourse to the law of nature, and show that it is more equitable than any written laws; but if the latter are favourable to your cause, insist with all your force that the judges cannot dispense with them under any pretext.

Your adversary, confessing his fault, may perhaps allege that he committed it through ignorance, or by accident; maintain that it was the consequence of a premeditated design. Does he offer an oath as a proof of his innocence, say, without hesitation, that he only means to evade justice by perjury: but if you propose to confirm by an oath what you are about to advance, declare that no act can be more religious or more noble than to commit our cause into the hands of the gods.

If you have no witnesses, endeavour to show that this kind of evidence is uncertain and unimportant; if you have, use every argument to prove its weight and value.

Is it advantageous to you that the slaves of the adverse party should be put to the torture, maintain that this is the strongest of all proofs; but would you wish to prevent yours from being

Aristot. ibid. p. 544. Quinctil. ibid. cap. 7.

^e Aristot. Rhetor. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 543. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 296,

f Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 618. Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 546. Quinctil. lib. 5. cap. 6.

subjected to the same trial, say that it is the most uncertain and most dangerous of all.

These means facilitate the victory, but it is necessary to ensure it. During the whole action rather lose sight of your cause than of your judges; till you have subdued them you cannot triumph over your adversary. Inspire them with esteem and compassion for your client; let grief be painted in your countenance, and manifest in the accents of your voice. If they shed a tear, if you see the balance of justice tremble in their hands, fall on them with all the ardour of eloquence, associate their passions with yours, excite against your enemy their contempt, their indignation, their anger; and if he be distinguished by his employments and his riches, awaken also their jealousy, and incline it toward that hatred by which it is ever closely followed.1

All these precepts, Leon, are so many heads of accusation against the art which you profess. We may judge of the effects they produce from the alarming answer of a celebrated advocate of Byzantium, whom I asked not long ago,

ⁱ Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. i. p. 545. Quinctil. lib. 5. cap. 4.

A Alexand. cap. 37. p. 646. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 44. p. 234. Id. Orat. cap. 37 et 38. p. 451. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 290.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 562. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 648. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 51. t. i. p. 240.

what the laws in his country had ordained in certain cases. What I please, replied he.^m

Leon endeavoured to throw entirely on the orators the reproaches which Pythodorus had cast on rhetoric. No, replied the latter, with warmth, the question is concerning the inherent mischiefs of this fatal art. I only recall to your memory what is found in every treatise on rhetoric, what is every day practised by our most esteemed orators, and the lessons which our ablest teaches inculcate, and which both you and I have learned in our infancy.

Let us enter the places in which youth are initiated into the art of oratory, in the same manner as stage-players or athletæ are prepared for their exhibitions or their combats. Observe what attention is paid to their looks, their voice, their attitude, their gesture. With what labour are they taught, sometimes to mix the false colours with which they are to embellish their language, and sometimes perfidiously to unite treachery with force! What imposture! what barbarity! Are these the ornaments of eloquence? Is this the retinue of innocence and truth? I believe myself in their asylum, and I find myself in a fearful haunt, in which the most subtle poisons are distilled, and the most mur-

Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 297.
 Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584. Cicer. Orat.
 cap. 18. t. i. p. 434.

derous weapons forged: and, what is yet more strange, these weapons and these poisons are sold under the protection of government, and those who make the most cruel use of them rewarded with admiration and power.

I have not wished to extract the poison concealed in almost all the lessons of our rhetoricians. But tell me, what is the tendency of that principle of which I have already spoken, and on which the whole edifice of rhetoric is founded—I mean, that we should be able powerfully to move the passions of our judges? Why, just heaven! should we move those whose emotions it would be our duty to calm, and to whom tranquillity of mind can never be more necessary? What! while it is universally acknowledged that the passions pervert the judgment, and change in our sight the very nature of things,° it is prescribed to an orator to rouse the passions in his own mind, and excite those of his hearers and his judges! P yet have my opponents the effrontery to maintain that an equitable decision may be the result of so many impetuous and disorderly emotions.

Let us repair to the places in which are discussed the great interests of the state. What

[°] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 515; lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 547.

P Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 590. Cicer. Orat. cap. 38. t. i. p. 451.

shall we find there? The thunders and lightnings of the rostrum employed to inflame the most violent of the passions, and to produce the most destructive ravages; a simple people, who come thither to seek the praises which inspire them with insolence, and emotions which render them unjust; and orators who incessantly warn us to be on our guard against the eloquence of their adversaries. Eloquence therefore is highly dangerous? Yet it is that alone by which we are governed, and ruin awaits the state.

There is another kind of rhetoric which those orators cultivate whose whole merit is to employ the most evident falsehoods and the most extravagant hyperboles to celebrate ordinary and frequently despicable men. When this species of adulation was introduced, virtue should have renounced panegyric. But I shall not speak of these vile productions; let those who can endure to read them deal out their praise or their censure.

It hence follows that justice is incessantly insulted in her sanctuary, the state in our general assemblies, and truth in panegyrics and funeral orations. Certainly it may with great reason be said that rhetoric has been brought to perfection in our time, for I defy all succeeding ages to add a single degree of atrocity to its mischiefs.

^q Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 466. Cicer. pro Flacc. cap. 7. t. v. p. 244.

At these words an Athenian, who had long prepared himself one day to harangue the people, said, with a disdainful smile, Pythodorus then condemns eloquence? No, replied he, but I condemn that rhetoric which necessarily occasions its abuse. You have no doubt your reasons, replied the former, to proscribe the graces of language; yet it has always been and always will be said that an orator ought to insinuate himself into the favour of those whom he addresses by delighting their ears. And I shall always say, replied Pythodorus, or rather reason and probity will always reply, that the noblest function, and the only duty, of an orator, is to enlighten and inform his judges.

And how would you have them enlightened and informed? impatiently replied another Athenian, who was indebted to the address of his advocates for the gaining of several law-suits. As they are in the Areopagus, replied Pythodorus, where the orator, without emotion and without passions, contents himself with a statement of facts the most simple and unadorned possible; as they are in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and in other republics, where the orator is forbidden to address the passions of his hearers; and as they were formerly among us, when the

Orat. cap. 21. p. 354. Id. Orat. cap. 44. p. 456, &c.
Lys. adv. Simon. p. 88. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1.
t. ii. p. 512.

^{*} Cicer de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1. t. i. p. 541. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 21. p. 354. Id. Orat. cap. 44. p. 456. &c.

Aristot. ibid. Sext. Empir, adv. Rhetor, lib. 2. p. 292.

parties, obliged to defend each his own cause, were unable to avail themselves of discourses composed by eloquent pens."

I return to my first proposition: I have affirmed that the art of the rhetoricians is not essentially distinct from that of the sophists; I have proved my assertion by showing that both, not only in their effects, but also in their principles, tend to the same end by means equally insidious. If there is any difference between them, it is that the orator applies himself more to inflame, and the sophist to calm, our passions.

I perceive that Leon is ready to thunder upon me with all the pompous and menacing apparatus of rhetoric; but I must request him to confine himself to the question, and to consider that the strokes which he shall aim at me must fall at the same time on many excellent philosophers. I might indeed have cited in my favour the testimonies of Plato and Aristotle; but these great authorities are useless when I am able to adduce such solid arguments in proof of what I have advanced.

Pythodorus had scarcely ended, when Leon undertook the defence of rhetoric; but, as it was late, we determined to retire.

ⁿ Cicer, de Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 346. Quinctil. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 123. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 304. ^x Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 520.

y Cicer. Orat. cap. 19. t. i. p. 434.

² Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 463, &c. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 581; lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

NOTES.

NOTE I. CHAP. XXXIX. Page 1.

On the Residence of Xenophon at Scillus.

SHORT time before the battle of Mantinea, in the year 362 before Christ, the Eleans destroyed Scillus, and Xenophon retired to Corinth, (a) where I place him in the ninth chapter of this work. An ancient author affirms that he there ended his days. (b) But, according to Pausanias, his tomb was preserved in the district of Scillus; (c) and Plutarch assures us, that, in this retreat, Xenophon composed his history, (d) which comes down to the year 357 before Christ. (e) We may therefore suppose, that, after having resided some time at Corinth, he returned to Scillus, where he passed the latter years of his life.

(a) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 53.
(b) Demetr. Magn. ap. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 56.
(c) Pausan. lib. 5. p. 389.
(d) Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605.
(e) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 601. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418

NOTE II. CHAP. XL. Page 31.

On the three Elegies relative to the Wars of the Messenians.

PAUSANIAS (f) has given a long account of these wars, from Myron of Priene, who wrote in prose, and Rhianus of Crete, who composed in verse, (g) Following the example of the latter, I have adopted a kind of style that approaches to poetry; but instead of making with Rhianus a sort of poem of which Aristomenes (h) was the hero, I have preferred the form of an elegy-a form which required not the display of some great action as that of the epopæia does, and which the most ancient authors often chose to record the calamities of nations. It was thus that Tyrtæus in his elegies described, in part, the wars of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians; (i) Callinus, those which in his time distressed Ionia; (k) and Mimnermus, the battle which the people of Smyrna fought against Gyges, king of Lydia. (1)

I have therefore supposed that the Messenians, sheltered in the retreats of Libya, and recalling to memory the disasters of their country, had composed three elegies on the three wars which had laid it waste. I have related the principal facts as accurately as possible; but I have ventured to interweave in the narrative ome fictions for which I request indulgence.

⁽f) Pausan. lib. 4.
(g) Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 293.
(i) Id. ibid. p. 294; cap. 13. p. 312; cap. 14. p, 313; cap. 15. p. 315.

⁽k) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettres, t. vii. p. 365. (l) Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 29. p. 766.

NOTE III. CHAP. XL. Page 53.

On the Foundation of Messina in Sicily.

PAUSANIAS tells us, that after the taking of Eira, that is, about the year 668 before Christ, the Messenians, under the conduct of Gorgus, son of Aristomenes, went into Italy, and joined their arms with those of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, drove out the inhabitants, and gave to that city the name of Messena (at present Messina). (m)

This account is directly contrary both to that of Herodotus and that of Thucydides. According to the former, Darius, son of Hystaspes, having subdued Ionia, which had revolted against him, the people of Samos, and some of the inhabitants of Miletus, retired to Sicily, where, by the advice of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, they seized on the city of Zancle. (n) The date of this event is toward the year 495 before Christ, and posterior by about 173 years to the time at which Pausanias places the reign of Anaxilas, and the change of the name of Zancle into that of Messena.

Thucydides relates, that a body of Samians and other Ionians, driven from their country by the Medes, seized on Zancle in Sicily. that, not long after, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made himself master of this city, and gave it the name of Messena, because he was himself originally from Messena. (o)

⁽m) Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 335. (n) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 22 et 23.

⁽o) Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 4 et 5.

Father Corsini, who had at first suspected that there might have been two princes of the name of Anaxilas, (p) has acknowledged, on further examination, that Pausanias has mistaken the time. (q) It is manifest, indeed, from various circumstances, that Anaxilas reigned at the time of the battle of Marathon, or about the year 490 before Christ. I shall only add two observations to those of Father Corsini.

1st, Before this battle, there had been a revolt in Messenia, which, in part, prevented the Lacedæmonians from being present at the battle. (r) It succeeded no better than the former had done, and it was then, no doubt, that the Messenians, after their defeat, took refuge with Anaxilas of Rhegium, whom they induced to seize on the city Zancle, which afterward bore the name of Messena.

2dly, If it were true, as Pausanias affirms, that this city had changed its name immediately after the second war of Messenia, it would follow that the ancient coins on which we read Dancle, must be anterior to the year 668 before Christ, which their fabric will not permit us to suppose.

NOTE IV. CHAP. XLI. Page 85.

On the Number of the Tribes of Sparta.

In almost all the great cities of Greece, the citizens were divided into tribes. At Athens, there were ten tribes. Cragius (s) supposes Lacedæmon to have

(s) De Rep. Laced. lib. 1. cap. 6-

⁽p) Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 140.
(q) Id. ibid. p. 155.
(r) Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

contained six, viz. those of the Heraclidæ, the Ægidæ, the Limnatæ, the Cynosuræans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ. The existence of the first of these is not proved by any express testimony; Cragius has only founded it on very feeble conjectures, and I have therefore rejected it.

The five other tribes are expressly mentioned in authors, or on ancient monuments; that of the Ægidæ, in Herodotus; (t) those of the Cynosuræans and Pitanatæ, in Hesychius; (u) that of the Messoatæ, in Stephen of Byzantium; (x) and lastly, that of the Limnatæ, in an inscription which the Abbé Fourmont discovered among the ruins of Sparta. (y) Pausanias mentions four of these tribes, when he tells us that at the celebration of a sacrifice which had been offered to Diana from the earliest times, a dispute arose between the Limnatæ, the Cynosuræans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ. (z)

It may be here asked, whether, because we find no mention of more than these five tribes, it follows that they should therefore be confined to that number. I answer, that we have very strong presumptive reasons why they should not be increased. We have seen above, that there were at Athens several bodies, consisting each of ten magistrates chosen from the ten tribes. In the same manner, we find at Sparta several magistracies, exercised each by five public officers; as that of the Ephori, that of the Bidiæi, (a) and that of the Agathoergi, (b) and we

⁽t) Lib. 4. cap. 149. (u) In Κυνος, et in Πιτανάτ. (y) Inscript. Fourmont. in Biblioth. Reg. Fran. (x) In Miso.

⁽a) Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 249. (a) Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 231.

⁽b) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 67.

have reason to believe that each tribe furnished one of these officers.

NOTE V. SAME CHAP. Page 85.

On the Plan of Lacedamon.

I HAVE ventured, after the feeble lights which have been transmitted to us by ancient authors, to present the reader with some general ideas on the topography of Lacedæmon.

According to Thucydides this city did not form one continued whole, like that of Athens, but was divided into towns or hamlets, as were the ancient cities of Greece. (c)

Rightly to understand this passage we must recollect that the earliest inhabitants of Greece first settled in towns without walls, and that, in the sequel, they united a number of these towns by one common enclosure. Of this we have numerous examples. Tegea was composed of nine such hamlets, (d) Mantinea of four or five, (e) Patræ of seven, Dyme of eight, (f) &c.

The inhabitants of these towns, when thus united, did not intermingle with each other; they dwelt in different quarters, and formed different tribes; in consequence of which the same name signified the tribe and the quarter in which it was situate. My proofs for Lacedæmon in particular are as follow:

⁽c) Thucyd lib. 1. cap. 10.
(d) Pausan lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 692.
(e) Kenoph. Hist. Græc, lib. 5. p. 553. Ephor. ap, Harpocr. in Mayriy. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. (f) Strab. lib. 8. p. 337.

Cynosura, says Hesychius, is a tribe of Laconia; (g) it is a place in Laconia, says the scholiast on Callimachus. (h) According to Suidas, Messoa was a place; (i) according to Stephen of Byzantium, it was a place and a tribe of Laconia (k) According to Strabo, (1) whose text has been happily restored by Salmasius, (m) Messoa made a part of Lacedæmon; and lastly, Pitane is sometimes called a tribe (n) and sometimes a town. (0)

We now easily understand why some writers say that the poet Alcman was of Messoa, and others that he was of Lacedæmon; (p) we also conceive why a Spartan named Thrasybulus, having been killed in a battle, Plutarch does not say that he was brought home on his buckler to Lacedamon, but to Pitane, (q) because he was of that borough, and was there to be buried.

We have seen, in a preceding note, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes; their capital must then have been composed of five hamlets; it therefore only remains for me to justify the position I have assigned to each in my plan.

1st, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE LIMNATE. Their name was derived from the Greek word Alury, which signifies a lake or marsh. According to Strabo the suburb of Sparta was called the marshes, because

⁽g) Hesych in Κυνος.
(h) Hymn in Dian. v. 94.
(i) Suid in Μεσσ.

⁽k) Steph. in Meor. (l) Strab. lib. 8. p. 364. Casaub, ibid. (m) In Plinian. Exercit, p. 825.

⁽n) Hesych. in Ilitav.

⁽⁹⁾ Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20. (p) Salmas, ibid. Meurs, Miscell. Lacon. lib. 4. cap. 17. (q) Plut, Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235.

that place had formerly been a morass. (r) But the suburb of Sparta must have been to the northward of the city, because travellers most frequently entered it on that side.

2dly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE CYNOSURÆ-ANS. The word Cynosura signifies the tail of a dog. It was a name usually given to promontories or mountains which had that form. A branch of Mount Taygetus, of this figure, extended to Sparta, and we have shown that there was in Laconia a place called Cynosura. We are therefore authorized to conjecture that the hamlet which bore this name was near that branch of Mount Taygetus.

3dly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE PITANATE. Pausanias, leaving the forum, takes his way toward the west, passes before the theatre, and afterward comes to the hall in which the Crotani, who made a part of the Pitanatæ, assembled. (s) This hamlet must then be placed in front of the theatre, the position of which is known, since vestiges of it still remain. This is confirmed by a passage in Hesychius, and another in Herodotus, which show that the theatre was in the hamlet of the Pitanatæ. (t)

4thly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE MESSOATÆ. From the hamlet of the Pitanatæ, Pausanias proceeds to the Platanistas, (u) which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Therapne. Near the Platanistas he finds the tomb of the poet Alcman, (x) who being of Messoa, must have been there buried.

⁽r) Strab. lib. 8. p. 263. (s) Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14, p. 240, (t) Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 67. Hesych. in Патачат. (u) Pausan. ibid. p. 242.

⁽x) Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 244.

5thly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE ÆGIDÆ. Pausanias next conducts us to the town or hamlet of the Limnatæ, (1) which we have placed in the northern part of the city. On his way he finds the tomb of Ægeus, (z) who gave his name to the tribe of the Ægidæ. (a)

I have not surrounded all these hamlets with an enclosure, because, in the times of which I treat, Sparta had no walls.

The temples and other public edifices have been placed nearly in the positions assigned to them by Pausanias. In this particular a rigorous precision cannot be expected; the principal object was to give a general idea of this celebrated city.

NOTE VI. CHAP. XLII. Page 97.

On the Manner in which the Spartans treated the Helots.

THE Lacedæmonians, alarmed at the loss of Pylos, which had been taken from them by the Athenians, resolved to send fresh troops to Brasidas, who was then in Thrace. For this they had two motives; the first to continue to make a diversion which might draw the arms of Athens into distant countries, and the other to enlist, and send away for Thrace, a body of those Helots whose youth and valour incessantly inspired them with well-founded fears. Liberty was therefore promised to those among them who should

⁽y) Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 248. (z) Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 245. (a) Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 149.

be found most to have distinguished themselves in the preceding wars. A great number claimed the proffered reward, and two thousand were chosen from among them, with whom the state kept its word. They were crowned with flowers, and conducted in solemn procession to the temples, which was the principal ceremony of enfranchisement. A short time after, says Thucydides, they all disappeared, and no person ever knew in what manner they were thus, to a man, destroyed. (b) Plutarch, who has copied Thucydides, remarks also that it was not known at the time, nor has ever yet been discovered, by what kind of death these two thousand men perished. (c)

Lastly, Diodorus Siculus asserts that their masters, received orders to put them to death within their houses. (d) But how could be be informed of a circumstance with which such an historian as Thucydides, who lived at the time when this barbarous massacre was perpetrated, was unacquainted?

Whatever the truth may be, we have here two facts which ought carefully to be distinguished, because they originate from two different causes; the one the enfranchisement of two thousand Helots, and the other the death of these Helots. Liberty was certainly granted them by order of the senate and the people; but it is also certain that they were not put to death by a decree enacted by the supreme power. No nation would have sanctioned so black an act of perfidy; and, in this particular case, it is manifest that the assembly of the Spartans

⁽b) Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80. (c) Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 56. (d) Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117.

only emancipated these Helots to arm and send them into Thrace. The ephori, about the same time, sent away a thousand other Helots to the army of Brasidas. (e) As these detachments sometimes left Sparta in the night, (f) the people might suppose that the two thousand men, who had been freed from servitude, had been sent to their place of destination; and when they discovered their mistake, it might be easy to persuade them that the magistrates, being in possession of proofs that they had conspired against the state, had privately put them to death, or had contented themselves with banishing them from the territories of the republic. It is impossible that we should now be able satisfactorily to elucidate a fact, which, in the time of Thucydides, was enveloped with obscurity; it is sufficient that I have shown that this crime ought not to be imputed to the nation, but rather to the false policy of the ephori then in office, who, possessing more power and less virtue than their predecessors, no doubt pretended that every thing is lawful when the safety of the state is in question; for it must be observed, that the principles of justice and morality were then beginning to be corrupted.

Other cruelties exercised by the Lacedæmonians on the Helots are also related. An author, named Myron, affirms that, incessantly to remind them they were slaves, they annually received a number of stripes with a whip. (g) Now there were perhaps a hundred thousand Helots in Laconia and Messenia; let any one, therefore, reflect for a moment on

⁽e) Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117. (f) Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 10. (g) Myr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.

the absurdity of this project, and the difficulty of executing it, and then say what credit is to be given to this tale. The same author adds, that a punishment was inflicted on those masters who did not mutilate such of their Helots as were born with a strong constitution of body. (h) But can we believe that all those Helots who were enrolled as soldiers, and served with so much distinction in the army, were maimed and cripples?

It happens but too often that we judge of the manners of a people from particular examples which have made impression on a traveller, or been related to an historian. When Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, to inspire their children with an aversion for drunkenness, brought before them a Helot who had been deprived of his reason by wine; (i) I cannot but doubt that he has taken a particular case for a general rule; or at least that he has, on this occasion, confounded the Helots with the domestic slaves, the condition of whom was very inferior to that of the former. But I give entire credit to Plutarch, when he assures us that the Helots were forbidden to sing the poetry of Aleman and Terpander, (k) because this poetry inspiring the love of glory and liberty, it was the part of sound policy to forbid its recital to men whose courage there was so much reason to fear.

⁽h) Myr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657. Spanh. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 4.

⁽i) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. (k) Id. in Lycurg. ibid.

NOTE VII. CHAP. XLV. Page 126.

On the Institution of the Ephori at Sparta.

THE greater part of authors ascribe the institution of these magistrates to Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus. Such is the opinion of Aristotle, (1) Plutarch, (m) Cicero, (n) Valerius Maximus, (0) and Dion Chrysostom. (p) To this list may be added Xenophon, who seems to attribute the origin of the ephori to the principal citizens of Lacedæmon; (q) and Eusebius, who, in his Chronicle. places it at the time when Theopompus reigned. (r)

Two other testimonies deserve the more attention, as they contain tolerably precise dates. According to Plutarch, king Cleomenes III. thus addressed the general assembly of Lacedæmon: "Lycurgus con-"tented himself with joining in authority with the "two kings a body of senators. During a long time, "the republic knew no other magistracy. But the " war of Messenia (in the time of Theopompus) con-"tinuing to be protracted, the kings thought it their "duty to confide the care of administering justice to "the ephori, who at first were only their officers. "But, in the sequel, the successors of these magis-"trates usurped the authority, and one of them, " named Asteropus, rendered them independent." (s)

⁽l) De Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.
(m) In Lycurg. t.i. p. 43. Id. ad Princ. Inerud. t. ii. p. 779.
(n) De Leg. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. iii. p. 164.
(o) 1.ib. 4. cap. 1. extern. No. 8.
(p) Orat. 56. p. 565.
(q) De Rep. Laced. p. 683.
(r) Eyesp. Chron. lib. 2. p. 151. Freret. Defens. de la Ch.

⁽r) Euseb. Chron. lib. 2. p. 151. Freret. Defens. de la Chronol. p. 171. (s) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.

Plato (t) enumerates three causes which at Lacedæmon have prevented the royal authority from becoming despotic. The two last are these: " A man " animated with a divine spirit (Lycurgus) limited "the power of the kings by that of the senate; af-"terward another saviour happily counterbalanced " the authority of the kings and senate by that of "the ephori." The saviour of whom Plato here speaks can only be Theopompus.

On the other side, Herodotus, (u) Plato, (x) and an ancient author, named Satyrus, (y) consider Lycurgus as the institutor of the ephori.

I answer that, according to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived soon after Plato, some writers attributed to Lycurgus all the regulations relative to the government of Lacedæmon. (z) The two passages of Plato which I have cited are a sufficient example of this. In his eighth letter, (a) he advances in general that Lycurgus instituted the senators and the ephori, while, in his treatise on laws, (b) where he has more circumstantially related the fact, he ascribes to these two bodies of magistrates two different origins.

The authority of Satyrus would have no weight with me, if it were not corroborated by that of Herodotus. I shall not say with Marsham, (c) that the word ephori has crept into the text of the latter author; but I shall say that his testimony may be reconciled with the accounts given by others writers. (d)

⁽t) De Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 691. (u) Lib. 1. cap (x) Epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. (y) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 68. (z) Heraclid. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. (a) Plat. epist. 8. t. iii. p. 354. (b) Plat. t. ii. p. 691. (c) Chron. Egypt. p. 509. (d) Frer. Defens. de la Chronol. p. 170. (u) Lib. 1. cap. 61.

It appears that the office of the ephori was a magistracy that had long been known to several of the states of Peloponnesus, and, among others, to the Messenians. (e) It must have been so likewise to the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, since the ephori raised the people against Lycurgus on account of his new laws. (f) Besides, Lycurgus had in some measure modelled the constitution of Sparta after that of Crete; and the Cretans had certain principal magistrates who were named Cosmi, and whom Aristotle compares to the ephori of Lacedæmon. (g) In fine, the greater part of the authors I have cited do not speak of the office of the ephori as a magistracy newly instituted by Theopompus; but as a curb by which that prince checked the power of the kings. It is therefore extremely probable that Lycurgus left the ephori, who were instituted before his time, in possession of several of their functions; and that Theopompus granted them prerogatives which afterwards caused the government to incline toward an oligarchy.

NOTE VIII. CHAP. XLVI. Page 153.

On the Division of Lands made by Lycurgus.

PLUTARCH mentions three opinions concerning this division. According to the first, Lycurgus divided all the estates of Laconia into thirty thousand portions, of which nine thousand were given to the

⁽e) Polyb. lib. 4. p. 273.
(f) Plut. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.
(g) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332.

inhabitants of Sparta. According to the second, he only bestowed on the Spartans six thousand portions, to which king Polydorus, who some time after terminated the first war of Messenia, added three thousand others. According to the third opinion, the Spartans received the one half of these nine thousand portions from Lycurgus, and the other half from Polydorus. (h)

I have followed the first of these opinions, because Plutarch, who had it in his power to consult many works which are now lost, seems to have given it the preference. I do not, however, absolutely reject the others. It appears in fact, that, in the time of Polydorus, an increase took place in the portions allotted to the Spartans. A fragment of the poems of Tyrtæus informs us that the people of Sparta then demanded a new division of lands. (i) It is also related, that Polydorus said, when he set out for Messenia, that he was going to a country which had not yet been divided. (k) In fine, the conquest of Messenia must have introduced an augmentation of fortune among the Spartans.

The examination of this question would lead me into discussions equally prolix and useless; I shall therefore proceed to make some observations on two inadvertencies which appear to have escaped two men, who have each done honour to their age and nation.

Aristotle says that the legislator of Lacedæmon acted wisely when he forbade the Spartans to sell their portions; but that he ought not to have per-

 ⁽h) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. i. p. 44.
 (i) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 396.
 (k) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.

mitted them to make a donation of them during their lifetime, or to bequeath them by will to whom they pleased. (u) I do not believe that Lycurgus ever granted them this permission. It was the ephorus Epitades, who, to deprive his son of his inheritance, caused the decree to be passed which has given occasion to the censure of Aristotle; (x) a censure the more extraordinary, as that philosopher wrote only a short time after the death of Epitades.

Solon had permitted a brother to marry his sister by the father's side, but not his uterine sister. M. de Montesquieu has satisfactorily proved that Solon intended by this law to prevent a husband and wife from uniting in themselves two inheritances, (y) which might happen if a brother and sister by the same mother should intermarry; because the one might succeed to the inheritance of the husband of the mother, and the other to that of the second husband. M. de Montesquieu observes that this law was conformable to the spirit of the Grecian republies, and mentions a passage of Philo, who says that Lycurgus permitted the marriage of children by the same mother. (z) To resolve this difficulty, M. de Montesquieu answers, that, according to Strabo, (a) when, at Lacedæmon, a sister married her brother, she brought him as a marriage portion the half of the inheritance to which the brother succeeded. But Strabo, in this place, speaks, after the historian Ephorus, of the laws of Crete, and not of those of Lacedæmon; and though he acknowledges, with that

⁽u) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 329. (x) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. (y) Esprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5. (a) Phil. de Spec. Jud. p. 779.

⁽a) Strab. lib. 10. p. 482.

historian, that the latter are in part derived from those of Minos, it does not follow that Lycurgus adopted that of which we now speak. I will further affirm, that he could not, in his system, assign as a marriage portion to the sister, the half of the inheritance of the brother, since he had forbidden all marriage portions.

Even supposing that the law mentioned by Strabo was adopted at Lacedæmon, I do not think it can be applied to the passage in Philo. The author says, that, at Lacedæmon, it was permitted to marry the sister by the mother's side, but not the sister by the father's side; which M. de Montesquieu explains thus: "To prevent the property of the family of the "sister from passing into that of the brother, one "half of the property of the brother was given as a "marriage portion to the sister."

This explanation supposes two things: 1st, That a marriage portion must necessarily be given to the daughter, which is contrary to the laws of Lacedæmon; 2dly, That this sister renounced the inheritance of her father to share that her brother had received. To which I answer, that if the sister was an only daughter, she must succeed to the possessions of her father, and could not renounce them; if she had a brother by the same bed, he must inherit; and that, by marrying a brother by another bed, there was no danger of accumulating two inheritances.

If the law mentioned by Philo was founded on the division of possessions, to explain it in part will not be difficult; as, for instance, a mother who had by a former husband an only daughter, and by a second husband several sons, might, no doubt, marry that daughter to one of the younger sons by the second

marriage, because that son had no portion. In this sense, a Spartan might marry his uterine sister. If this was what Philo intended to say, I can easily understand him; but when he adds, that it was not permitted to marry a sister by the father's side, I can no longer understand him, because I can see no reason, derived from the division of possessions, why these kind of marriages should have been forbidden.

NOTE IX. CHAP. XLVII. Page 176.

On the Cryptia.

I HERE speak of the cryptia, which is commonly rendered by the word ambuscade, and almost always confounded with the chase of the Helots.

According to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived a short time before I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled in Greece, and to Plutarch, who did not live till long after, the youth of Lacedæmon were ordered from time to time to range over the country, armed with poniards, and, concealing themselves during the day in secret places, to sally forth at night, and murder such of the Helots as they might find in their way. (b)

Let us add to these two testimonies that of Aristotle, who, in a passage preserved by Plutarch, tells us that the ephori, when they entered on office, declared war against the Helots, that they might be murdered with impunity. (c) There is no proof that this decree was authorised by the laws of Lycurgus,

⁽b) Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc, t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. (c) Plut. ibid. p. 57.

but every thing tends to convince us that it was accompanied by correctives; for the republic could never declare an effective and constant war against men who alone cultivated and farmed the lands, who served in the armies, and on board the fleets, and who were often admitted into the number of citizens. The decree of the ephori could then have no other view than to exempt from punishment the Spartan who should have the misfortune to kill a Helot. But because a man has the power of life and death over another, it does not follow that he always makes use of that power.

Let us now examine, 1st, What was the object of the cryptia; 2dly, Whether the laws of Lycurgus instituted the chase of the Helots.

1st, Plato recommends, (d) that, in a well governed state, the youth, as soon as they were of sufficient age, should, during two years, range the country with arms in their hands, braving the rigours of summer and winter, leading a hardy life, and subjected to a strict discipline. Whatever name, adds he, we give to these youth, whether erypti or agronomi, that is, inspectors of the fields, they will gain a knowledge of the country, and learn to defend it. As the cryptia was only practised among the Spartans, it is evident that Plato has here described the nature of it; and of this the following passage will no longer permit us to doubt: it is from the same treatise as the preceding. (e) A Lacedæmonian, whom Plato introduces into his dialogue, expresses himself in these words: "We have an exercise " named cryptia, which is of wonderful use to fami-

⁽d) Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 763. (e) Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 633.

"in winter, bare-footed, to sleep without covering, to serve ourselves without the assistance of slaves, and rapidly to traverse the whole country both by inight and day."

The correspondence between these two passages is manifest. They describe very explicitly the object of the cryptia; and it ought to be observed that in them not a word is said of the chase of the Helots, which also is not mentioned in any of the works that still remain of Aristotle, nor in those of Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and many other writers of the same age, though they frequently speak of the revolts and desertions of the Helots, and censure, in more than one passage, the laws of Lycurgus, and the customs of the Lacedæmonians. I-insist the more on this negative proof, as some of these authors were Athenians, and lived in a republic which treated slaves with the greatest humanity. I think I may conclude from these remarks, that, until about the time when Plato wrote his treatise on laws, the cryptia was not employed to shed the blood of the Helots.

This was an expedition in which the youth of Lacedæmon accustomed themselves to military operations, ranged through the country, concealed themselves in ambuscade, with arms in their hands, as if an enemy were near, and leaving the place of their retreat during the night, repulsed those Helots whom they found in their way. I think it probable that, a short time after the death of Plato, the laws having lost their force, the Spartan youth killed those Helots who made too much resistance, and perhaps gave occasion to the decree of the ephori which I

have mentioned above. The abuse increasing from day to day, the cryptia was at length confounded with the chase of the Helots.

2dly, Let us now examine whether this chase was instituted by Lycurgus.

Heraclides of Pontus contents himself with saying that it was attributed to that legislator; but this is only a conjecture transmitted to us by that author, who was posterior to Plato. Nor does the following passage merit more attention. According to Plutarch, (f) Aristotle attributed the institution of the cryptia to Lycurgus; and as the historian, following the error of his time, confounds, in this place, the cryptia with the chase of the Helots, we have reason to suspect that Aristotle confounded them also; but this would be only a presumption. We are ignorant whether Aristotle, in the passage in question, explains the functions of the crypti, and it appears that Plutarch has only cited to refute him; for he says, some lines after, (g) that the origin of the cryptia, such as himself conceived it, must have been posterior to the laws of Lycurgus. Plutarch is not always accurate in his details of facts, and I could prove that, on this occasion, his memory has more than once misled him. These are all the authorities to which I had to answer.

By carefully distinguishing the times, every thing may be easily reconciled. According to Aristotle the cryptia was instituted by Lycurgus. Plato explains its object, and believes it to be extremely useful. When the manners of Sparta became corrupt-

⁽f) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. (g) Id. ibid. p. 57.

ed, the youth of Lacedæmon, we are told, abused this exercise to perpetrate horrid cruelties. I am so far from justifying these, that I suspect the accounts we have received of them to be exaggerated. Who has told us that the Helots had no means of defending themselves from these attacks? 1st, The time of the cryptia was perhaps fixed. 2dly, It must have been difficult for the youth of Lacedæmon to disperse themselves, without being perceived, over a country full of Helots, to whom it was of so much importance to watch their motions. 3dly, It is also not improbable that the individuals of Sparta, who derived their subsistence from the produce of their lands, would inform the Helots, their farmers, of the danger by which they were threatened. In all these cases the Helots had only to suffer the youth to make their excursion, and remain shut up in their houses during the night.

I have thought it proper to justify, in this note, the account I have given of the cryptia in the body of the work. I have also thought that it was by no means necessary to represent men as more wicked than they are, or to assert, without proof, that a wise legislator had commanded the perpetration of cruelties.

NOTE X. SAME CHAP. Page 177.

On the Choice of a Wife among the Spartans.

Authors differ concerning the customs of the states of Greece, because these customs have varied at different times. It appears that at Sparta marriages were contracted at the choice of the young couples, or that of their parents. I shall adduce as a proof the example of Lysander, who, before his death, had affianced his two daughters to two citizens of Lacedæmon. (h) I shall also cite the law which authorised the prosecution of any person who had contracted an improper marriage. (i) On the other hand, an ancient author, named Hermippus, (k) relates, that at Lacedæmon the girls who were to be married were shut up in a dark place, and that each young man took by chance her whom he was to To reconcile these different accounts, we marry. may conjecture that Lycurgus had in fact instituted the law mentioned by Hermippus, but that it afterwards fell into disuse. Plato has, in some manner, adopted it in his republic. (1)

⁽h) Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 451.(i) Id. ibid.

⁽k) Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 555.
(l) Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460.

NOTE XI. SAME CHAP. Same Page.

At what Age the Lacedæmonians married.

THE Greeks early knew the danger of premature marriages. Hesiod (m) says that the age of the man should not be too much under thirty; as to that of the woman, though the text is not clear, he seems to fix it at fifteen. Plato, in his republic, (n) requires that the men should not marry till the age of thirty, and fixes that of the women at twenty. According to Aristotle, (0) the men should be about thirty-seven, and the women about eighteen. I am of opinion, that the usual age at Sparta was thirty years for the men, and twenty for the women. This conjecture is supported by two reasons: 1st, It is the age prescribed by Plato, who has frequently copied the laws of Lycurgus. 2dly, The Spartans had not a right to vote in the general assembly till the age of thirty, (p) which seems to suppose that before that time they could not be considered as heads of families.

NOTE XII. CHAP. XLIX. Page 217.

On the Festivals of Hyacinth.

Among the inscriptions which the Abbé Fourmont discovered in Laconia, (q) there are two which are of the seventh, and perhaps even of the end of the eighth century before Christ, in which, to the

⁽m) Hesiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 695.

⁽n) Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460.

⁽o) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 446. (p) Lib. Argum. Declam. 24. p. 558. (q) Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. Franc.

name of the legate, or chief of a solemn deputation ($\Pi PE\Sigma BET\Sigma$), are added the names of several magistrates, and those of the youths and maidens who had performed in the choruses, and who on one of these monuments are named Hyalcadæ, which word, according to Hesychius, (r) signified among the Spartans the youths and maidens who composed the choruses. I imagine, therefore, that these antiquities have relation to the festivals of the Hyacinthia.

It is to be observed that, among the maidens who composed one of the choruses, we find the name of Lycorias, daughter of Deuxidamus, or Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who lived about the year 700 before Christ.

NOTE XIII. CHAP. L. Page 218.

On the Division of the Armies among the Laceda.

It is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to give a just idea of this division. As it often varied, ancient authors, without entering into details, have contented themselves with relating facts, and afterward particular facts have been taken for general rules.

The Spartans were distributed into several classes, named MOPAI, or MOIPAI, that is to say, parts or divisions.

But what were the subdivisions of each class? The lochos, the pentecostys, the enomotia. In the text of this work I have thought that I might compare the

⁽r) Hesych. in 'Yalk.

mora to a regiment, the lochos to a battalion, and the enomotia to a company, though I did not mean it should be supposed that I considered the comparison as in every respect exact. In this note I shall preserve the Greek names.

The subdivisions I have mentioned are clearly explained by Xenophon, (s) who lived at the time in which I suppose Anacharsis to have travelled. "Each mora," says he, "has for its officers a pole-" march, four leaders of the lochi, eight leaders of "the pentecostyes, and sixteen leaders of the eno-"motize," Thus each mora contained four lochi, each lochos two pentecostyes, and each pentecostys two enomotiæ. It is to be observed that Xenophon here gives us a general rule, which is confirmed by this passage in Thucydides. "The king gave the word of command to the polemarchs, who gave it to the lochagi, from whom it passed to the pentecontateres, and from them to the enomotarchi, who gave it to their respective enomotiæ." (t)

Sometimes, instead of making the more march, a detachment was made of some lochi. (u) In the first battle of Mantinea, gained by the Lacedæmonians in the year 418 before Christ, their army, under the command of king Agis, was divided into seven lochi. Each lochos, says Thucydides, (x) contained four pentecostyes, and each pentecostys four enomotiæ. In this instance the composition of the lochos differs from that given by Xenophon; but the circumstances were not the same. Xenophon spoke in general of the formation of the moræ, when all the parts were

⁽s) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. (t) Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 66. (u) Xenoph. Hist. Grac. lib. 4. p. 518; lib. 7. p. 636. (x) Thucyd. ibid. cap. 68.

united and complete; and Thucydides of a particular case, and lochi separated from their moræ.

How many moræ were there? Some say six, others only five. I shall first present the reader with the proofs in favour of the former opinion, and afterward with those which are adduced to support the latter.

1st, In three inscriptions brought by the Abbé Fourmont from Messenia and Laconia, (y) we find the names of the kings of Lacedæmon, those of the senators, the ephori, the military officers, and different bodies of magistrates. In these inscriptions, we have six leaders of moræ, and as they are as ancient as the eighth century before Christ, and only about a hundred and thirty years posterior to Lycurgus, they appear to authorise the supposition that that legislator divided all the citizens into six moræ. But here a great difficulty occurs. Before the six leaders of the moræ, the inscriptions place the six leaders of the lochi. Thus not only the former, that is to say the leaders of the moræ, were subordinate to those of the lochi, but the moræ and lochi were equal in number, which was not the case in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon.

2dly, The latter historian observes that Lycurgus divided the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry into six moræ. (z) This passage is conformable to the preceding inscriptions.

Xenophon likewise tells us that king Cleombrotus was sent into Phocis with four moræ. (a) If there were but five, one only remained at Lacedæmon. Some time after the battle of Leuctra was fought,

⁽y) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395.
(z) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
(a) Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579.

the troops of Cleombrotus were defeated, and Xenophon remarks that new levies were made, and that they were especially drawn from the two moræ which still remained at Sparta. (b) There were then six in all.

Let us now consider the reasons which may incline us to suppose there were only five.

1st, Aristotle, as cited by Harpocration, reckoned only five, if we may confide in the edition of Maussac, which has the word Tierre. (c) It is true this word is not found in the edition of Gronovius, and that, in some manuscripts, its place is supplied by a numeral letter which signifies six. (d) But this letter has so much resemblance to that which stands for the number five, that one may easily have been mistaken for the other; and two passages in Hesychius prove that some copyists of Harpocration must have made this mistake. In the first, it is said that the lochos was called mora among the Lacedæmonians, (e) and in the second, that, according to Aristotle, the Lacedæmonians had five lochi, (f) and in this passage the word is written at length, Πέντε. Therefore, according to Hesychius, Aristotle admitted only five moræ.

2dly, Diodorus Siculus, (g) relates that Agesilaus was at the head of eighteen thousand men, of which the five moræ, or, without the article, five moræ of Lacedæmon, made a part. It remains to inquire whe-

⁽b) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597.

 ⁽c) Harpoer. in Μόρων.
 (d) Maussac. ibid. Meurs. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 16.

⁽e) Hesych. in Mopa.

⁽f) Id. ibid. Λόχοι.(g) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.

ther, in this passage, the article ought to be admitted or suppressed. Rhodomannus, in his edition, gives the passage thus: ὧν ἦσαν οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι (or Λακεδαιμονίων,) Πέντε μοιραι. Μ. Bejot, at my request, did me the favour to consult the manuscripts in the king of France's library. Of twelve which are there, five only contain the passage in question, and have the article οι with the word Lacedæmonians, either in the nominative or genitive. They agree, therefore, with the edition of Rhodomannus, and by a slight, but indispensable, alteration, give us the reading which has been proposed by Meursius: αι Λακεδαιμονίων Πέντε μοιραι. The passage thus restored perfectly agrees with that of Aristotle.

3dly, I have said, in the text of my work, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes. It is natural, therefore, to suppose they were enrolled in the same number of military corps, which received their denomination from these tribes. In fact, Herodotus expressly says, that, at the battle of Platæa, there was a body of the Pitanatæ, (h) and we have seen that the Pitanatæ were one of the tribes of Lacedæmon.

Yet as all these reasons amount only to probability, and the testimony of Xenophon is positive, we may say with Meursius, (i) that the Greek historian has enumerated among the moræ the corps of Sciritæ, so named from Sciritis, a small district situate on the confines of Arcadia and Laconia, (k) which was long subject to the Spartans, but afterward taken from them by Epaminondas, who united it to Arca-

⁽h) Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 53.

⁽i) Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 1. cap. 16. (k) Xenoph, Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607.

dia. Hence it is that, of the writers posterior to that time, some have considered the Sciritæ as a part of the Lacedæmonian soldiery, (1) and others as a body of Arcadian troops. (m)

While the Sciritæ were subject to the Spartans, they followed them in almost all their expeditions, sometimes to the number of six hundred. (n) In a battle they were stationed in the left wing, and were not mixed with the other moræ. (0) Sometimes they were kept in reserve, successively to support the divisions which began to give way. (p) During the night they guarded the camp, and their vigilance prevented the soldiers from straggling from the army. This duty was assigned them by Lycurgus himself. (q) The corps of the Sciritæ then existed in the time of that legislator, who instituted six bodies of troops; five moræ properly so called, in which the Spartans were enrolled, and the cohort of the Sciritæ, which, not being composed of Spartans, differed essentially from the proper moræ, but which nevertheless might bear the same name, since it made a part of the military constitution established by Lycurgus.

If it be true that the Sciritæ fought on horseback, as Xenophon gives us to understand, (r) we need no longer be surprised at the assertion of that historian, that Lycurgus instituted six moræ for the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry. (s) We shall then say

⁽¹⁾ Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 5. cap. 67.

⁽m) Hesych. in Except. (n) Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68.

⁽a) Id. ibid. cap. 67. (p) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (q) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 687. (r) Id. de Instit. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 91. (s) Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

that there were five more of Spartan oplite, and a sixth composed of the cavalry called Sciritæ.

From the preceding observations it is manifest that if some ancient authors appear to have confounded the mora with the lochos, this may have happened from inadvertence, or an improper use of words, by taking the part for the whole. The learned Meursius, who supposes there was no distinction between these two bodies, can produce only feeble testimonies in favour of his opinion, which is contradicted by incontestable facts. If, as he himself allows, there were but five moræ, there could have been but five lochi; yet we have seen that king Agis had seven lochi in his army; (t) to which may be added, that, on another occasion, king Archidamus was at the head of seven lochi. (u)

If each mora took the name of its tribe, it is natural to suppose that the four lochi had distinct names; and we know from Hesychius that the Lacedæmonians gave to one of their lochi the name of edolos. (x) Hence we may be allowed to conjecture that the Crotani, who, according to Pausanias, (y) made a part of the Pitanatæ, were no other than one of the lochi which composed the mora of that tribe. Hence also, perhaps, the criticism of Thucydides on Herodotus, who having said, that, at the battle of Platæa, Amompharetus commanded the lochos of the Pitanatæ, (z) Thucydides observes, that there never was at Lacedæmon a body of troops so named; (a) pro-

⁽t) Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68. (u) Xonoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 636. (x) Hesych. in 'Εδωλ.

⁽y) Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240. (z) Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 53.

⁽a) Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20.

bably because Herodotus should have said the mora. and not the lochos of the Pitanatæ.

How many men did each mora contain? Five hundred, according to Ephorus (b) and Diodorus Siculus; (c) seven hundred, according to Callisthenes; nine hundred, according to Polybius; (d) and three hundred, five hundred, and seven hundred, according to others. (e)

It appears to me that these different opinions ought to be attributed to the changes which the mora underwent at different periods, and the less or greater number of troops which circumstances induced the Lacedæmonians to bring into the field. All the Spartans were enrolled in one of the moræ. When an expedition was to be undertaken, the ephori caused a herald to proclaim that the citizens, from the age of puberty, that is, from the age of twenty years, to another age specified, should present themselves to serve. (f) Of this we have a remarkable example. At the battle of Leuctra, the king Cleombrotus had four moræ, commanded by the same number of polemarchs, and composed of citizens aged from twenty to thirty-five years. (g) After the loss of the battle, the ephori ordered new levies, when all those of the same moræ who were aged from thirty-five to forty years were appointed to take the field; as also all those between the ages of twenty and forty years, who belonged to the two

⁽b) Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 286.

⁽c) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350. (d) Plut. ibid. (e) Etymol. Magn. in Mag. Ulpian. in Demosth. Meurs. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 16.

⁽f) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. (g) Id. Hist. Græc. p. 579.

more which had remained at Lacedemon. (h) It hence follows that those portions of more which made the campaign, were often only detachments, more or less numerous, of the whole body.

We neither have the work of Ephorus, which assigned to the mora five hundred men, nor that of Callisthenes, which gave to it seven hundred, nor the passage of Polybius, in which it was increased to nine hundred; but we may venture to affirm, that all these numbers only related to particular cases, and that Diodorus Siculus has not explained himself with sufficient exactness when he absolutely says that each mora consisted of five hundred men. (i)

We are not better informed of the number of soldiers contained in the subdivisions of the mora. Thucydides observes, (k) that, from the care which the Lacedæmonians took to conceal their operations, it was not known what number of troops they had at the first battle of Mantinea, but that a conjecture might be formed from the following calculation. King Agis was at the head of seven lochi; each lochos contained four pentecostyes, each pentecostys four enomotiæ, and each enomotia was drawn up with four men in front, and, in general, eight deep.

From this passage, the scholiast concludes, that on this occasion the enomotia contained thirty-two men, the pentecostys one hundred and twenty-eight, and the lochos five hundred and twelve. But if the lochos had always been composed in the same manner, the historian would, no doubt, have contented

⁽h) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 597.
(i) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.
(k) Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68.

himself with saying the Lacedæmonians had seven lochi, without having recourse to this mode of calculation.

The enomotiæ likewise did not invariably consist of the same number of men. At the battle I have just mentioned, they in general contained thirty-two men each, at that of Leuctra they consisted of thirty-six, and Suidas reduces them to twenty-five. (1)

NOTE XIV. CHAP. LI. Page 250.

On the Sums of Money brought into Lacedæmon by Lysander.

DIODORUS SICULUS (m) relates, that, after the taking of Sestus, a city of the Hellespont, Lysander caused to be conveyed to Lacedæmon, by Gylippus, a large quantity of spoils, and a sum of 1500 talents, or 8,100,000 livres (337,500l. sterling). After the taking of Athens, Lysander, on his return to Lacedæmon, remitted to the magistrates, besides other valuable things, 480 talents, which remained in his hands of the money furnished by the younger Cyrus. (n) If these sums are to be considered as distinct, it will follow that Lysander brought home from his expedition, in ready money, 1930 talents, that is to say, 10,692,000 livres (445,500l. sterling).

⁽¹⁾ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in 'Eraphor.

⁽m Lib. 13, p. 225. (n) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462.

NOTE XV. CHAP. LII. Page 271.

On the ceasing of Human Sacrifices.

I HAVE said that human sacrifices were abolished in Arcadia in the fourth century before Christ. But a passage may be objected to me from Pausanias, who lived six hundred years after. He in fact says, that these sacrifices still subsisted in Arcadia and at Carthage. (o) This author relates in his works many particulars that he had borrowed from a treatise which we no longer have, and which was written by Theophrastus. But, as he tells us (p) that he added several things to those he quoted from Theophrastus, we know not to which of these two authors we ought to attribute the passage under consideration, which is in part contradicted by another passage in Porphyry, who observes, (q) that Iphicrates abolished human sacrifices at Carthage. It is of little importance to inquire, whether, instead of Iphicrates, we ought not to read Gelon? the contradiction is not less evident. The silence of other authors has appeared to me of great weight in this question. Would Pausanias, especially, who enters into the most minute details respecting religious ceremonies, have omitted a fact of such importance? And how was it possible he should have forgotten it, when, speaking of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, he says that he was changed into a wolf for having sacrificed an infant?(r)

⁽o) Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150.
(p) Id. ibid. § 32. p. 162.
(q) Id. ibid. § 36. p. 202.
(r) Pausan, lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600.

Plato indeed says, (s) that these sacrifices still subsisted in some nations, but he does not say that these nations were Greeks.

NOTE XVI. CHAP. LVI. Page 376.

On the Import and Export Duties at Athens.

During the Peloponnesian war, these duties were farmed at thirty-six talents, or 194,400 livres (8,100l.). (t) If we add to this the profit of the farmers, we may estimate the whole sum at 200,000 livres (8,333l.), and thence conclude that the foreign trade of the Athenians amounted annually to about ten millions of livres (416,666l.).

NOTE XVII. SAME CHAP. Page 378.

On the Contributions which the Athenians drew from their Allies.

THE four hundred and sixty talents which were drawn annually from the states leagued against the Persians, and which the Athenians deposited in the citadel, at first amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents,* according to Isocrates; (u) or nine thousand seven hundred,† according to Thucydides. (x)

⁽s) Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782. (t) Andocid. de Myst. p. 17.

^{* 54,000,000} livres (2,250,000L).

⁽u) Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 395. † 52,380,000 livres (2,182,500L).

⁽x) Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 18.

Pericles, during his administration, had laid up eight thousand; (4) but having expended three thousand seven hundred, either in the embellishment of the city, or the first expences of the siege of Potidæa, the nine thousand seven hundred were reduced to six thousand* at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. (z)

This war was suspended by a truce which the Athenians entered into with Lacedæmon. The contributions which they had then received amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred talents; and, during the seven years which the truce lasted, they placed seven thousand talents+ in the public treasury. (a)

NOTE XVIII. CHAP. LVII. Page 392.

On the Definition of Man.

PORPHYRY, in his introduction to the doctrine of the Peripatetics, defines man a rational and mortal animal. (b) I have not found this definition in the works which still remain of Aristotle. Perhaps he had used it in some of those that are lost, or perhaps he never used it at all. He often gives another, which Plato and other philosophers had adopted, and which is only an enumeration of some of the external qualities of man. (c) Yet, as a real differ-

⁽y) Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 395. * 32,400,000 livres (1,350,000*l.*).

⁽a) Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 395.

† 37,800,000 livres (1,575,000*l*.).

(a) Andocid de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333.

(b) Porphyr. Isagog. in Oper. Aristot. t. i. p. 7.

(c) Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 244; cap. 4. p. 245

Metaph. lib. 7. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 920.

ence was then admitted between rational and irrational animals, (d) it may be asked, why the faculty of reasoning was not generally chosen for the specific difference of man? I will endeavour to solve this difficulty.

The word which the Greeks made use of to denote an animal, signifies a living being: (e) a rational animal, then, is a living being endowed with understanding and reason. This definition agrees to man, but still more eminently to the Divinity; and this consideration induced the Pythagoreans to place God and man among the rational animals, that is to say, among rational living beings (f) It was necessary therefore to seek a new difference, which might separate man from the Supreme Being, and likewise from all celestial intelligences.

As every definition ought to give a clear idea of the thing defined, and as the nature of spirits is not sufficiently known, the philosophers who wished to class man in the scale of beings, fixed their attention in preference on his exterior qualities. They said that man is an animal, which distinguished him from all inanimate bodies; and they successively added the words terrestrial, to distinguish him from the animals which live in the air or the water; treofooted, to separate him from quadrupeds, reptiles, &c.; and featherless, that he might not be confounded with birds. And when Diogenes, by a well known pleasantry, had shown that this definition would equally apply to a cock, or any other bird, deprived of its feathers; a new character was added, taken

⁽d) Id. de Anim. lib. 3, cap. 11. t. î. p. 659. (e) Plat. în Tim. t. îii, p. 77. (f) Aristot, ap. lambl. de Vir. Pythag. cap. 6, p. 2%.

from the form of the nails. (g) In the time of Porphyry, to obviate a part of the monveniences of which I have spoken, man was define ational and mortal animal. (h) The word mortal we have since taken away, because, according to the idea which we annex to the word animal, every animal is mortal,

(g) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 6. § 40. (h) Porphyr. Isagog. in Oper. Aristot. t, i. p. 7.

END OF VOL. IV.

T. Davison, Print r, Whitefriars.