Surfaju Rajah

# HISTORY

OF

# ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earliest Accounts till the

Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

· LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILL ES, LL. D. F.A.S.

Επ μιν τους της απαντών πους αλληλα συμπλοκής και παραθώσως, ετι δι δμοιοτότος και διαφορας, μοίας αν τις εφικοίτο και δυνήθει πατοπτευσας, άμα και το χέρσιμον και το τέχπου εκ της έρρια, 2...δειι. Polybius, I. i. c. v.

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#### ERRATA.

Fage 34, line 4, Note, for Their, read There.

— 37, — last, for these, read those.

— 45, — 1, Note, for run, read rolling to the control of the control of

## R

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### CHAP. XXXIII.

History of Macedon .- Reign of Archelaus .- Series of Usurpations and Revolutions .- Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians .- Distracted State of Macedon .-First Transactions of Philip .- State of Thrace and Paonia .- Philip defeats Argaus and the Athenians-His Treatment of the Prisoners .- His military Arrangements .- He defeats the Illyrians .-His Designs against Amphipolis. - He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus .- Amuses the Athenians. - Takes Amphipolis. - His Conquests in Thrace .- The Mines of Crenida .-Philip marries Olympias .- His Letter to Aristotle.

OUR hundred and fixteen years before the CHAP. Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip affumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguish-VOL. IV. B able nus.

XXXIII.

The kingdom of Macedon founded by Cara-

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

HAP. able from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, ·Pæonia, and Illyricum, which furrounded it on the north, east, and west. Towards the fouth, it was excluded from the fea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the most flourishing and powerful. To this inland district, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty' in most communities of Greece2, conducted a small colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, fettled in Edeffa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reasons equally unknown 3. The establishment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, fwelled into the most extensive empire known in the anent world, was adorned (could we believe hiftoric flattery) by many extraordinary circumstances, prefaging its future greatness. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and fent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edeffa, which thence changed its name to Ægæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reason why goats were adopted as the enfigns of Macedon, and why the figures of those

I Justin. 1. vii. c. i. Velleius Paterculus, 1. i. c. vi.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 105. 3 Crophius Antiquit, Macedon.

attimals are still to be seen on the coins of Philip, and those of his successors.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Prudent conduct of its first kings the primary cause of the greatness of Macedon.

Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus 4 and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occafion to exercise their prudence still more than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an eafy prey to the unhospitable ferocity of the barbarous tribes, by whom it was on all fides furrounded. But the policy of the first kings of Macedon, instead of vainly attempting to repel or to fubdue, endeavoured, with hore faccess, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring diffricts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many useful' arts; they gave them the Grecian religion 6 and government in that state of happy simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourse more easy and familiar, they adopted, in fome degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they, in their turn, imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility 5. By this judicious and liberal fystem, fo unlike to that purfued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers of Caranus gra-

<sup>4</sup> Justin. ubi fupra, Syncell. Chronic.

<sup>5</sup> Paufanias Achaic. & Thucyd. 1. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Φιλιππα μει παιδι, Ἡρακλειδη δι απο γειας, ότο δι προγουι εξ Αργιος ο εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθου, α δι δια αλλα νομω, Μακεδονων αρχοντες διετελισαν. Arrian, l. iv. p. 36. In another pallage of the fame book he fays, the Cubjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

Bemosthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

XXXIII.

CHAP dually affociated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impossible for them to extirpate or to enslave; and the fame generous policy, being embraced by their descendants, deserves to be regarded as the primary cause of Macedonian greatness.

Tranfactions of the Macedonians preceding the reign of Archelaus I. A. C. 713 -416.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed the fame of his three predecessors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus and Thucydides 10. His hiftery has been magnified by fable, which has also obscured or difforted the actions of the five princes" that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece 12. Here we attain historic ground. Alexander, as related above 13, took an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west. His fon, Perdiccas II. inherited the abilities of his father, without inheriting his integrity. During the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own, because the Athenians, who had occasionally levied tribute on his

<sup>10</sup> Thucydid. 1. ii. p. 168. 9 Herodot, l. viii. c. cxxxvii.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Argacus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetas, Amyntas I. Justin. 1, vii. c. ii.

<sup>12</sup> Herodot. l. v. c. xix. 13 Vol. i. p. 487.

ancestors 14, were then masters of the Greek settle- CHAP. ments along the Macedonian coast, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of Perdiccas. Under the specious pretence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidicé to recover their independence, he lent his aid to destroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to establish the Macedonian in its flead. But this defign failed of fuccefs. The Olynthian confederacy was broken, its members became fubject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the Olynthians to refume their freedom, they felt themfelves fufficiently powerful not only to refift the encroachments of Macedon, but to make confiderable conquests in that country 15.

Archelaus I. who fucceeded to the throne, dif- The flate played an enlightened policy, far more beneficial of Maceto his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or ly imthe craft of Perdiccas. Like those princes, Ar- by that chelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions prince. (having conquered Pydna and other towns in the -410. delightful region of Pieria 16); but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication between the principal towns of Macedon, by cutting straight roads through most parts of the country; he built walls and places of strength in the fituations most favourable for that purpose; encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly those subservient to war; formed magazines of

don great-

Thucydid. ubi fupra, & Demofthenes paffim,

<sup>15</sup> See above, vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 320, & feqq.

<sup>16</sup> Diodor, Sicul, I. xiii. c. xvi.

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. arms; raifed and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the folid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by all his predeceffors together 17. Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters, Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earneitly folicited to live there after the example of this philosophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cherished by his friendship: men of merit and genius, in all the vario is walks of literature and fcience, were invited to refide in Macedon, and treated with diffinguished regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happiness of his fubjects 18.

Series of ufurpations and revoluons. A. C. 405 = 360.

A reign of fix years was too short a period for accomplishing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the profperity of Macedon was interrupted for almost half a century, crowded by a fuccession of ten 19 princes or usurpers, whofe

37 Thucydides fays, 66 than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the first. Apxedaog is Heedians viog, Basideus γιομένος τα τειχή νυν οντα εντή χωςα ωλοδομήσε, και όδας ευθειας ετεμές κ) τάλλο διεκοσανός τατε κατά του πολεμου ίπποις κ) όπλοις κ) τη αλλη παρασκευη κρεισσοι η ξυμπαντες δι αλλοι Βασιλεις οκτω δι προ αυτε γειοµEVOL. Thucydides, p. 168.

18 Aristot. Rhetor. I. ii. c. rxix. Stobæus Sermon, 237.

19 Their names, with the dates of their accession or usurpation, Cre as follows:

2 Æropus II.	405	6 Argæus II. A. Amyntas again re-ei	
3 Archelans II.	394	blifhed,	38
4 Amyrtas II.	392	7 Alexander II.	372
5 Paufanias,	391	8 Perdiceas III.	371
Amyntas II.	390	9 Ptolemy,	370
		P	erdiccas.

whose history forms a perpetual series of crimes and CHAP. calamities. Amidst these disorders, the sceptre still remained in the family of Hercules; but almost every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. Invorder to attain their purpole, the different competitors courted the affiftance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Thessalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of those powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the diffensions in Macedon. Bardyllis, on active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity 20 in dividing the spoil, had risen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, dispossessed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, A. C. 385. who confented to become the tributary of his benefactor 21. The Thracians supported the title of another prince named Paufanias: but the affiftance of Theffaly and Clynthus enabled Amyntas to re- A. C. 383. fume the government; the Olynthians refuling, however, to furrender feveral places of importance which Amyntas had entrusted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor. Amyntas complained to Sparta and that republic, for reasons above 22 related, declared war against

A. C. 00

10 Amyntas, Perdiccas, A. C. 368 To him Philip fucceeded in Ptolemy, the fame year. Perdiceas. 365

Olynthus,

<sup>21</sup> Diodor, l. xiv. c. xcii. 2º Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

<sup>22</sup> See vol. iii, c. xxix. p. 329.

CHAP. Olynchus, and reinstated the Macedonian king in XXXIII. full possession of his dominions. In consequence A. C. 380. of that event, Amyntas established, and thenceforth held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed feveral years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendship of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The ufurper Paufanias.

The short reign of his son Alexander was disturbed by a fresh invasion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchased a precarious peace 23. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the eldest was still a minor. Availing himself of their youth and weakness Paulanias found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a confiderable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

Dethroned by Iphicrates, treaty of

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the rethe en- covery of which formed the main object of his ex-Eurydice. pedition. In former journies to the coast of Thrace. A. C. 37. he had been treated with diffinguished regard by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the fons of his friend. This princess was descended from the Bacchiadæ, the noblest family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lyncestæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the most western district of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was diffinguished by a bold

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus & Juftin. ubi fupra,

intriguing spirit 24 still more than by her beauty CHAP. and accomplishments. With her young fons she fuddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the Supplicating form of calamity and woe; prefented the eldest to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him, by "the fincere friendthip which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himfelf, to pity their tender years, oppressed by cruel usurpation." The dignity of her forrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who respected the facred ties of hospitality, and who saw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an interest in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he established Perdiccas on the throne. revolution was effected with fuch rapidity 25, that we may suppose a sudden insurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accustomed, as in the heroic ages, to affemble in arms.

During the minority of the young prince, the Ptolemy kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition, unsatisfied with a delegated das, who power, openly aspired to reign. This usurper (as we have related above) was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinstated Perdiscas A. C. 367. in his dominions; and, in order to fecure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hostages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

Perdiccas feemed proud of his chain. Elated Perdiccas with the protection of the Thebans, then in the by the Il-

dethroned by Pelopifends Philip as a hoftage to Thebes.

lyrians.

<sup>26</sup> Juftin. l. vii. c. iv.

<sup>\*5</sup> Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

CHAP. height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; diffputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece 26; and his opposition rendered fruitless their welldirected endeavours to recover that important eftabliffment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predeceffors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of rms. The Macedonians met him in the field, out were totally defeated with the lofs of four thousand men 27. Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon after died of his wounds. His fon Amyntas was an infant. Thebes having lost her pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her diftant allies. Athens was hoftile, and Macedon, furrounded by enemies on every fide, already experienced the fury of Barbarian invaders.

Macedon diftracted by two preter 1ers to the throne, and defolated by four foreign armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received fome cause of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and infulted the northern frontier without interruption or controul. The Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they prepared to fend back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretenfions

<sup>26</sup> Demofth, & falfa Legat.

to that dignity; and, grown old in intrigue, eafily CHAP. perfuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and difgusted. Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and failed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias 26.

Such were the evils which threatened, and the Amida calamities which oppressed, that unfortunate and lamities diffracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, affert- Philip ing, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, Macedon. against two candidates for the throne, and four Olymp. formidable armics. A prince of less courage than A. C. 360. Philip would have fhrunk from a delign feemingly desperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the diferders which he hoped to remedy 29. But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year 30) displayed those extraordinary abilities which diftinguish his reign, and render it the most interesting spectacle that history can present to those who are delighted with furveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and refources of a vigorous and comprehensive mind. Such was the obscurity in which his merit had hitherto lain concealed from the

arrives in

<sup>28</sup> Diodorus, ubi supra. 29 Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.

<sup>30</sup> Comp. Diodor. p. 510. & Justin, l. ix. c. viii.

XXXIII. His education, and tranfactions preceding that period.

CHAP. publy, that historians 31 disagree as to the place of his residence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family, and under the direction of Epaminondas 32, whose lessons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotism 33. It is probable that, agreeably to the custom of Greece and Rome. where the youth alternately frequented the school and the camp, and might fometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended fuitably to his rank, he vifited the principal republics of Greece, whose institutions in peace and war he examined with a fagacity far fuperior to his years 34. The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new establishment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whomever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hostile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable

<sup>31</sup> Diodorus places him in Thebes; Athenœus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds, Διατριφων δε ενταυθα δυναμιν, ώς απεθαιε Πιεδιακας, εξ ετοιμε, δυναμεως υπορχουσης, επεπεσε τοις πραγμασι. Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopida.

<sup>33</sup> Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Bocotian for Enaminondas, and the refentment of a native of Chæronæa against Philip. See Plutarch. in Pelopid.

<sup>34</sup> Plutarch, in Alexand. Athenœus, I, xi. p. 506.

to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the CHAP. friendship and esteem of Plato 33, Isocrates 36, and X Aristotle 37; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens, and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no fmall degree, to the fuccess of his future defigns 38.

rians eva-Macedon.

His feafonable appearance in Macedon, after the The Illydefeat and death of Perdiccas, fuddenly changed the fortune of that feemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circuinstances which feconded his abilities, and conspired to promote his fuccess. The places of strength built by Archelaus furnished a fecure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not fubdued; they had confiderable garrifons in the fortreffes and walled towns scattered over the kingdom 30; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians 40; and those fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only folicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended foon to affault Macedon with encreafed numbers, and to complete their devasta-

<sup>35</sup> Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

<sup>36</sup> Ifocratis Epiftolæ, & Oratio ad Philipp.

<sup>37</sup> Aristotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, when, most probably, Philip first faw him. Dionys. Halicarnas. Epift. ad Ammæum.

<sup>38</sup> Demofthen, paffim.

<sup>39</sup> Thucyd, I. xi. p. 168.

<sup>4</sup>º Athenæus, I. xi. p. 506.

CHAP. tions pout they feem to have been alike incapable to concert or to purfue any permanent plan of conquest; and being distinguished, as historians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity 41, they were not less distinguished by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote confequences, which characterife the manners of Barbarians.

State of Thrace

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace 42 were lefs formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæchians indeed had been regarded as a tribe lefs favage, and more confiderable 43 than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained stationary, in the rudeness of their primitive state, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourse with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in the preceding parts of this work. The destructive ravages of Seuthes 44 represent the ordinary condition of that unfettled and inhospitable country, fometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whose mutual hostilities banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art. Exclusive of the Grecian settlements on the coast, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any confiderable town. The Barbarian Cotys, who was

<sup>41</sup> Lucian. in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinipage lib. vii. cap. elvii.

<sup>42</sup> Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xcnoph. Anab. 1. vii. p. 393.

<sup>43</sup> Hippocrat. de Epidem.

<sup>44</sup> See vol. iii. F. 235, & feaq.

dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers 45. War and pasturage formed the only fources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his subsistence.

Such were the first enemies with whom Philip Philip difhad to contend. Their own capricious unfteadi- arms the nefo delivered him from the Illyrians. To the ment of Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either fent a those countries. deputation, or applied in perfon; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promifes and flattery, perfuaded the invaders to retire. The fame arts prevailed with the felfish king of Thrace 46, whose avarice readily facrificed the cause of Pausanias. while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon ufefully confumed in removing those barbarous foes, that he might relift, with undivided strength, the more formidable invasion of Argæus and the Athenians.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the Philip deharbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his numerous fol-clared lowers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and Macedon. their united forces prepared to march northward to Edeffa, or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, A.C. 360. where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the flandard of the banished king. The Macedonians

king of Olymp. CV. I.

45 Athenœus, 1. xii. p. 331.

Diodor. Sicul. 1. xvi. feet. 3. Horace alludes to thefe events: - diffidit urbium

> Portas vir Macedo, & Subruit amulos Lib. iii. Odc 16. Reges muneribus.

> > who

CHAP. who adhered to the interest of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant fon, had been dispirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes confequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, roufed them from their despair. They admired the dexterity with which he had difarmed the refentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful person, infinuating address, and winning affability, qualities which he poffeffed in a very uncommon degree 47, gained the affections of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were studiously reminded of, a prophecy 48, that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the fon of Amyntas. In an affembly held at Ægæ, they exclaimed, with one confent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatnefs. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celestial voice, and entrust the sceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it 49." This propofal feemed not extraordinary in a country which had been long accustomed to interruptions in the lineal order of fuccession. Amyntas was fet afide, and Philip, who had hitherto possessed

<sup>47</sup> Æfchin. de falfa Legatione.

<sup>48</sup> In the Sibylline verfes preferved in Paufanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatness, and the destruction of the kingdom is forctold under another Philip. These verses, though evidently composed after the event, se ve to confirm the fact, that the superstition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purpoics of Philip. Justin. I. vii. c. vi.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, idem.

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only the delegated power of regent, was inverted CHAP. with the royal title and authority 50.

tender Argæus. and bis

While all ranks of men were thus animated with Hedefeats affectionate admiration of their young king, the obfolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, Athenian he marched towards Edessa; but that city shut its ries. gates against him. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to gain admission into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his course backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected fufficient frength to take the field, haraffed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himfelf fell, with the flower of his army. The rest, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made prisoners of war 52.

It was on this occasion that Philip first displayed Uncomthat deep and artful policy, which, in the course of treatment a long reign, gained him fuch a powerful afcendant of the over the passions of other men, and enabled him and Mauniformly to govern his own by the interest of prisoners. his ambition. In the midft of prosperity, his proud and lofty spirit must have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy prisoners of both, who had fallen into his hands,

Athenian

<sup>50</sup> Diodorus, I. xvi. fect. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Diodorus, ibid. & Demofth, in Ariftocrat.

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But the interest of Philip required him rather to footh than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian fubiects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his presence, rebuked with gentleness and humanity, admitted to fwear allegiance to their new mester, and promiscuously distributed in the body of his army. The Athenian prifoners were treated in a manner still more extraordinary 52. Instead of demanding any ransom for their persons, he restored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with juch condefcending hospitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply perfuaded of his attachment and respect for their republic 53.

Philip the Athe-· Olymp, CV. 2. A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praifes of-Philip, when his ambaffadors arrived at Athens 54. nians with He knew that the loss of Amphipolis principally excited the refentment of the Athenians; he knew that the interest of Macedon required that refentment to be appealed. Impressed with these ideas, he renounced all jurifdiction over Amphipolis,

> 52 The fair fide of Philip's character is described by Diodor. 1. xvi. p. 510, & feqq and 539 By Juft. l. ix. c. viii. The most difadvantageous description of him is given by Demosthenes, pasfim, and by Athenœus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x, c. x. Cicero feems not to have regarded the affertions of Demosthenes, when, in speaking of Philip and Alexander, he says, " Alter femper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." But the artificial che acter of Philip, which varied with his interest, merits neither the panegyrics for invectives too liberally bestowed on it.

53 Demofthenes in Ariftocrat. 54 Thid.

which

which was formally declared a free and independent CHAP. city, fubject only to the government of its own equitable laws 55. This measure, together with the diffinguished treatment of the Athenian prisoners. infured the fuccess of his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long fubfifted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unfteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude, than prope to anger, were thus lulled into repose, at a time when Fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their prefent power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the infidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies 56; and ceafed, during feveral years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

The young king having given fuch illustrious Philipins proofs of his abilities in negociation and war, availed the order himself of the affectionate admiration of his sub- of Dopupojects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, men, comfuch institutions as might maintain and extend panions. his own power, and confirm the folid grandeur of cv. 2. Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumfcribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their fovereign. In

pol, Spear-Olymp. A. C. 359. CHAP.

HAP. foreign, war they followed his flandard, but they often shook his throne by domestic fedition; and, antidst the scanty materials for explaining the internal state of Macedon in ancient times, we may discover several instances in which they disavowed their allegiance, and affumed independent government over confiderable diffricts of the country 57. The moment of glory and fuccess seemed the most favourable for extinguishing this dangerous spirit, and quashing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this defign Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characterifes his reign. From the braveft of the Macedonian youth, he chose a select body of companions 58, who, being diffinguished by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's person in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the fovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to superior diligence in all the severe duties of a military life 59. The noble youth, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admission into this distinguished order; and while, on one hand, they ferved as hoftages 60 for the allegiance of their families, they formed, on the other, an useful seminary of future generals 61, who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

61 Carties, l. viii. c. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Strabo, I. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hift. Grac. I. v.

<sup>59</sup> Arrian, & Ælian.
59 Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.
60 Arrian ſays, " των ω τελει Μακεδοιών τως παιδας," "the fons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their J mg holiages for the fidelity of their parents. He also ascribes the inflitution to Philip. Εκ Φυλιππω μόν καθιστικές. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

at length conquered for themselves, and divided CHAP. the spoils of the ancient world.

It is ignorantly faid by fome writers 62, that His mili-Philip, in the first year of his reign, invented the tary phalanx, a body of fix thousand men, armed with ments. thort fwords, fit either for cutting or thrusting; ftrong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a

half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which, usually arranged fixteen deep, formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed mong the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their most perfect form; nor is there reason to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people 63. His attention was more judiciously directed to procure, in fufficient abundance, arms, horses, and other necessary instruments of war; in reviewing and 62 Diodorus Siculus, 1. xvi. f. 3, and all the Roman writers of

Greek hiftory. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almost at the same time, and who found the phalanx most complete in the latter, to suppose it in-

<sup>63</sup> The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, instead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increased the phalanx, usually less numerous, to fix thousand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who felled it to fixteen thousand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient. The highest perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xxvi. p. 208, & fegg. See also Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. 1, xliv. c. 40.

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CII A P. exercising his troops; and in accustoming them to that auftere and laborious life 64, which is the best preparation for the field.

Conquers Pæonia. Olymp. A. C. 358.

The military refources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the most warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an hiftorian 65, king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which those Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almost every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians loft all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without refiftance; carried off flaves and plunder; imposed a tribute on their chiefs; took hoftages; and reduced Paonia to an absolute dependence on Maccdon.

Defeats the Illyrians, and extends his territorviothe Ionian fea.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanguished to follow his standard; but the Pæonians were no fooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all feafons feemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria 66 at the head of ten thousand foot

65 Diodorus, 1. xvi. fect. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Polyanus, I. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. I. iv. c. 1.

<sup>66</sup> The Greek name of this country is TARLERS, but more commonly or IAAvgrov, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, 1, i. paffim.

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foot and fix hundred herfe, and, before entering CHAP. the country, animated the refentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the custom of the Greeks, whose manners he seemed, on every occasion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of past injuries, the honour of his subjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian foldiers 67, who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their fovereign. Illyria had been extended on the east. to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic 68. This was an important confideration to a prince, who feems to have early meditated the raifing of a naval power. Befide this, it was impossible for Philip to undertake with fafety the other measures which he had in view, should he leave his kingdom exposed to the predatory incurfions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unless they feared Macedon, must always be formidable to that country. Directed by fuch folid principles of policy, rather than governed by refentment, or allured by the splendour of victory, Philip proceeded for-

The Latin name is Illgricum; most English writers of ancient history use Illyria, probably from the French Illyrie. The Greek IAAugis is described by Strabo, 1. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eaftern shore of the Hadnatic, between Epirus and Istria. The Latin Illyricum had a fignification far more extensive. See Gibbon's Hiftory, vol. i. p. 27.

67 The heads of the speech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

Strabo fays, απαντα τον Ιλλυρικον (scilicet χωρον) σφοδρα ευλιperson siver; and adds, that the shore of Illyria is as abundant, as the opposite coast of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, 1. VII.

ward.

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CHAP. ward, with the caution necessary to be observed in an hostile territory. After a fruitless negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horse. The precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column 69 in front, while the targeteers and lightarmed troops galled its flanks, and the cavalry haraffed its rear. The Illyrians, thus furrounded on every fide, were crushed between two opposite affaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full strength 7°. Their resistance, however, must have been vigorous, since seven thousand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback. The loss of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who fent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and fubmitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the fame terms " which he had

<sup>69</sup> The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called πλιοθού, from πλιοθος, a brick; which clearly points out its form,

<sup>7</sup>º Frontinus Stratag. L ii. c. 3.

<sup>71</sup> It should seem from Piodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the same superfitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only used a privilege too common among historians, of transferring their own feelings to those concerning whom the write. He fays, that Philip " restored their dead, and cred da trophy." Paufanias (in Bootic.) denies that either Philip or his fon Alexander ever erected any of those monuments of victory; which practice, he fays, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim,

had lately imposed on the Pæonians. That part CHAP. of their country which lies east of the lake Lychnidus he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town and fettled a colony on the fide of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fish, highly effected by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles diftant from the Ionian fea; but fuch was the afcendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate diffrict foon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, funk into fuch an absolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers confidered it as a province of that country 72.

Having fettled the affairs of Inyria, Philip's turned home, not to enjoy the fweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more Amphiarduous defigns than those which he had hitherto carried on with fuch fignal fuccess. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedon; but the rich fouthern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, prefented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off

defigns against polis. Olymp. CV. 4. A. C. 357.

established as early as the time of Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wife founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear railing them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverfe is fomet mes charged with trophies, refute the affertion of Paufanias; which is likewise contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

<sup>72</sup> Strabo, 1. vii. p. 327.

CHAP the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could fend into the field ten thoufand heavy-armed men, and a large body of welldisciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or subjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or fubject to the Athenians, formed a barrier fufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedon, but even to threaten the fafety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years he accomplished his defigns, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most fignal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Importance of that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidicé could not divert the fagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid, conquest. The possession of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the sea, and secure to that kingdom many com sercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former of which

was fo effential to the raifing of a naval power, CHAP. and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a fufficient military force. The place itself Philip in the beginning of his reign had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still afferted their pretensions to their ancient colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a foldier of fortune, had rifen to the command of a confiderable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and reftraint of perfonal fervice. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Amphi-Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to polis enconceal from the fuspicious jealousy of the new re- the Olynpublic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, federacy. and obliged them to feek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they fet at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant, enemy; and their imprudent infolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must foon break forth into action, and overwhelm the

CHAP. XXXIII. Amphipolitans; while they themselves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they fent ambassadors to Athens, requesting an alliance with that republic against the natural enemy of both states, and an enemy whose successful activity rendered him a just object of terror.

The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, must have given a fatal blow to the rifing greatness of Macedon, which as yet was incapable to contend with the united strength of Olynthus and Athens. The fpies and emiffaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ those odious, but necessary, instruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himself was deeply sensible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by the most plausible declarations and promifes. A negociation was immediately fet on foot, by which Philip stipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they furrendered to him Pydna, a place of far less importance. He promised, besides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at prefent to mention, but which time would reveal 73. Amused by the arti-

<sup>73</sup> Και το θεπλλουμείο ποτε απογρατοί εκείνο. Demosthen, Ol inth.i. p. 6. edit. Wolfin. It is strange that Wolfins has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, so distinctly marked by Dion, Halicarp, in his letter to Ammæus.

fices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the fenate of the Five Hundred (for the transaction was carried on with such haste as allowed not time for affembling the people) rejected with disdain the overtures of the Olynthians 74, who returned home difgusted and indignant.

They had fearcely time to communicate to their Artifices countrymen the angry pations which agitated their he gained own breafts, when the ambaffadors of Philip craved the Olynthians. audience in the affembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the infolence of Athens; but at the fame time teftified his furprife, that they should condescend to court the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and fincerity, he offered immediately to put them in poffession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon 35; at the fame time affuring them of his intentions to deferve their gratitude by still more important fervices, and particularly by employing his arms to

<sup>74</sup> Demosthenes expresses it in the strongest terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: " ότε Ολυίθιες απηλαυνον Ties einer ." Demofthen. Olynth. i. p. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Demofthen, Philip. ii. 4.

CHAP. reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of confiderable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at prefent, subject to Athens.

Philip befieges Am phipolis. A.C.357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promifes, in which, as they fuited his interest, he doubtless was fincere, and still more, his fecret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences and complaints which naturally arife between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the fincere friendship of that people, who were ready to affift his arms. and to fecond his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with fafety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and preffed that city with a vigorous fiege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourfe, in their diftrefs, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to reprefent the danger of an alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the fincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet,

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged CHAP. in the focial war; yet the hopes of recovering fo important a settlement might have directed their Amuses attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy nians. of Philip fent them a letter, renewing the affurances of his friendship, acknowledging their pretensions to the city, which he actually befieged, and of which he artfully faid, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped shortly to put them in posfession. Amused by these infinuating representations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little respect as they had lately done those of Olynthus. The befreged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip preffed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obsti- Amphiponacy of defence which could have no other effect renders. than to provoke the refentment of the conqueror, at length furrendered at discretion 76.

lis fur-Olymp. CV. 4. A. C. 3570

don.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his Is annexed own profit to the punishment of his enemies. It was his interest to preserve and to aggrandise, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He banished a few daring leaders, whose feditious or patriotic spirit might diffurb the measures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with fufficient mildness. Their territory was reunited to Macedon, from which Philip refolved that it should never be difinembered, notwithstanding his promiles to the Athenians.

<sup>76</sup> Diodor, l. xvi. c. viii. Demofthen, Olynth, iii. fect. 4-7.

Philip puts the Olynthians in possession of Pydna and Potidwa.

That he might arm himself against the resentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earneftness, the Olynthian confederacy; and having belieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly affifted him in making thefe conquests. In the whole transaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garrifon in Potidæa, who had furrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and difmiffed them without ranfom, artfully lamenting that the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppose the interests of their republic, for which he entertained the most fincere respect 77.

Philip purfues his conquefts in Thrace. It is impossible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, should have been the dupes of this groß artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the social war, the events of which grow continually more unprosperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diversion, to pursue his conquests in Thrace, to which the possession of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it necessary to purchase a peace from Cotys, who still governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable opposition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

religion

<sup>77</sup> Diodor, I. xvi. c. viii. & Demosth. Philipp. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion and manners, which he had adopted in con- CHAP. fequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, ferved only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Cotys was allowed to porefs his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traverfed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus; or, to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celeftial miftress, penetrated into the deep recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned his kingdom.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having Takes postabandoned the grove of Onocarfis, the favourite fcene of his wild and romantic enjoyments 78, he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by afterwards a letter; but a letter from fuch a man could excite nothing but ridicule or picy. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the A.C. 357. town of Crenidæ, fituated at the foot of Mount Pangæus, and distant ten miles from the sea. He admired the folitary beauty of the place, which being bounded on one fide by the fea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the foil, produced the finest and most delicious

fession of the goldmines at Crenidæ. called Philippi. Olymp.

<sup>78</sup> Theopomp, apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.

XXXIII.

CHAP, fruit and flowers, especially roses, of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, by the gold-mines in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thasos and from Athens, but totally neglected fince the ignorant Thracians had become masters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled those Barbarians from a possession which they seemed unworthy to hold. Having descended into the goldmines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the bosom of the earth was again opened and ranfacked 19 with eager avidity by a prince who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth affumed the name of Philippiso, a name bestowed also on the golden coins struck by order of Philip 81, to the annual amount of nearly a thousand talents, or two hundred thoufand pounds sterling 82.

Philip fettles the affairs of

Having effected the main purpose of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip fet bounds

79 Senec. Natur. Quæft. I. v. p. 760. & Demosshen. in Leptin. 80 The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius have eclipsed, in their melancholy foundour, all the preceding events which diftinguish Philippi. Their liberty expired, and virtue yielded to

> Cum fracta virtus, & minaces Turpe folum tetigere mento. HORACE.

81 Regale numifma Philippos.

82 Diodor. 1. xvi. c. ix. Justin. 1. viii. c. iii. speaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

to his conquests in that country, and carried his CHAP. arms into Theffaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants instead of one. These were, Tissiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the affaffins, and the fucceffors of Alexander. The refentment of the Theffalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated those oppressors of their country, who were reduced to fuch humiliating terms as feemed fufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own fubjects or to their neighbours 83. The Theffalians, who were fusceptible of all impressions, but incapable of preferving any, concluded, in the first emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they furrendered to him Advanthe revenues arifing from their fairs and towns of tages which he commerce, as well as all the conveniencies of derived from that their harbours and shipping; and extraordinary as country. this cession was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent 84.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Philip Arybbas, king of Epirus, a fmall principality marries Olympias. which skirted the western frontier of Thessaly. In Olymp. his excursions from Thebes, Philip had early feen A.C. 357. Olympias, the fifter of that prince, whose wit and fpirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impression on his heart. They were initiated, at the same time, in the mysteries of Ceres, during the triennial festival in the

<sup>8,</sup> Diodor, I. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

<sup>84</sup> Demosth, Philip. I. 10. Polygn. Stratag, Niv. c. xix.

CHAP. iffe of Samothrace, which had been long as much diftinguished as Eleusis 55 itself, by the peculiar worship and protection of this bountiful goddess, But the active ambition which employed and engroffed the first years of Philip's reign had probably banished the memory of his love, when his expedition into Theffaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their first interview naturally revived his tender passions; and as the kings of Epirus were lineally descended from Achilles, the match appeared every way fuitable; Arybbas readily yielded his confent, and the beautiful princess was conducted into Macedon 86.

Duringthe folemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were folemnifed at Pella with unufual pomp and splendour. Several months were destined to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, to mutical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal share in all these scenes of festivity; and it is probable that, amidst the more elegant amusements of his court, Philip might discover that strong propensity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other difgraceful ministers of his more criminal pleasures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, differed and tarnished the succeeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he feemed funk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies 87. The tributary princes of

<sup>85</sup> See vol. iii. c. xxi. p. 46.

<sup>86</sup> Diodor, l. wi, c. xxii.

<sup>86</sup> Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the king of CHAP. Thrace engaged in their defigns, which were concerted with more caution than is usual with Barbarians; and this general conspiracy of neighbouring states might have repressed for a while the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been feafonably informed of the danger by his faithful partifans and emissaries in those countries

> quashes their con-Spiracy. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

Early in the enfuing fpring he took the field Philip with the flower of the Macedoniar troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had most confidence, crushed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally fuccessful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A fecond messenger acquainted him that his horses had gained the prize in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate fon of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impressing a chariot on his coins. Almost at the same time a third messenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidst such auspicious circumflances, the diviners announced the greatest prosperity 88 and glory.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not overfet the wisdom of Philip, if we may judge by the first authentic transaction which immediately followed these events. This was the correspondence

Philip's letter to Aristotle, announcing the birth of Alexander.

CHAP. with Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit Philip had early difcerned at Athens, when he still refided with his mafter Plato. The first letter (fortunately preferved) is written with a brevity which marks the king and the man of genius. "Know that a fon is born to us. We thank the gods, not fo much for their gift, as for bestowing it at a time when Ariftotle lives. We affure ourfelves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Ariftotle commenced this illustrious employment about thirteen years afterwards 89, when the opening mind of Alexander might be supposed capable of receiving the benefit of his instructions. The fuccess of his labours will be explained in the fequel. The fortune of Alexander furpaffed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues furpaffed his fortune.

So The chronology appears from Dionylius of Halicarnaffus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demosthenes had attained the highest perfection in the practice, before Aristotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactness, the principal events in the lives of the philosopher and cator. Aristotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A.C. There he continued twenty years, as the scholar or affistant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Aristotle left Athens on the death of his mafter, and fpent three years at Atarnæus, and two at Mytelené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C. taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. fixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionylius ad Ammaum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens; I have substituted the years before Christ.

Yet the fame of the philosopher abundantly re- CHAP. pays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, fince fixteen centuries after the fubverfion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Aristotle still maintained an unexampled ascendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.



## CHAP. XXXIV.

Philip's Prosperity.-Imprudent Measures of the Amphietyonic Council .- The Phocian, or Sacred War .- Philomelus seizes the Temple of Delphi. -Takes the Field against the Thebans and their Allies .- Defeat and Death of Philomelus .- Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica .- Onemarchus takes the Command of the Phocians-Encounters Philip in Thessaly .- He is defeated and flain .- Philip's Designs against Olynthus and Byzantium .- Traversed by the Athenians .-Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians .-Philip marches towards Thermopyle. - Anticipated by the Athenians .- Demosthenes's first Philippic .- Philip's Occupations at Pella .- His Vices -and Policy.

CHAP. XXXIV. Prosperity of Philip in the fifth year of his reign. Olymp. CVII. I.

HILIP had now reigned almost five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had still more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obsequious province of Macedon. At the expence of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the east to the sea of Thasos; on the A.C. 356. west to the lake Lychnidus. He was master of Theffaly without having the trouble to govern it. He fecured many commercial advantages by the possessione of Amphipolis. His troops were nu-

merous

merous and well disciplined; his large finances CHAP. were regulated with economy; and the mines of XXXIV. Philippi furnished him with an annual resource alike useful to his designs, whether he purfued the ambitious career of foreign conquest, or set himfelf to build up and confolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

found and impene-

The power of Philip was admired, and feared, His proby those who were unable to penetrate the deep principles of his policy, which alone rendered him trable poreally formidable. The first and most natural object of his defire was the territory of Olynthus. the most populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coast. His second and far more arduous purpose was to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. But instead of discovering these designs, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful affiduity, and had deferved their gratitude by many folid and important fervices. His fuccess had been complete, and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Creece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have confented to follow his standard. But Philip was sensible. that by fnatching too eagerly at this glorious prize, he might deftroy for ever his profeect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and haraffed by the destructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain possession of several of their dependent settlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, thefe proceedings by the pretence of justice or necessity,



CHAP, and tempering even his hostilities by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Before the focial war was ended, the feeds of diffension, so profusely fcattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domestic animofities of Greece: but the too early discovery of his system might have united an hundred thousand warriors against their common enemy; whereas, by the fecret refinements of a flow and fleady policy, he effected his vaft purposes without being obliged, on any one occasion, to fight against thirty thousand men.

He carefully watches the imprudent meafures of the Amphictyonic council ;

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in confequence of the events which have formerly been described, began early to display those dangerous passions with which the exercise of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that during the decline of their jurifdiction, many unwarrantable abuses had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they faid), which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardless of the decision of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands confecrated to

The number is chosen as a very moderate medium between the two hundred and twenty thousand men, afterwards promifed to Philip in the general convention of the States at Corinth for the fervice of the Persian expedition, and the eighty thousand which the Greeks actually raifed against Xerxes, and which Thu cydides fays, that the Peloponnesian confederacy alone could fend into Attica.

Apollo, and therefore withdrawn from agriculture2. CHAP. These lands, however, were confined to the narrow, district between the river Cephissus and Mount Thurium, on the western frontier of Boeotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their ufeful labours deferve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, fince the Locrians of Amphissa had long cultivated the Criffæan plain; a more extensive territory, and consecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies3. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careless of such diftinctions, fulminated an angry decree against Phocis, commanding the facred lands to be laid wafte, and imposing a heavy fine on that community.

It is believed that the Thebans, the enemies which are and neighbours of Phocis, and whose influence at principally that time predominated in the council, were the the Theprincipal abettors of this arbitrary measure4; a supposition rendered probable by the ensuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next fentence was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had furprifed and feized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed fo many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obscurity. But, at the instigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine should

2 See vol. i. c. v. p. 224. 3 See vol. i. c. v. p. 222, & feqq 4 Justin, I. viii, c. i. & fcog.

CHAP. be doubled, unless paid within an appointed time; and if the decree were finally difregarded, that the Lacedæmonians should be treated as public enemies to Greece5.

who excite the refentment of the Phocians. Olymp. CV. 4. A.C. 357.

The Phocians, fingled out as the first victims of oppression, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them exceeded their feculties. It would be grievous to defolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with fo much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any fufficient force to render them effectual, should the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to dispute their authority. This measure, daring as it feemed, was ftrongly recommended by Philomelus, whose popular eloquence and valour gave him a powerful aicendant in Phocis. He poffeffed great hereditary wealth; contemned the national fuperfition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious fpirit, he expected to rife, amidst the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving, that to them of right belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the immense treasures contained within its facred walls 6,

<sup>5</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & fegg.

<sup>6</sup> Philomelus cited the respectable authority of Homer: Αυτας Φυκεων Σχεδιος και Επισχοφος ηρχον

Οι Κυπαρισσον είχον Πυθωνα τε πετρηεσσαν.

<sup>&</sup>quot;But Schedius and Epistrophus led the Phocians, who inhabit. I Cypariffus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

he brought the majority of the fenate and affembly CHAP. into his opinion. As the properest instrument to execute his own measures. Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his standard; and his private fortune, as well the public revenues, were confumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers, who abounded in every province of Greece.

The following year was employed by Philomelus The Phoin providing arms, in exercifing his troops, and in an embaffy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, and the delinquents were condemned to in their pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance of this caule. Olymp. imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and fetting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agefilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an affembly, confidered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He affured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his cause; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on fecret supplies of men and money 7.

cians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans caufe. cvi. I. A. C. 356.

Fincou-

<sup>7</sup> Ο δε Αξχιδαμος αποδεξαμενος τον λογον, Φανερως μεν, κατο τω σαρον, εκ'εφησε βοηθησειν, λαθέω δε παντα συμπεράξειν, χοςηγων και χρηματα και μισθοφορες. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

Philomelus feizes
the temple
of Delphi.
Olymp.

Cvi. 2.

A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this affurance, and by a confiderable fum s immediately put into his hands Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpécted. The temple of Delphi, fo awfully guarded by fuperstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble refistance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the facred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves in filent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of facrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-affured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi with no hostile dispofition against the inhabitants, with no facrilegious defigns against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to affert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he scattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the refentment of the Athenians, naturally

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus (1. xvi. p. 406.) fays, fifteen talents.

hostile to Thebes; and both those republics came CHAP. to the resolution of supporting the measures of XXXIV. Philomelus.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who directed, Employs the facred and the Locrians, Thestalians, with other states of treasure in less consideration, who tamely obeyed the decrees raising mercenaof the Amphictyons, determined to take the field ries. in defence of their infulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme flowness natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little affiftance from his diftanc allies. But, first, by imposing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithstanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treasure of Apollo o, he collected above ten thousand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himfelf, who facrificed all fcruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich spoil. Such at least was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or less avarice, he endeavoured to justify his measures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at first refused to mount the facred tripod. Philomelus fternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, observing, that being already master of Delphi, he might act without fanction or controul ". Philomelus waited for no other answer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknow-

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus fometimes acknowledges, and fometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the facred treasure.

<sup>10</sup> Αποφθεγέαμενης δαυτης προς την υπεροχην το βιαζομενο 66 ότι Est auto meatles & Curetas." Diocor. p. 428,

XXXIV. -

CHAP. ledoment of his absolute authority; and, with the address suitable to his situation and character, confirmed the aufpicious declaration of the prieftels by the report of many favourable omens ".

Takes the field against the Thebans and their allies. Olymp. CV1. 2. A.C. 355.

Having obtained the supposed fanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a ftrong parrifor: and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incursions of the enemy. During two years, hostilities were carried on with various fortune against the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the most part inclined to the Phocians; but there happened not any decifive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually inflicted and fuffered. The Phocian prisoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the most abominable facrilege and impiety; and the refentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal feverity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands 12.

Philomelus de-Olymp. evi. 4. A.C. 353.

As both armies anxiously expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to rifk a general engagement, till chance rendered that measure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the fame point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, and began to skirmish. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

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<sup>17</sup> Diodor. p. \$29.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 530, & fegq.

by fuperior numbers. Pathless woods, abrupt CHAP. rocks and precipices, obstructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus strove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himfelf was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and defpair. The enemy advanced; it feemed impoffible to escape their vengeance; the resolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he fprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conscionce, and the refentment of his purfuers 13. While the Thebans and their allies admired this spectacle as a manifest indication of divine vengeance 14, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the scattered remains of the vanguished army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflice on the enemies of Greece and Heaven, a punishment similar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus \*5.

Different causes concurred to prevent Philip on The Sparthe one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, tempt to from taking a principal or early part in the Pho- recover cian war. The interested policy of Archidamus, minion in

<sup>13</sup> Diodorus hints, that had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been shockingly mangled : Pocepueros Ton en της αιχμαλωσίας αικιαν. p. 432.

<sup>14</sup> Such it appeared to future historians: nat твтог тог тестого Sus to Sarpono Sinas naraotrefe tor Cor. Diodor, ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Diodor. 1. xvi. p. 432.

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the Peloponnefus.
Olymp.
cvi. 3.
A.C. 353.

who directed with absolute authority the councils of Sparta, was less anxious to support the arms of his distant confederates, than folicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus. The opportunity feemed favourable for this purpose, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another contest, and the Athenians in strict alliance with Sparta. For feveral years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious defign failed of fuccess; the inferior cities of Peloponnesus, roused by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians 16.

The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponnesus formed a system apart, the sacred war shook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus, were all distaissted with the partition of his dominions. While their hostilities against each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal discord, the prizes for which they contended were successively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince

<sup>16</sup> The quefion appears to have occasioned warm debates in the Athenian assembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmost zeal; and, according to the lively observation of Demosthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not spoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other farcadians. Demosthene pro Megalop, p. 84.

at length engaged Kerfooleptes, the most powerful CHAP. of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Cherionefus to the Athenians, who fent Chares with a numerous fleet to take possession of that peninsula. The town of Sestos alone made resistance. It was taken by ftorm, and treated with great feverity by Chares; while Philip befieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this fiege he loft an eye, a lofs which he is faid to have borne with impatience 17, as the circumstances attending it were alike dishonourable to his judgment and humanity 18.

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after Onomerthe defeat and death of Philomelus, should not have purfued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover strength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a fucceffor; and that the

chus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

<sup>17</sup> Lucian de Scribend. Hift. p. 365.

<sup>18</sup> These circumstances, however, rest on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is faid, that when the arrow was extracted, the following infcription appeared on it: " After to Philip's right eve." After, it feems, had offered his fervices to Philip, as an excellent markfman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with ftarlings. Philip caufed the arrow to be fhot back into the place, with a new infcription, "That he would hang up After;" a threat which was executed as foon as he was mafter of Methoné. Fictions still more incredible were related on this fubiect by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was faid, loft his right eye by his unscasonable curiofity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander has been fo widely diffused, that it was supposed to be the subject reprefeated on the celebrated vafe, which is fo much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See Recherches fur les Arts de la Grêce, ol. ii.

CHAP. Phocians would crave peace, if not driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An affembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a fet speech 19, flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct foon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprise. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually affailed their fidelity. By feafonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were perfuaded to observe a neutrality; while the Theffalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud.20, and of whose country

> 19 Πεφεριτισμένον λογο διελθων. Diodor. p. 432. 20 The Theffalians had the feme character in Greece, as the

Ligurians in Italy:

- Vane Ligus Nequiequam patrias tentâsti lubricas artes. Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) fays, with the two ferταλων ταυτα γαρ απητα μεν ην δη πε φυσει, και αιει πασι ανθρωποις. " Philip was farther diffressed by the insurrections of the Thessa lians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."

the proverb faid, that it had never produced a bad CHAP. horse or an honest man, openly embraced the cause of Phocis.

These multiplied advantages were not allowed Success of to languish in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to eclipfe the unjust motives of his enterprife by the fudden fplendour of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locrid and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by storm, laid feveral cities under contribution, pierced into Bœotia, and made himself master of Orchomenus. The Thehans affembled their forces to ftem the torrent. Onomarchus first met with a repulse before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garrifons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by fending a detachment of feven thousand men, under his brother Phayllus,

into Theffaly 21. In that country, the intrigues of Philip had He encounteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partifan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly divested of his authority,

conliters Phllip in Theffaly, liges him to retire.

had again established himself in Pheræ. Pegasæ, Magnefia, and feveral places of lefs note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian interest prevailed elsewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his usual diligence, entered Theffaly, defeated Phayilus, be-

21 Diodor. p. 434.

CHAP. fieged and took Pegafæ, and drove the enemy with difgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of losing his newly-acquired interest among the Thessalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bootia, and advance against Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though lefs numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the first charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to purfue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus, foreseeing that the Macedonians would follow in close order, had posted a detachment on the fummit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given fignal, to roll down fragments of rock, and flones of an enormous fize, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with fuch firmness and confidence, was converted into a dreadful scene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their consternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoved them into this ambush, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus hefitated to advance, drew them off in good order, faying, that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to ftrike with the more impetuous vigour 22.

Onomarchus defeated and flain.

This faying was finally justified, although the Phocians and Lycophron first enjoyed a short tri-

umph.

<sup>22</sup> Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34, & feqq.

umph. The tyrant established himself, as he CHAP. thought, fecurely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Thessalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, affaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devastations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip having recruited his army, returned into Theffaly. The unsteady partisans of Lycophron, had they determined to share his danger, would have proved unable to support his cause. A considerable portion of the Thessalians received the king of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Boeotia. At the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, still more numerous, on the level coast of Magnesia. To remind his soldiers that they fought in the cause of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel confecrated to Apolio, and adorned his enfigns and flandards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity 23. Their onfet was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthusiasm, rendered them irrefiftible, though the enemy, conscious of guilt, fought with the fury of despair. Three thoufand Theffalian cavalry, who had fignally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the purfuit bloody and destructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the fea, allured

23 Justin. l. viii. 2.

CHAP. by the fight of the Atherian fleet under Charcs, which was returning from the Cherfonefus. That commander feems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above fix thousand perished in the battle, or in the pursuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the flain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the rest were thrown into the sea, as unworthy, by their impious facrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thousand were taken alive; but it is not absolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable 24.

Philip's defigns against and Byzantium.

It might be expected that fuch a decifive blow should have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Theffaly, durst not pursue his advantages by invading Thocis;

24 The leaving fuch a circumstance at all doubtful, is very difhonourable to the accuracy of the compiler Diodorus. His words are, τελος δε, των Φωκεων και μισθοφορων ανηρεθησαν μεν υπες τυς έξακισχιλικς, εν όις ην και αυτος ό τρατηγος, ήλωσας δε κα ελατίκς των τρισχιλεων. ό δε Φιλιππος τοι μεν Οπομαρχου επρεμεσεν, της δε αλλης ώς isg sube; natimorius. Literally, "At length above fix thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up dead, among whom was the general. Not less than three thousand were, on the other hand, taken prisoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the reft into the fea, as guilty of facrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word angelnour: and from the precise and distinctive force of the particles was and &, which separate the two first clauses of the text, I am of opinion that the TE; addes can apply only to the rest of those who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word κατεποντίσει, which figuifies barely to plunge into the fea,

well

well knowing, that an attempt to pass the straits CHAP. of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his interest to perpetuate diffenfions in Greece. For that reason he somented the discord that reigned among the states of Peloponnesus; and though he had punished the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too fludiously his own ambitious designs. His victory over an odious enemy extended his just renown. He fecured the dominion of Theffaly, by planting garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnefia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the first favourable opportunity; but till that should arrive, he rejoiced to see both divisions of that country involved in war, which allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, the subordinate purposes of his reign. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promifes, but now began to throw off the mask, and to show that he meant to be their master. He actually applied to Kerfobleptes, whom he detached from the interest of Athens; and having raised him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occasion to destroy him with security 25. The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the possession of which must have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew fo well to estimate the importance of its fituation both in com-

<sup>25</sup> Justin. 1. viii. 3. Demost. Olynth. 2 & 3.

CHAP.

merce and in war. He began to discover his defigns against Byzantium by attacking the fortress of Heræum, a place so called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was small, and in itself unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being situate contiguous to Byzantium, it served as an outwork and desence to that rich and populous city <sup>26</sup>.

fures counteracted by the Athenians.

The Athenians had fufficient penetration to difcern the drift of those enterprises. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kerfobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to fail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the focial war, they still carried on a lucrative commerce. But these spirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methoné, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards submitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his fickness was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in fo feafonable a deliverance, and laying afide their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the facred war 27.

The Phocian, or facred war, continued by Phayl-

That unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus, the last furviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cause became more desperate, Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only

<sup>26</sup> Justin, l. viii, 3. Demosth, Olynth, 2 & 3 27 Idem, ubi supra.

refource which was left him. Having converted CHAP. into ready money the most precious dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. Olymp. This extraordinary encouragement brought new ad- A. C. 352. venturers to his frandard, and foon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predeceffors. The fugitive Theffalians, affembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public affiftance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good profpect of fuccess, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies 28.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his in-Philip, in disposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his defigns could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with towards the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and affiftance of fo many powerful states abetted the facrilege of the Phocians. The occafion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with fo much glory. His trophics gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans,

order to marches ThermoCHAP. XXXIV.

Dorians, and Locrians, who were principals in the war, but the fincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, fecretly expected him as their deliverer: while his enemies admired his piety and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amufed with the news of his fickness and death, they would now view with religious terror his unespected appearance at Thermopylæ, to affert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march 20 towards those celebrated straits, which we have formerly described, and so often mentioned.

This meafure alarms the Athenians;

But the event shewed, that on this occasion he had made a false estimate of the superstition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his defigns, and determined to oppose them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed the defire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the first intelligence of his expedition, their forefight and patriotism represented the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a destructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponnefus. With an alacrity and ardour, of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, failed to Thermopylæ, and took possession of the straits 20.

who fail to Thermopylæ, and guard the graits.

<sup>29</sup> Diodor. 1. xvi. p. 437.

<sup>30</sup> Demofthen, de Falfa Legat, fest, 29,

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel difap- CHAP. pointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had so often deceived. He retired with Philip redeep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried appointon by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and, elated by the first instance of their success against the Macedonian, called an affembly to deliberate on measures proper to reftrain his ambition.

This affembly is rendered memorable by the first Demostheappearance of Demosthenes against Philip, whose appearmeasures from this moment he ceased not to watch, against and to counteract. Two years before, this illustri- Philip. ous orator, whose works have been more praised than read, and more read than understood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the facred war; their northern poffessions were continually infulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this fituation of affairs, the mercenary partifans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too afpiring defigns, affected to extend their views to Asia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every affembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the great king, which they represented as certainly destined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coast of Asia. The trophies

XXXIV.

. CHAP. of Miltiades, Themistocles and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate those memorable exploits of their ancestors in the Persian war, which fhed a luftre on all the fucceeding periods of their hiftory.

Sentiments of the wifest respecting this prince.

In this popular enthusiasm joined Isocrates the orator, together with the statesman and general Athenians Phocion, two men whose talents and virtues would have done honour to the most illustrious age of the republic. The unblemished integrity of Isocrates, the difinterested poverty of Phocion, afford fufficient proof that neither of these great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unfteadiness of Athens were incapable to contend with the unceasing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince, against whom they could not make war with any reasonable prospect of success.

Those of Hocrates in particu-

Hocrates, from the most accurate and extensive furvey of the political history of Greece, difcovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domeftic diffensions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the flate, and Philip as the general. best entitled, and best qualified, to assume the command of a military expedition into Afia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppression of Barbarians.

On this important subject he addressed a discourse CHAP., XYXIV. with the Athenians; and it is obscurely related. that on one occasion he reconciled those hostile powers 31, and engaged them to concur in this extensive yet rational scheme of conquest.

The fentiments and views of Demosthenes were The pecuequally different from those of Isocrates and Pho- of Demoscion on the one hand, and from those of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouse them from their lethargy; a delign, arduous as it may feem, fornetimes effected by his eloquence, the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, ever employed by man; and which, of all men, he had been at most pains to acquire and cultivate 32. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotifm he forgot the moderation of philosophy; and while he fternly maintained the prerogatives and pretenfions of his country, he would rather have feen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the standard of the Macedonians, or any flandard but her own. With fuch fentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partifan of popular government; while Phocion, like most men of sense and worth in that age, preferred a moderate arifto-

<sup>31</sup> See the life of Ifocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

<sup>33</sup> Dionyf. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demoft.

CHAP. cracy; and Isocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the best of all govern-

appear in public orations.

In his first speeches before the assembly, Demosthenes announced himself as the minister of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awaken from their indolence, and at length to affume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and difgrace of the community. First an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by a faction of three or four hundred, availed themselves of the floth and negligence of a people careless of every thing but pleafure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become masters of the state. From confiderations of their prefent corruption and weaknefs, as well as of the defigns and commotions of neighbouring powers, he advised them to forfake all diffant and romantic schemes of ambition; and, instead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made against their own dominions. He infifted earneftly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many superfluous branches of expence, and especially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though the income of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more confiderable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

<sup>33</sup> See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &cc.

their contributions, the poor must be willing to CHA forego the burdensome gratuities which they derived from the treasury; and all must be ready to take the field in person, that the publick service might be no longer betrayed, or difgraced, by ftrangers and mercenaries 34.



Subsequent events justified the opinions, and en- His first forced the counsels of Demosthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed against his rebellious fubjects. The encroachments of Philip beof Thermopylæ shewed the necessity of opposing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

In this juncture; fo favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demosthenes mounted the roftrum 35 before any other orator, apologifing for this forwardness in a man not yet thirty years of age, by observing, "That already the usual speakers had given their opinions on the fubject of Philip; and that, had their advices been useful and practicable, they must have precluded the necessity of any farther deliberation. First of all, Athenians! you ought not to despair; no! not although your affairs feem indeed involved in equal confusion and danger. For the fame circumstance which is

express the Gnua, pulpit or gallery appropriated to the speakers



HAP. the cause of your past missortunes, ought to furnish the fource of your present hope. What is that? Your own negligence and floth, not the power of your enemies, have difordered the state. Had your diffress arisen, notwithstanding your utmost care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief. you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Confidering the weakness of Athens, thus despoiled of her dominions, and the strength of Philip, which has increased immoderately at our expence, should you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtless think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there was a time when we poffeffed Pydna, Potidæa, Methoné, and all the furrounding territory; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now subject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reafoned timidly, as we do now, ' How fhall I, destitute of allies, attack the Athenians. whose garrisons command my frontier?' he would not have engaged in those enterprises which have been crowned with fuch fignal fuccess, nor raised his kingdom to fuch an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns and fortreffes are but prizes of skill and valour 36

> 36 Αλλ οιδεν, ω αυθρες Αθεναίοι, τυτο παλως επεινός, ότε τωυτα μεν εςι άπαντα τα χυρια αθλά το πολεμο κειμενα εν μεσω. In ancient times the figure had more force, as well as dignity; because at the Olympic, and other facred games, the spectators were used to behold the prizes proposed to the victors, RESPARIA EF PRESENT, exposed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

proposed to the combatants, and belong of right to CH the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent are feized by those who take the field, and the possessions of the negligent and sothful by the vigilant and intrepid. Guided by thefe principles, he has fubdued, and governs all; holding fome communities by right of conquest, and others under the title of allies; for allies no prince nor flate can want, who are not wanting to themselves. But fhould you, Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, roufing from your lethargy, apply feriously to your interest, you would speedily recover those advantages which your negligence only has loft. Favourable occasions will yet occur; for you must not imagine that Philip, like a god, enjoys his profperity for ever fixed and immutable 37, No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most devoted to his cause. These are univerfal passions, from which the allies of Macedon are not, furely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no refource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roused by fome event-when urged by some necessity-What can be more urgent than the present juncture? To freemen, the most necessary of all mo-

<sup>37</sup> The original is inimitable: μη γαρ ώς θεν νομέςτ' εκινύ τα παροτα πεπηγεία πραγματα αθανατα. Join the τα and the πραγματο, the article and the fubfiantive, and the charm will be diffolved.



P. tives is the shape of misconduct. Or say, will it it ill be your sole business to faunter in the public place, enquiring after news? What can be more new, than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens, and enslave Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How are you concerned in these rumours? What matters it to you whether he is such or dead, since, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly will soon raise up another Philip 29?"

Meafures proposed by Demo thenes for refishing Philip.

After this enimated remonstrance, Demosthenes proposes a plan of operations calculated chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he observes, were not vet prepared to meet Philip in the field. They mast begin by protecting Olynthus, and the Cherfonefus, from his incurfions. For this purpofe, it was necessary to raise a body of two thousand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be transported under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet) with all expedition to the ifles of Lemnos, Thafos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coal of Macedon. Conveniently posted in those islands, where they would enjoy necessaries in abundance, the Athenian troops to appear at the fift furmions of their allies, and either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or

<sup>38</sup> The fense indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be translated. Τιθνικό Φιλιππος, ει μια δια! αλλ ασθική το δι ύμιο διαφιριό και γιας αν έτος τι παθιό, παχιώς ύμιος Ιτιρίο Φιλιππος ποιοτική, αν περ έτω προσιχότε τοις πραγμασί τοι 195' αλλ για ότος παρά της διατά ερμής του στου επισξηταί, ότοι παρά της χρητικώς αμιλιμοί.

to harafs the extended, and, in many parts, 'de- C.H. fenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater vigour. Such moderate proposals prove that Demosthenes well understood the genius of his countrymen. He required that only the fourth part of the troops should confist of Athenian citizens, and the immediate supplies were only to amount to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleafure; and fo fatally were they funk in the diffipated amufements of the city, that it is probable the finall armament proposed did not actually fet fail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public fer-

The profound policy of Philip fostered the fu- Philip pine negligence of his enemies. For more than lay afide two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that his ambicrafty prince much confined himself to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to diffipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to feize the gates of Greece. In that interval he indeed made an expedition to chaftise the rebellious spirit of the The Talians. But the His occugreatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and pation addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged long refiwith skill, and encouraged with munificence. That Pella. favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, A.C. 350, and porticoes. The most ingenious artists of Greece were fummoned, by liberal rewards, to the court

who were too often exposed to envy and persecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amids the turnult of war, assiduously cultivated the studies of literature and eloquence. In his domestic government, Philip administered justice with impartiality, listened with condescension to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and disdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourse of visits and entertainments with his cour-

His vices;

In a prince fo respectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and detestable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demosthenes 12; yet the brief descriptions occasionally sketcked by the orator are fuled up by an ancient historian, who represents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony of Theopompus, a writer who flourished in the age of Alexander, by whom he was rewarded and honoured, not perhaps the less willingly because he had exposed or exaggerated the vices of his father, Philip sullied his great actions by the most enormous and detestable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amassed by

tiers and generals 41.

<sup>39</sup> Justin. l. viii. c. 3

<sup>40</sup> Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leofthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Aristodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. Æschin. & Demosthen, passim.

<sup>41</sup> Plut. in Apophth. & in Demosthen. & Alexand.

<sup>42</sup> Vid. Demefihen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5, 8, 48, 66, &c.

injuffice and rapacity, he diffipated in the most CHAP. Hagitious gratifications, and in company with the meanest and most worthless of mankind. His companions were chosen promiseuously from Macedonians and Greeks, and especially from Thessalians, the most profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendship in proportion to their proficiency in the most odious and unnatural abominations that ever polluted the worst men in the most corrupt ages of the world. We must, sloubdess, make allowances for the gall

43 The epithets given them by Thopompus are, Bockupot, abominabiles; and haravor; the last word is compounded of ha, valde, and ratgo, taurus; and translated infegnitur mentulatus, which corresponds to the enormitae membrorum of the Augustan historians. The following description of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: " Horum enim quidam jam viri barbam identidem radebant & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem viciffim fe impudicabant, Rupris intercutibus fe tur muliebria, & eardem operam navarent alfos subagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, fed amicas effe credidiffet, nec milites fed proftibula nuncupaffet, ingenio quidem & natura fanguinarios, moribus autem virilia feorta, &c." This passage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty fixth book he fpeaks to the frme purpofe : " Philippum profpiceret, corum conventus ac contubernia instituisse; iisque uti placeret modis omnibus fuiffe constum, cum illis faltaffe, commissatum fuisse, cuivis libidini se ac nequiriæ tradidisse." A mistaken passage of Diodorus has made some learned men doubt the authenticity of these descriptions. Diodorus (1. xvi. fect. 3.) says, that Theopompus veryacopinal out Gibbet, west tole merentalita ών πιντε διαφωνισι; " had written the history of Philip in fiftyeight books, five of which differ in ftyle from the reft." Were we therefore to suppose the five last books spurious (for that is, the inference which has been drawn), the observation of Diodorus would not at all affect the passages above cited.

chap, of a writer, noted to a proverb for feverity. Yet there is sufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's strong propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkennels, rendered him a prey to bustoons, and parasites, and flatterers, and all the worthless retinue of intemperance and folly. These disgraceful associates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight hundred men, whose gradual waste was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or soon became, worthy of the old; for, as we shall soon have occasion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly

and p

But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time loft fight of those great principles of policy which regulated his public administration. Under pretence of wanting money to supply the expense of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to such excess as threatens the safety of those governments which it was intended to uphold. The lerting loose of the Delphic treafures had diffused near a million sterling over Greece 44. The unsettled state of that country

<sup>44</sup> The facred war latted ten years, and coft the Phocians ten thouland talents, near two millions; it had already lafted five years, and may be fupposed to have coft near the half of that fum. Diodor, 1, xvi. p. 452. He fays, that the gold and filver dedications (which were coined into money) or seasons we proparations.

"exceeded ten thousand talents;" a prodigious sum (confidering the relative value of money in those days), of which the sudden distinstin could not fail to produce most important consequences.

\*\*rendered\*\*

rendered those who had acquired wealth very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avariations, Philip employed proper agents to take up. 45 money at high interest, which procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and person a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore without suspension, the variets pensions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the several republics.

45 Justin, viii, 3.

## CHAP. XXXV.

Negligence and Licentiousness of the Athenians .-Philip's Intrigues in Eubera .- Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubæans .- Philip invades the Obnthian Territory .- Demosthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians .- Expedition of Chares .- Philip takes Olynthus .- Celebrates the Festival of the Muses at Dium .- Commits naval Depredations on Attica .- His Embally to Atbens. -The Athenian Embassy to Philip .- Character of the Ambassadors .- Their Conference with the King .- Differently reported to the Senate and Affembly .- Philip's Conquests in Thrace. - The PhocianWar .- Negociations .- Philip's Intrigues. -Decree of the Amphietyons against Phocis .-Executed by Philip .- Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphietyonic Council.

Negliness of the Athenicvii. 4. A. C. 349.

CHAZ. HE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the king of Macedon, indulged themselves, without referve, in their favourite amusements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have confidered themselves as principals, was neglected. Magistrates and people seemed folely attentive to regulate public festivals and processions, and to ascertain the respective merit of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the

exigencies of war, had already been appropriated CHAP. to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose altering this unexampled and most whimsical destination. It was in vain for Demosthenes to refift the popular torrent. He was opposed and overcome by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condescended to sell its interests to the public enemy.

Born in the lowest condition of life, Demades Justified retained the vices of his birth; and always dif- by Demacovered that fordid spirit, and weltered in those brutal excesses, which betray the vant of early culture. Yet the acuteness of his apprehension, the strength of his reason and memory, and, above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demosthenes' himself, raised him to a conspicuous rank in the affembly; and it being his business, as the hireling of Philip, to fail along with the stream of popular frenzy, which the patriotism of his rival endeavoured to struggle with, and to stem, he possessed a free and ample scope for exercising

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory Philip's of perfidious demagogues over the wifeft and best intrigues in Eubera. of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and Olymp. constitution of their country, when Philip began to A.C. 349.

Plutarch. in Demofthen.

CHAP. play those batteries which he had patiently raised with fuch skill and secrecy. The island of Euboea, which he called the setters of Greece, was the first object of his attack. Since the expulsion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preserved their interest in the island, where they maintained a small body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magistrates; they sometimes made war against each other; and sparately assumed the prerogatives of free and sovereign states, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He somented their civil discord; gained partisans in each city; and, at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed several Macedonian battalions in the island.

Danger to which the Athenian interct in that island was exposed; Matters were foon disposed to his wish. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the most advantageous posts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the interests of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demosthenes, who alone penetrated this dark scheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no considence in Plutarch. But he was single in his opinion. The considents of Philip were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Æschin, in Cteliphont, & Demosth, de falsa Legation, & de Pace.

true to their mafter, and therefore urged the ex- CH pedition. The friends of their country were eager titude, ever in extremes, rushed with as much gage in every other3. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the latter had gone too far to retreat; nor could they forefee the confe-The Athenians, in fact, obtained a decifive victory, not by the strength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but by the wife choice of a

The confummate prudence of Phocion, who, from on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worse which they are state than had been represented, risked no chance extricated by Phoof defeat, and lost no opportunity of advantage 4. cion. Having chosen a favourable pot, which was on all fides furrounded by broken and uneven ground, he despised the clamours of his men and the infults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which diforder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubceans perate ardour; and, elated with victory, and confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a facrifice, which he fludiously prolonged, either from

3 Demofth, de Pace.

4 Plutarch, in Phocion.

religion.

and Eu-

CHAP, religion or policy, until he beheld the diforder of the affailants, embarraffed by the unequal ground, and by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to ftand to their arms, and fallying from his entrenchments with intrepid valour, increafed the confusion of the enemy, who were repelled with great flaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble refistance 5. The garrison furrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubceans to liberty, left the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treet them with that cruelty, which, on a fimilar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitvlené 6. Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his fhips drawn up in line of battle, their stems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the found of martial music. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his fuccess. Molossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabai, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the fame dexterity, and met with hetter fuccefs?

<sup>5</sup> Plut. in Phocion. 6 See above, vol. ii, c. xvi. pp. 243, & fegq. ? Plut. in Phochon.

It is worthy of attention, that Demosthenes fol- CHAP lowed the standard of Phocion to Eubæa, shough he had ftrongly disapproved the expedition. Both Opposite he and his rival Æschines, of whom we shall soon of Demoshave occasion to speak more fully, served in the cavalry. Demosthenes was reproached with being the first who deserted his rank, and among the last who returned to the charge. Æschines behaved with diffinguished gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the first intelligence of the victory 8.

Æschines

Philip's difappointment in Euboea only stimula- Philip inted his activity. His toils were fpread fo widely all around him, that when one part failed he could Olyndius. catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, against evil. 4. whom he feemed to have long forgotten his refentment, were aftonished to observe that several of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally fudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their possessions, built stately palaces, and displayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invasion of Philip revealed the mystery. A considerable party had grown wealthy by betraying the fecrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the ill-timed security of their country . Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increased that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treason, but it feemed dangerous to punish it; and the Olynthians

territory of A. C. 349.

<sup>8</sup> Æschin, de falsa Legatione, & Demost, in Midiam.

<sup>9</sup> Demofthen, Olynth, paffim.



QUAP. were more immediately concerned to repel the open ravagers of their territory. In this emergency they trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse ", but fent an embassy Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and at last invaded and attacked them; and craving affiftance from the Athenians, in confequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the defigns of a tyrant equally

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been exposed a second time to the danger which he had eladed with so much address in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhaufted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; licy beyond their respective districts. But the Athenians, recently successful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the strength and resentment of such a republic as Olynthus, might have still rendered themselves formidable to the public enemy, especially as at this juncture the rebellious humours of the Theffalians broke out afresh, and led them capricioufly to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon. But to compensate these unpromising circumstances, Philip possessed strenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garrifons actually commanded the principal posts

in Theffaly. Above all, the indolence and vices CH of his enemies were most favourable to his cause. The late fuccess in Eubœa, which should have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a flothful fecurity. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their shows and festivals, and all the eafe and luxury of a city life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterprise that might disturb the tranquil course of their pleasures. In this disposition they were encouraged by their perfidious orators, who ftrongly exhorted them to beware of involving themselves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the refentment of a prince whose power they were unable to resist. The orator Demades particularly diftinguished his zeal in the Macedonian interest; advising an abfolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambaffadors.

Demosthenes at length arose, and as the design of calling the affembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the question under deliberation. "On" many occasions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this state, but never more manifestly than in the present juncture.

First oration of Demosthe nes in fa vour of the Olynthians.

11 I mean not a translation of D mosthenes. The inferting his fpeeches entire would destroy the humble uniformity of this historical work, with the design of which it would be inconsistent to transcribe what the orator found it necessary to say, repeat, and enforce so often. Besides, Demosthenes is one of the sew Greek writers that has been translated, as the late Mr. Harris says in his Philological Enquiries, by competent persons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in English; Mr. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Cesarotti, in Italian.

Vor II

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That



CHAP. That enemies should be raised to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, fo determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation with Macedon, first as insidious, next as the destruction of their country, can be ascribed to nothing less than the bountiful interpofition of heaven. With every thing elfe on our fide, let us not be wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away, not only those cities and territories which we inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To infift on the power and greatness of Philip belongs not to the present subject. He has become great through your supine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to punish. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as fuperfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the king of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my affertions, would be the language of infult and coproach. But his own actions, and not my refentment, shall name him; and of these I think it neceffary to fpeak for two reasons; first, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, fecondly, that the weak minds who are intimidated by his power and refources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them are now all exhausted, and that his ruin is at hand. As to myfelf, Athenians! I should not only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his prefent height of gran-

deur by honourable and equitable means. But after CHAP. the most serious examination I find, that at first he feduced our fimplicity by the flattering promise of Amphipolis; that he next furprifed the friendship of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, lastly, he enslaved the Thessalians, under the specious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not shamelessly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that those who promoted his elevation, because they thought him their friend, will continue to support it, when they find him a friend to his own interest alone? Imposfible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member shares the toils with alacrity; all persevere: fuch confederacies endure. But when worthleffnefs and lawless ambition have raised a single man, the flightest accident overthrows the unstable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no! Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. These may succeed for a while: but time reveals their weakness. For, as in a house, a ship, and in structures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts should be firm and folid, fo the grounds and principles of action should be just and true. But fuch qualities belong not to the actions of Philip ".

" I am

<sup>12</sup> The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private transactions, "honesty is the best policy," was G 2 never



" I am of opinion, then, that fearless of confequences, you ought to affift Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inslame their hostility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in refolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; show yourselves in earnest, and you will foon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That kingdom has emerged from obscurity amidst the contests of neighbouring states, during which the smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon is inconfiderable and weak, and its real weakness is increased by the splendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the king and his fubjects are actuated by very different fentiments. Domineered

never expressed, perhaps with such dignity, as in the following words of Demostheness διαν μει γας όπ εινοιας τα περαγματα συεκ, κέ παις ταυτα συμθοςει τοις μει γας όπ εινοιας τα περαγματα συεκ, κέ παις ταμθοςεις κέ βεινει θενεια δι αιθευποι όποι δια πλευκείας τας ασμεροςεις κέ βεινει θενεια δι αιθευποι όποι δια παιοικα άπατα αναπερι μός ισχυση, ή περικη περόφασις, κέ μικερι πταιοικα άπατα ανεκτια κέ φιτόρμιου, διαμμι διδειακ κτοσαθαί αλλα τα τοιαυτα εις μει άπαξ, κέ δερχυι χικοι, αιτεχιί κέ σθοδεα γι πόστον επι ταις είναιτι, οικαις, κέ πλοιες κέ ταν αλλαι ταν τοιατα ειταις, οικαις κέ πλοιες, κέ των αλλαι ταν τοιατα τα καταθει εσχυροτατα ειται δι, έτα κέ ταν περιξείαι τας αεχας κέ τας υποθυσιις αλπθιις κέ διεκιας και περοπκεί τετο δι επ τι τυν τι τοις απεραγμεροις Φιλιππρί Demosthen. Clynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfins.

by ambition, he difregards eafe and fafety; but his CHAP. fubjects, who individually have little share in the glory of his conquests, are indignant, that, for the fake of one man, they should be haraffed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from those occupations and pursuits, which afford the comforts and happiness of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance; nor, whatever may be faid of their valour and discipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has just arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even those whom he treats with the affectionate, but deccitful names of companions, and fellow-foldiers, can merit his efteem, without incurring his hatred and perfecution. Such is the intolerable jealoufy, fuch the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monster, who, defying every fentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his prefence all who shudder, all who are disgusted, at the most unnatural enormities; and whose court is continually crowded by buffoons, parafites, obscene poets and drunkards; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but fuch dances 13 as modelty dare not name. Slight and trivial as thefe matters may to fome appear, they exhibit the worthleffness of Philip, and announce the infelicity

<sup>13</sup> The κοςδαλισμός. Demosh. p. 8. Vid Schol. ad Aristoph. in Nubib. From the description above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demosthenes's delicacy was merely complimental.



CHAP, which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of prosperity 14; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is easy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the feafon of health, are infentible of what is weak and difordered in their conditutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the first approach of fickness; fo the glory of foreign conquest conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies; but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and those higherto latent evils immediately become manifest.

> " If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, because he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune15 has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be perfuaded to do but the smallest part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for you, furely, have better reason to trust in the affiftance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, hesitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving feafons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of ad-And if the Indolent and careless are abandoned by their best friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, should affift us, if we will not help ourselves?"

<sup>14</sup> Secundæ res mirè funt vitiis obtentui. Salluft.

<sup>15</sup> From what is faid below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demosthenes here means the dispensations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the Favour of Heaven.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demosthenes, and seduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip 16 and their own deceitful paffions, imprudently steered a middle expedition course, which, in public affairs, is often the most dangerous. Convinced that the preservation of Olynthus was the best safeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures, they determined to fend Chares, with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the affistance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the differace of his country and of his profession 17, shewed no solicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which fuccessively submitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a descent on the sertile coast of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over those contemptible cowards an eafy and ludicrous victory, which ferved only to amuse the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any feverer conflict; and difdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boaftful, and voluptuous Audæus 18;

CHAP.

<sup>16</sup> Philochorus in Dionyf, Epift. ad Ammonium.

<sup>17</sup> Timotheus faid of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

<sup>18</sup> Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτευών: the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.



CHAP. not, however, with the spoils of the vanquished, but wish the fum of fixty talents, which he had extorted from the Phocians, who were actually in alliance with Athens 19.

Philip be-Olynthu

The thoughtless multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expensive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chaftifing the infolence of Philip 20, when a fecond embaffy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been shut up within their walls; they had lost Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of confiderable ftrength, befides many inferior towns, which, on the first appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates 21; and this shameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the king of Macedon observe to his generals, that he would thenceforth confider no fortrefs as impregnable, which could admit a mule laden with money 22. Dejected by continual losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negociation, that they might at least amuse the inrader till the arrival of the Athenian succours. Philip penetrated their defign, and dexteroufly turned their arts against them; affecting to lend an ear to their propofals, but meanwhile continu-

<sup>19</sup> Athenæus, 1. xii. p. 534. 20 Demofihen. Olynth. ii.

<sup>21</sup> Diodorus, I. xvi. p. 450.

<sup>22</sup> Plutarch. ubi fupra. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter fomewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the king of Macedon boafted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.

ing his approaches, till, having got within forty CHAP. stadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was necessary, either they must leave Olynthus, or be Macedon 23. This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to destroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long fuspected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous fally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly fignalifed their valour 24. But they were repulfed by fuperior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

In this posture of affairs, the ambaffadors failed second

for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to Athens. their utter aftonishment, the multitude still enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the afcendant of fuperficial qualities over the undifcerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partifan of democracy, and as fuch viewed, even by Demosthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, befides, well knew that the irregular, ufelefs, or destructive operations of the Athenian arms, ought not always to be charged on the misconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; fometimes not paid at all; and therefore difobedient and mutinous. Instead of submitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their refolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not perfuade, they threatened; and com-

the Olyn-Demoitnenes.

CHAP. pelled even prudent commanders to measures wild, ruinous, and dishonourable.

> Demosthenes, therefore, who again undertook to fecond the demands of Olynthus, waved all accufation against particular persons. After endeavouring to reprefs the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the supposed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he defcribes the real danger of their allies, which he perfuades them to regard as their own. The crifis was now arrived; and if they neglected the present opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they must foon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occasions, which they had already loft, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hoftile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name fufficiently reproachful. "But some perhaps will fay, it is the business of a public speaker to advise, not to upbraid. We wish to affist the Olynthians, and we will affift them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered most effectual. Appoint magistrates, Athenians! for the inspection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal those whose ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws respecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and fome about the foldiery. By the first, the foldier's pay is confumed, as theatrical expences, by the ufeless and inactive; the fecond screen from justice the coward who declines the fervice, and damp the ardour of

the brave who would be ready to take the field. CHAP. Till these laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, since his honest zeal must be repaid with destruction." After infifting still farther on this delicate and dangerous fubject, Demosthenes probably observed displeafure and refentment in the countenances of his hearers, and then (as his cuftom was) artfully turning the discourse: " I speak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not fo mad as wantonly to offend; but because I think it the duty of a public speaker to prefer your interest to your pleafure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourselves know it) of those ancient and illustrious orators whom all unite to praise, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Ariftides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whose name 25 I bear. But fince ministers have appeared who dare not address the assembly, till they have first confulted you about the counsels which they ought to give, who ask, as it were, What shall I propose? What shall I advise? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleasure? the sweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poifon; our strength is enervated, our glory tarnished, the public beggared and difgraced, while those smooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and splendour 26. Confider, .

25 Demoshhenes, who acted fuch a distinguished part in the Peloponnesian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 269, & seqq.

<sup>26</sup> It is worthy of observation that, in this discourse throughout, Demosthenes infifts that the people at large enjoyed much less authority in his time than in the days of Aristides, &c. All depends,



CHAP. Confider, Athenians! how briefly the conduct of your ancestors may be contrasted with your own; for if you would purfue the road to glory and happiness, you need not foreign instructors: it will be fufficient to follow the example of those from whom you are descended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accuitomed, held, with general confent, the fovereignty of Greece for fixty-five years 27; depofited above ten thousand talents in the citadel; kept the king of Macedon in that fubjection which a Barbarian owes to Greece; erocted many and illustrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had atchieved by land and fea; in a word, are the only people on record whose glorious actions transcend the power of envy. Thus great in war, their civil administration was not less admirable. The flately edifices which they raifed, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence; but, in private life, fo exemplary

> depends, he afferts, on the popular orators and magistrates, " is WORKTEVOREDOL." Yet it is well known that, fince the age of Ariftides, the government had become more democratical. Demofthenes himfelf allows this: the o ators, he fays, dare not address the people now with that freedom which they used formerly,-This apparent contradiction fleers the nature and tendency of that species of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy.-The populace are the flaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Instead of liberty, there is an

> 27 Demosthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 86. in the note.



was their moderation, and fo scrupulous their ad- CHAP. herence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the house of Ariftides or Miltiades, he will find them undiftinguished above the contiguous buildings by fuperior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of those illustrious statesmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themselves 28; and this just moderation, accompanied by piety and parriotifm, raifed their country (and no wonder!) to the height of prosperity. Such was the condition of Athens under those fincere and honest men. Is it the same, or nearly the fame, under the indulgence of our present minifters? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what folitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians loft; the Thebans haraffed by war; no other republic worthy of aspiring to the fovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own possessions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been stripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitlessly; we have lost, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our anceftors had acquired; and we have raifed up and armed a most formidable enemy against ourselves. If not, let the man stand forth who can show from what other cause Philip has derived his greatness. But the miferable condition of our foreign affairs is, perhaps, compenfated by the happiness of our

<sup>28</sup> Privatus illis cenfus erat brevis Commune magnum. Hor. ode xv. I, ii.

CHAP. domestic state, and the splendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, fountains, and follies 29 ! And the ministers who have procured us those magnificent advantages, pass from poverty and meanness to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which infult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes lefs, and gradually rife on its ruins. What is the fource of this diforder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in person, and thus kept the megistrates in awe."

Licentioutress of the Achemian troops under the mus.

The affembly remained infentible to the motives of interest and honour. Instead of taking the field in person, they sent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand, with an hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the flave of his mercenaries, and of his own detestable passions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiæa, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the befieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another fally, in which they were defeated and repelled with confiderable lofs. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiousness. The beaftly Charidemus had

neither

<sup>29</sup> Huyat nat lugar. Demosthenes distained not such a gingle of words when it prefented itself naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never fought for it.

neither inclination nor ability to reftrain their irre- C HAP. gularities. According to his custom, he drank, at every meal, to a fcandalous excess: his brutality infulted the women of Olynthus; and fuch was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the fenate, as a reward for his pretended fervices, a beautiful Macedonian vouth, then captive in the city 30.

In this state of affairs, the Olynthians a third The cause time applied to Athens. On the present occasion, of the Æschines, who afterwards became such an active ans vigor. partifan of the Macedonian interest, particularly ported by distinguished his zeal and his patriotism. The and Despeech of Demosthenes, to the same purpose, is mosthenes. still on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to fend to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the same time to make a diversion, by invading the Macedonian coast. Unless both be done, the indefatigable industry of Philip would render either ineffectual. " Have you ever confidered the rapid progress of this prince? He beean by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Thessaly, and became master of Pheræ, Pegafæ, and Magnefia. Then, turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and feated himself on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken fceptres. I fpeak not of his expedition against the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus,-and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?

oully sup-Æschines

CHAP. To prove the important opportunities which your regligence has loft, and the unextinguishable ardour of an adverfary, whose successive conquests continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this affembly, whose blindness perceives not that the fufferings of the Olynthians are the forerunners of our own? The prefent conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouse from your lethargy, and to profit by this last testimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have defpised and forgotten: I fay forgotten; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by those who have understanding to preserve and to enjoy them. The spendthrift diffipates his thankfulness with his wealth31; and the fame imprudent folly renders him both miferable and ungrateful." After these bold expostulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by observing, that Philip would never have undertaken the fiege of that place, if he had expected fuch a vigorous refistance; especially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Theffalians wished to throw off the yoke; when the Thraciars and Illyrians longed to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately represented as so formidable, is by no

<sup>31</sup> The observation is uncommon, but just: alla oinai, wageμοιον ετι, όπες τη πεςι της των χεηματών πτησεως, αν μεν γας όσα αν τις λαθη κή συση, μεγαλινέχει τη τυχη την χαρινό αν δε αναλωσας λαθη, συναναλωσε η το μεμινησθαι τη τυχη την χαριν. Demoft. Olynth. iii. Olynth, i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

means real and folid; one vigorous effort might CHAP. vet overwhelm him; and the passion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered fubservient to the purpose of the orator. He again touches on the article of supplies; but with such caution as shews that his former more explicit observations had been heard impatiently. " As to money for the expences of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you possess, Athenians! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original destination, to which were it restored, there could not be any necessity for extraordinary contributions. What! do you propose in form 32, that the theatrical money should be applied to the uses of the soldiery? No, furely. But I affirm, that foldiers must be raised; that a fund has been allotted for their fubfistence; and that in every well-regulated community, those who are paid by the public, ought to ferve the public. To profit of the prefent conjuncture, we must act with vigour and celerity, we must dispatch ambassadors, to animate the neighbouring states against Philip; we must take the field in person. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a fimilar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus refifts, we may ravage the territories of Philip;

Vol. IV. H should

<sup>32</sup> Such a proposal, the Athenians had absurdly declared punishable by death.



CHAP. should that republic be descroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to fay nothing too fevere, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! they who, without our affiftance, cannot defend themselves. O! but he darcs not come! It is madness to think that the defigns of which he already boafts with fuch bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his fuccess 33. I think it unneceffary to describe the difference between attacking Philip 2 home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to fubfift an army in the country, your husbandmen would fustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, a hough the enemy kept at a distance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced! Add to this, the infult and difgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Clymp. A. C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed; an embasiy was fent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip; and it was determined to affft the Olynthians with an

33 With all his policy Philip feems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated: \* Αν δε εκεινά Φιλιππος λάθη, τις αυτον ετι κωλύσει δουρο βάδιζεινς Θηθωιοι; μη λιαν πικρον ειπειν η, κή συνεισθαλεσι ετοιμως. αλλα Φωκεις ; δι την οικειαύ εχ διοι τε οντες Φυλαττειν, εαν μη βυηθησητε ύμεις" η αλλος τις; αλλ' ωταν εχε θελεσεται-των ατοπωτατών μεντοι αν' ειη, ει α τον ανώαν οβλισκανών, διώς εκλαλεί, ταυτα δυνήθεις μη περάξει. Ι have used a little freedom with the " ex. Sexnosras."

army of Athenian citizens. But before this refo- CHAP. lution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great spirit against the besiegers. As the works were too extensive to be completely invested, the Olynthian horsemen made frequent incursions 34 into the furrounding territory, where they not only supplied themselves with provisions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced posts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. These advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various skirmishes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened fince the commencement of the fiege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the encmy's horse, difplayed fuch valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the fuccefs of his undertaking. His fecret emissaries were therefore fet to work; perfidious clamours were fown among the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was publicly accused; and, by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to banishment on a suspicion of treason 35. The command of the cavalry was bestowed on Lasthenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had fold their country to Philip. Having obtained fome previous fuccesses, which had been concerted the better to mask their defigns, they advanced against a Macedonian post; carried it at the first onset; pursued the slying gar-

<sup>35</sup> Demosth, de falsa Legatione. 34 Diodorus, 1. xvi. 53. rifon;



CHAP. rifon; and betrayed their own troops into an ambush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all fides, the Olynthians furrendered their arms; and this fatal difafter encouraging the Macedonian partifans within the walls, foon opened the gates of Olynthus 36. The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demolished the city, and dragged the inhabitants into fervitude 37. Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and their affociates, shared the same, or even a worse sate. Philip is said to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian foldiers, who butchered them almost before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his justice or his pride always detested the traitor 38.

portant conquest infpires Philip with the ambition to feize Thermopybe

The conquest of Olynthus put Philip in possesfion of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea; an acquisition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that fide round and complete. His kingdom was now bounded, on the north by the Thracian poffer-

36 Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

28 Demofth, Olynth, iii, fect, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians: 1. Philip had loft a great many men in the fiege: πολλες των στρατιωτών (εν ταις τειχομαχιαις απεδαλεν. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridzus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. 1. viii. c. iii. 3- Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities; διαρπασας δε αυτην (fcil, Ολυνθον) και τες ενοικεντας εξανδραποδισαμενος, ελαφυραπωλησε συτο δι πραξας, χρηματων σε πολλων εις τον πολεμον ευπορησε. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, " That he might deter the neighbouring cities from oppoling his measures." Diodor. p. 450.

fions of Kerfobleptes, and on the fouth by the CHAP. territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the straits of Thermopylæ, which had and the formerly belonged to a different division of Greece. Spont, Besides the general motives of interest, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he difcerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, since the former was emphatically ftyled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the only communication between that country and the fertile shores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew supplies of corn from those northern regions, The Athenians, in particular, had fettlements even in the remote peninfula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Chersonesus, by means of which they purchased and imported the superfluous productions of that remote climate 39. Their ships could only fail thither by the Hellespont; and should that important strait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they must be totally excluded

commerce. Philip perceived these consequences. It was the Philip general interest of all the Grecian republics to the festival affift Kerfobleptes and the Phocians, which was, of the in other words, to defend the Hellespont and Dium. Thermopylæ. The interest of the Macedonian cyiii. 1. was diametrically opposite; nor could he expect to

from an useful, and even necessary, branch of

Mufes at A. C. 348.



CHAP. accomplish the great objects of his reign, unless he first rendered himself master of those important posts. This delicate situation furnished a proper exercife for the dexterity of Philip. After the destruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public festival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promilcuoully invited, whether friends or enemies 40. It appears that feveral Athenians affifted at thefe magnificent entertainments, which lasted nine days, in honour of the Muses, and which wanted no object of elegance or fplendour, that either are could produce or wealth could purchase. The politeness and condescending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent feverity to Olynthus; and his liberal distribution of the spoils of that unfortunate city4' gained him new friends,

4º Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

41 Both Demosthenes and Diodords mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and flill more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the king, according to his cultom, was distributing his presents: amidst the general festivity, Satyrus alone wore a fad countenance. The king addressed him kindly and, in the language of the times, defired him to alk a boon. Satyrus faid, that fuch prefents a others received (cups of gold, &c.) feemed to him of little value: that he had indeed fomething to ask, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: " Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were fent to Olynthus, taken captive, and fubjected to all the calamities of fervitude. These are the presents I request, not with any defign unworthy of their father or myfelf, but that I may give them fuch portions as shall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even

friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old CHAP. partifans.

expectedly commits naval de-

Amidst these scenes of rejoicing and festivity, Philip feems not to have forgotten, one moment, that the most immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cause of Phocis and on Attica. Kerfobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpose, while he courted individuals with peculiar address, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the infidious propofal of a feparate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the fea open to the Macedonians, who had filently acquired a confiderable naval force. Philip begun to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary islands of Lemnos and Imbros; furprifed and took a fquadron of Athenian veffels, frationed on the fouthern coaft of Eubæa; and, encouraged by these advantages; boldly failed to Attica, made a defcent on the shore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence they proceeded to the ifle of Salamis, and defeated a confiderable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illustrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the infults of the Macedonians, whose fleet returned home in triumph,

the perfonal enemy, of Philip; yet this prince granted the requeft of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

XXXV.

CHAP. adorned with hostile spoils, and with military and naval glory 42.

The activity of Philip feconded his good for-

His intrigues possession of Eubœa.

tune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering the island from the tyranny and extortions of Molosfus, the Athenian commander, he landed fuch a body of troops there, as proved fufficient, with the affiftance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have difgusted that people with the war against Philip, whose hostility, directed against them alone, seemed to have for-His deceit- gotten the Phocians and Kerfobleptes; when fecret to Athens; but zealous partifans of Macedon arrived at Athens. as ambaffadors from Eubœa, commissioned to fettle amicably all differences between the two countries. They observed, that Philip had left the island absolutely free and independent; and that, though constrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was fincerely defirous of making peace with the Athenians. The representations of the Eubœan ambaffadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Aristodemius and Neoptolemus, the first distinguished as a player, the fecond as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own coun-

fulembaffy

42 In the chronology of these events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his Life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themselves are related in the oration of Demosthenes commonly entitled the First Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, confiders as two diftinct orations spoken at different times.

try, to forward the measures of their liberal pro- CHAP. tector. They affirmed that the king of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men, whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who had remitted the riches amaffed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public fer-



Demosthenes faw through these dark and deep in vain exartifices 43; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the Democratic unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a thenes. future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. " Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the highest moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more refentment 44."

Such was the disposition of the affembly, when Æschines Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian em- from his baffy. He had affembled the great council of the embady, Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views wakensthe of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; public reand, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of against Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partifans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embaffy, he inveighed with great feverity against

<sup>43</sup> Demosthen. de Chersoneso, & de Pace.

<sup>44</sup> Demosthen, de Chersoneso.

CHAP. those mercenary traitors, who had fold the interests of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their danger. The miferable fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their eyes. At his return through Peloponnesus, he had beheld a fight fufficient to melt the most obdurate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both fexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a prefent from Philip to some of the unworthy instruments of his ambirion 45.

> The fusceptible and ever-varying temper of the multitude was deeply affected by the reprefentations of Æichines; the pacific advices of Neoptolemus and his affociates were forgotten; war and revenge again echoed through the affembly. At the requisition of Æschines, ambassadors were Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neighbouring republics. The Athenian youth were affembled in the temple of Agraulos to fwear irreconcilable hatred against Philip and the Macedonians; and the most awful imprecations were denounced against the mercenary traitors who cooperated with the public enemy. This fermentation might at length have purified into strong and decifive measures; and had Philip possessed only an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy might have been yet formed in Greece fufficient to repel the Macedonian arms. But that confummate politician thought nothing done while any

<sup>45</sup> Demofthen, de falfa Legatione, fect. 5.

thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the CHAP.

Rightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from feemingly inconfiderable causes.

An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man Dexterity wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, prince in and confined by fome Macedonian foldiers, who diverting obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very confiderable ranfom 46. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very judiciously supposed that the king of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of injustice and impiety. He had therefore requefted his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negociate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Cteliphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embaffy; imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more eafily recover the ranfom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambaffadors were received and treated by Philip with uacommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the king apologifed to Phrynon for the ignorant rufficity of his foldiers, which had led them to act fo unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Cteliphon, the necessity of their present

CHAP. mission, fince he had nothing more sincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic 47. At their return to Athens, the reprefentations of fuch men could not be without weight; nor could they fail being extremely favourable to the king of Macedon.

He improves every fa-vourable incident.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no less dexterity 48. At the taking and fack of Olynthus, Stratocles and Eucrates, two Athenians of distinction, had been seized and carried into Macedon. By fome accident these men had not been released with the other prisoners. Their relations were anxious for their fafety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper perfon might be fent to treat of their ranfom. Ariftodemus was employed in this commission, but was more attentive to paying his court than performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whose vigilance never slept, and who well knew the hostile resolutions in agitation against him at Athens, released the prisoners without ransom, and dismissed them with the highest expressions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the affembly, blazed forth the praises of the king of Macedon, and loudly complained against the careless indifference of Aristodemus, who had neglected to report his embaffy 49.

The Athenians are perfuaded

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excused his omitting to relate one example of

<sup>47</sup> Æschines de falsa Legatione. 48 Id. ibid. 49 Id. ibid.

kindness, in a man who had recently given so CHAP. many proofs of the most unbounded generosity. XXXV. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of to fend an Philip, and especially on his profound respect for Philip. the republic, with which, he affured them, the king of Macedon was earnest to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the most honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms fince they commenced war against this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with diffrace; feventy-five dependent cities, including those of the Chalcidic region, lost irrecoverably; Olynthus destroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens dishonoured and exhausted; and Macedon more powerful and more respected than at any former period. This representation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the affembly. The artificial generolity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Aristodemus, fixed the wavering irrefolution of the multitude. The military preparations were fuspended. Even Demosthenes and Æschin's yielded to the torrent. and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war (fince it was impossible to expect fuccess from the fluctuating councils of their country), fupported a decree so of Philocrates for fending a

50 The decree was attacked by one Licinus. Demosthenes defended it; and both Demosthenes and Æschines, as appears from the text, were on the embaffy,

CHAP. herald and ambaffadors to discover the real intentions of Philip, and to hearken to the terms of accommodation with which he had fo long amufed

of the am-

The ministers appointed to this commission seem to have been purpofely chosen among men of opposite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Ctefiphon, Ariffodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly tellified their confidence in the king of Macedon, were opposed by Æschines and Demothenes, who had long discovered their surpicions of that prince. To the embaffy were added Nauficles and Dercyllus. men diftinguished by the public offices which they had discharged with equal patriotism and sidelity; Jatrocles, the chosen friend of Æschines and Cimon, illustrious for the name he bore, which descended to him from the greatest and most fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, besides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was fent on the part of the Greek islands in alliance with Athens 51.

Difficulties occafioned by between Æfch nes.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in describing the events which followed the departure the quarrel of the ambafiadors, all I inconfiftency and contradiction. The mifunderstanding that arose between Æschines and Demosthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furnish us, in the accuration and defence, with the fullest and most diffuse, but at the same time the least authentic, materials, that prefent themselves in any passage of

<sup>51</sup> Demofthen. & Æfchin. de falsa Legatione.

Grecian history. The whole train of the negocia- CHAP. tion, as well as the events connected with it, are represented in colours the most discordant; facts are afferted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the affembly before which they spoke, to the testimony of witnesses, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumstances that must appear very extraordinary, unless we consider that suborning of witnesses, perjury, and even the falfifying of laws and records, were crimes not unufual at Athens 52. Amidft this confusion, the discerning eve of criticism would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. Æschines was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing politive can be learned from a partial fentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increased to such an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided afcendant even in the Athenian affembly.

To difentangle fuch perplexity, we shall keep Account chiefly to those facts which are allowed on both fides, deducing from them fuch confequences as Olymp. feem most natural and probable. In the course cviii. 2. of one year, three embaliles were fent to Philip; the first to propose a peace, the second to ratify it, the third to fee the conditions of it observed; and in that space of time Kersobleptes, being stripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip having feized Thermopylæ, invaded Phocis,

of the ne-A. C. 348

<sup>52</sup> See my Discourse on the Character and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to Lyfias and Ifocrates.

XXXV.

CHAP, and destroyed the twenty-two cities of that province in less than twenty-two days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himfelf mafter of Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, the most valuable fafeguards of Greece-having invaded and desolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the most respectable for its antiquity, power, and wealth, the fear of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi-Thefe daring measures tended fo little to excite the displeasure of Greece, that the king of Macedon had no fooner accomplished them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which she had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic flates.

Diffention of the ambaffadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which history fcarcely offers another example for the inftruction of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambaffadors. "The felicity of Philip," he fays, "confifts chiefly in this; that having occasion for traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his most fanguine hopes and prayers 53." This, doub lefs, is the exaggeration of an orator, defirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embaffy, and particularly that of his adversary Æschines. it will appear, from the most careful furvey of the

<sup>53</sup> Subfequent writers have copied the language of Demofthenes, και χρηματών πληθος διάδυς τοις εν ταις πολεσι ισχυυσι, πολλες εσχε προστας των πατριδων. Diodorus, ubi fupra.

events of those times, that the incapacity and neg- CHAP. lect, if not the treason, of the Athenian ministers, XXXV. greatly contributed to the fuccess of the Macedonian arms.

From the first moment of their departure from Confer-Athens, the ambassadors began to betray their ence of the ambassadors

mutual jealousies and suspicions of each other's sadors with The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æschines and Demosthenes 54; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, fo much difgusted the other ambassadors, by the morose severity of his temper, that they had almost excluded him their society; a circumstance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adversary, but by the resentment and indignation always expressed by Demosthenes against the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and spoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their feniority. The discourse of Æschines Speech of was the most copious and elaborate, but seemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athe-

nian affembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. " He recalled to the memory of the king, the favours of the Athenians towards his ancestors; the distressed condition of the children of Amyntas; the folicitations of Euridicé; and the generous interpolitions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched flightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the

54 Demosthen, & Æschin. de falsa Legatione. VOL. IV.

injustice



injustice of those hostilities which Philip had committed against the republic, especially in taking Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He insisted on the impropriety of retaining this possession, which as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conquest, not being gained in any war between the two states. In the time of prosound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his justice and his honour to restore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

That of Demos-

. Had Æschines wished to furrish Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, be could not have done it more effectually than by fuch a demand. It could not possibly be expected, that a victorious monarch should set bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchase peace by tamely furrendering one of the most important of his acquisitions. In this light the proposal appeared to Demosthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embaffy, the diffressed state of Athers, how greatly the people had been haraffed by the war, and how eagerly they wished for peace. It was now his own turn to fpeak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whose character and actions he had ever viewed and reprefented with the utmost feverity; but whom, on the prefent occasion, it was his bufiness to sooth rather than to irritate.

The

The novelty of the fituation might have difcon- CHAP. certed a man of less sensibility than Demoitheres. The envious jealoufy of his colleagues was prepared to liften, with a malicious ear, to those irrefiftible arguments which the orator is faid to have promifed, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected fome prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired mafter. Amidst the filent suspense of an His embarunfavourable audience, Demosthenes began to and confpeak with ungruteful hesitation, and after uttering a few obscure and interrupted fentences, his memory totally forfook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarraffment with a mortifying politeness, telling him that he was not now in a theatre 55, where fuch an accident might be attended with difagreeable confequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to purfue his intended discourse. Demosthenes again began, but without better fuccefs. The affembly beheld his confusion with a malignant pleasure; and the ambaffadors were ordered to withdraw.

After a proper interval, they were furnmoned to Philip anthe royal presence. Philip received them with ambassagreat dignity, and answered with precision and elegance the arguments respectively used by the several fpeakers, particularly those of Æschines.

<sup>55</sup> Notwithstanding the passion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their confideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were indecently severe against their negligences and faults on the theatre; as appears from various passages of the judicial orations of Demosthenes and Æschines.



CHAP. The confused hints of Demosthenes he passed over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with most severity in the tumultuous affemblies of Greece, had not dared to fay any thing in his prefence which deferved the fmallest notice or reply. The ambaffadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demosthenes is faid to have behaved with great weakness, and where Philip difplayed fuch powers of merriment and festivity, as eclipfed his talents for negociation and war. The ambassadors were persuaded of his candour and fincerity, and diffniffed with a letter to the people of Athens, affuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as foon as they confented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge those sentiments of affection and respect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

invites them to an entertainment.

Their departure from Macedon.

Artifices of Demofthenes.

The mortification which Demosthenes had received, made him at first vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair representation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over refentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confusion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æschines; and endeavoured, by promifes and flattery, to ingratiate himfelf with those whom his recent behaviour had justly provoked and difgusted. In a conversation at Larissa in Theffaly, he acknowledged the masterly reason-

ing of the king of Macedon. The ambaffadors CHAP. all joined in the praises of this extraordinary man. Æschines admired the strength and perspicuity with which he had answered their respective discourses; and Ctefiphon cried out in transport. that, in the course of a long life, he had never beheld a man of fuch a polite and engaging deportment. Demosthenes then artfully faid " he apprehended they would not venture to make fuch reprefentations to the Athenian affembly; that their honour and fafety required them to be confiftent in their reports;" to which they all affented; and Æschines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the intreaties of his rival to promife, that he would give a favourable and false account of the behaviour of Demosthenes, and affure the people of Athens, that he had spoken with dignity and firmness on the affair of Amphipolis.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambaffadors first reported the success of their negociation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the senate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had said in presence of the king; when Demosthenes, rising up the last, affirmed with his usual oath of affeveration 55, 100 that the ambaffadors had not spoken in the senate as they did before Philip; that they had spoken much better in Macedon: 110 he then moved, that they should be honoured with a crown of

They report their negociation to the fenate,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Μα Δια, indecently explained "by Jove," fince the expection is elliptical, and includes a finor prayer, ευχομαι το Δια σαξιν τα εκα ; " my affertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

The fame reported to the affem-

bly.

facred olive 46, and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum 57.

Extraordinary behaviour of Demofthenes.

The day following, they made their report to the affembly of the people; when the ambaffadors, finding the fubject not difagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negociate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhauft this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose, and, after those contortions of body, which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally furprifed at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of fuch trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the letter). You have only to examine its contents." A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some applauding the strength and precision of the speech, others condemning the asperity of the fpeaker. As foon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus proceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those superfluous matters. Æschines praifes the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, fince any other man, placed in the fame advantage-

56 See the Difeourfe of Lyfias on an accufation for cutting down a confecrated olive.

57 Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

ous circumstances of rank and fortune, would be CHAP. equally attended to and admired. Ctefiphon praises the gracefulness and dignity of his person; my colleague Aristodemus does not yield to him in these particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table; yet in fuch qualities Philocrates excels him 58. But this is unfeafonable. I shall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary affembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance 59."

The decree was proposed on the eighth of March, Philip and the affembly was fixed for the feventeenth of fends amthe fame month. In the interval, arrived, as am- to Athens, bassadors from Philip, Antipater, the most respected of his ministers; Parmenio, the bravest of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almost in an equal degree, the praise of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the fiege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Theffaly, who still refisted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leifure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the fiege to be converted into a blockade: and the merit of three fuch ambaffadors fufficiently announced the important purposes which Philip wished to effect by the present negociation. They were received with great distinction by the fenate, and (what feems extraordinary) lodged in the house of Demosthenes,

<sup>53</sup> Even by Demosthenes's testimony, it required the combination of feveral Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

<sup>59</sup> Æschin, de falsa Legatione.



CHAP. who was careful to adorn their feats in the theatre, and to diftinguish them by every other mark of honour 60. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the assembly, they declared the object of their commission, to conclude in the name of their mafter a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demosthenes, in an elaborate fpeech, urged the expediency of liftening to their demands, but without neglecting the interest of the Athenian allies. Æschines delivered the same opinion, and feverely reproached Philocrates, who urged the necessity of precipitating the treaty. The two first days were spent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demosthenes, by the unexpected accession of Æschines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a Arenuous defender of the interest of Kerfobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was necessary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the flow deliberations of other powers. That the circumstances of the republic were changed; and that, in their ac tual fituation, it was an idle vanity to attend to those who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their ancestors; fince the weakness of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every flate that could not defend its own cause "."

who corrupt Æfchines.

During the negociation, Phi-

Demosthenes had formerly suspected the treachery of Æschines; but this speech fully convinced him,

50 Æschin. in Ctefiphont. 61 Demosthen, de falfa Legatione,

that

CHAP. lip contimake conquests in

that if his adverfary had not before fold himself to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambaffadors. But Demosthenes, and the assembly in general, faw the necessity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coast of which the Athenians ftill possessed Serrium, Doriscus, and several other tributary cities. A decree was proposed for this purpose, and ambassadors were named, who might, with all convenient speed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty just concluded at Athens. The ambaffadors were Eubulus, Æfchines, Ctefiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian interest, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kerfobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the fuccess of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serriam and Dorifcus, which readily fubmitted to his arms 62. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians dispatched Euclides to inform the kino of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied. that he had not been fo inftructed by his ambaffadors, nor was there any mention of those cities in the treaty recently figned, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Æschines and his colleagues still delayed to set Thirdemout, although the conduct of Philip continually baffy to Philip.

62 Demofthen, Orat, v. in Philipp.



CHAP. urged the necessity of hastening their departure. They were finally ordered to begone, in confequence of a decree proposed by Demosthenes 63, who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the interest of Kerfobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian ministers arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in fix; and inftead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their residence in Pella, they were joined by Demosthenes, who, at his own request, had been added to this commission, under pretence of ransoming some Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambaffadors were called to an audience. On this occasion they spoke, not as formerly, according to their respective ages, but in an order, if we believe Æschines, first established by the impudence of Demosthenes; whose discourse, as represented by his adversary, must have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public tranactions was little known or regarded.

Demothe-

Speech of Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he observed, " That they were unfortunately divided in their views and fentiments. That his own were strictly conformable to those of Philip. From

<sup>63</sup> Demosth, de falfa Legatione.

the beginning he had advised a peace and alliance CHAP. with Macedon. That he had procured all poffible nonours for the ambaffadors of that country during their residence in Athens, and had afterwards escorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been misrepresented to Philip, on account of fome expressions that had dropped from him in the Athenian affembly. But if he had denied the fuperior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate64, it was, because he relieved such qualities to belong to a woman, a spunge, and a hireling rhetorician and fophift, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambaffadors hold down their heads in confusion 65.

Æschines first recovered his composure; and mo- of Æschideftly addressing Philip, observed, " That the prefent was not a proper occasion for the Athenian ministers to praise o. to defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commission by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable 66. Their actual business was to a ceive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but ex-

<sup>64</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>65</sup> Æschin, de falfa Legatione.

<sup>66</sup> The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is inimitably graceful and dignified. Asym' or memberar nuas Abroasos meso-Suc, &c. Vid. p. 261, & feqq. edit. Wolf.

CHAP. cite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at least a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The facrilegious violators of the temple ought to be punished with due severity; the state itself must be spared; since the laws and institutions of Greece guard the fafety of every Amphictyonic city. Æfchines then fpoke, in the feverest terms, against the injustice and cruelty of the Tuebanc, who, he ventured to prophefy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the fame falsehood and ingratitude with which they had been accustomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's profound diffimulation in treaties with the Athenian amballadors.

The discourse of Æschines, though it could not be expected to move the refolutions of the king, was well calculated to raife the credit of the speaker, when it should be reported in his own country. Philip confined himfelf to vague expressions of friendship and respect. The ambassadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumstance which furnished him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compassion te concern for that republic; and requested the Athenians to accompany him to Theffaly, that he might avail himfelf of their abilities and experience to fettle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate prefence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithstanding the king, who had ordered his army to march, was attended

attended in this expedition by the ambaffadors of CHAP. Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whose views were diametrically opposite to the interests both of Phocis and of Athens 67.

cian war

carried on with little activity on either fide. Olymp. cviii. 2.

The unhappy and distracted situation of the The Phoformer republic promifed a speedy issue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one fide, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by Such petty incursions and ravages as in- A.C. 349dicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who still retained the defire of hurting, after they had loft the power 68. During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amused by their negociation with Philip, afforded no affiftance to their unfortunate allies. The treasures of Delphi, immense as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhaufted, reflected with terror and remorfe on their past conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their facrilegious violations of the temple, instituted a judicial enquiry against Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo 69. Several were condemned to death: Phaleucus was The Phodeposed; and the Phocians, having performed demn the these substantial acts of justice, which tended to plunderers remove the odium that had long adhered to their temple. cause, solicited with better hopes of success the asfiftance of Sparta and Athens.

<sup>67</sup> Demosthen, de falsa Legatione. 68 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.

<sup>69</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 453.

CHAP.

XXXV. rc
The Spartans claim the fuperintendence of the temple. an

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long dirested the Spartan courcils, confidered the diffress of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the fuperintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually fent ambaffadors into Theffaly, to confer with the king of Macedon on that fubject 70. The Athenians paid more attention to the request of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in possession of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ. But this falutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thousand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, established his head-quarters at Nicæa, and despised the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries f-ize Nicæa.

Difaster of the Phocians in the temple of Al-can Apollo.

Mortifying as this disappointment must have been, it was followed by a disaster in another quarter still more terrible. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier against the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by some auxiliaries of Macedon, marched against that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued, in their disordered slight, through the surrounding territory. A party of above sive hundred took refuge in the temple of

<sup>7</sup>º Demofthen. & Æschin, ubi supra,

Abæan Apollo, where they remained for feveral CHAP. days, fleeping under the porticoes, on beds of XXXV. dried herbs, straw, and other combustible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was confumed, while the unhappy Phocians were stifled, or burnt to ashes 71.

> The Thebans instigate Philip to defolate Phocis.

The Thebans failed not to represent this calamity as a judgment of heaven, against the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their facrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to affift them in destroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpose of their embaffy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to spare the nation, while he punished the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardless of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianship of the Delphic temple.-

Philip treated the deputies of the three repub- Philipatlics with apparent frankness and cordiality, under vain to the veil of which he knew fo well to difguife the corrupt interests of his policy and ambition. He affured ban amthe Thebans, that his arms should be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphosfeum, which, ever ready to rebel against a tyrannical capital, had readily submitted to the Phocians, during their invalion of Bœotia. The Phocians, he faid, had rendered

tempts in the Thebaffadors.

71 Diodorus, p. 454.

CHAP, themselves the objects of divine displeasure; it would be as meritorious to punish, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies should suffer those calamities which their crimes fo justly deserved. Thus far Philip was fincere; for, in these particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the interest of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accomplish those purpofes, without offending his allies, it was neceffary to gain the ambaffadors. Careffes, flattery, and promifes, were lavished in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuse liberality; but, though no man ever possessed more address than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honest and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotism and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embaffy, answered for his colleagues: " We are already perfuaded of your friendship for us, independent of your prefents. Referve your generofity for our country, on which it will be more profitably bestowed, fince your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its ministers 72."

Philip corrupts and do ceives the Athenian ambaffadors.

Demosthenes extob the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambaffadors of Athens. But these ministers, though one object of their commission was to fave the Grecian state which the

<sup>72</sup> Demofthen, de falfa Legațione.

Thebans wished to destroy, discovered neither in- CHAP. tegrity nor spirit. All of them, but Demothenes himself, accepted the presents of the king of Macedon, who found little difficulty in perfuading men, thus prepoffeffed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he respected Athens; that he detested the insolence of Thebes; and that, should he ever proceed to the straits of Thermopyle, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At prefent, however, he obferved, that he had private reasons for managing the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their resentment. From fuch motives, he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this measure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that to fave appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a conclusion; and, for the more fecrecy, transacted in a place which Demosthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambassadors took leave, affecting to be persuaded (perhaps perfuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the king of Macedon. About the same time, the ambaffadors of Sparta departed, but with far less fatisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at least made fuch a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian intereft, K Vol. IV.



terest, and the destruction of the Phocians; and that, should the Spartans persist in their claim to the superintendance of the Delphic temple, they must prepare to affert it by force of arms.

flattering letter to the Athenians.

Archidamus raifed an army for this purpofe, and marched towards the straits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we shall have occasion to relate, rendered his hostility as impotent as his negociations had been fruitless. From The Taly that prince had already fent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the most artful terms. He expressed his profound respect for the state, and his high esteem for its ambaffadors; declaring that he flould omit no opportunity of proving how earnestly he desired to promote the prosperity and glory of Athens. He requested that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could most effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance, he was careful to make no mention; but after many other general declarations of his goodwill, he entreated them " not to be offended at his detaining their ambassadors, of whose eloquence and abilities he wished to avail himself in settling the affairs of Theffaly 73."

Æschines gives an the embaffy to the Athenian affembly.

Soon afterwards these ambassadors returned home; account of and having given an account of their negociation to the fenate of the Five hundred, with very little . fatisfaction to that felect body, they next appeared before the popular affembly. Æschines first mounted the roftrum, and in an elaborate and artful dif-

<sup>73</sup> Demofthen. & Æfchin. ubi fupra.

course, set forth the advantages resulting from his CHAP. fuccessful embaffy, in which he had persuaded Phi- XXXV. lip to embrace precifely those measures which the interest of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace instead of war, and that, without haraffing themselves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amusements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had paffed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a delign of feizing the temple, were not the less cuipable (as had been proved to Philip) because they had failed in this impious purpose. That the Boeotian allies of Thespiæ and Platæa, whose hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was fincere, would be reftored to their priftine strength and fplendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the tatal effects of facrilege and profanation. the magistrates of Thebes foresaw the hostility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," faid Æschines, " devoted me to destruction, and actually set a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their island will be restored to us, as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are these the only advantages of the treaty: another point of still higher importance, a point of the K 02.

XXXV. -

CHAP. most intimate concern to the public, has been secured. But of this I shall speak at another time, fince at prefent I perceive the envy and malignity of certain persons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with fuch fignificant obfcurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a confiderable city on the Athenian frontier, which had long been fubied to Thebes.

The fufpicions of Demosthenes ridi-

This specious harangue, so flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithstanding the opposition of Demosthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all those great advantages promifed by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æschines and Philocrates heard him with the fupercilious contempt of men who pofferfied a fecret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his difcourfe, and to expose their artifice and infincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and infult. Æschines bade him remember, not to claim any share of the rewards due to the important fervices of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleafantry, faid, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demosthenes were less fanguine than his own, " fince he drinks water; I wine." This infipid jest was received with loud burfts of laughter and applaufe, which prevented the affembly from attending to the spirited remonstrances of Demosthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between Athens

Athens and Macedon. In the fame decree, it was CHAP. determined that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the republic 74.

cefs of artifices with the Athenians deceives

These articles, together with the secret motives The sucwhich produced them, were, by the emissaries of Philip's Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambassadors then residing at Athens; who, transported with joy at the prospect of averting the the Phocalamities which long threatened their country, baffadors loft no time in transmitting the agreeable intelli- at Athene; gence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the ministers of Athens could never be fo bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reasonable doubt of the savourable disposition of the king of Macedon. This which belief was fo firmly established, that when Archi- Phocians damus marched into Phocis at the head of an affiltance army in order to defend the temple against Philip, of Sparta. the Phocians rejected his affiftance, observing, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themfelves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponnesus 75.

makes the reject the

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterprife. Halus, long befieged, had fubmitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Fresh troops had arrived from Macedon. Athenians were appealed; the Lacedæmonians had

Philip negociates with Phaleucus the ceffion of Nicæa.

<sup>74</sup> Demosthen, de falfa Legatione.

CHAP. retired; the Phocians were imposed on; the Theffalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his standard. One obstacle only remained, and that easy to be surmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, still kept possession of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the interest of his own republic, could not be very obstinate in defending the cause of Greece. Philip entered into a negociation with him, in order to get possession of Nicæa 76, without which it would have been impossible to pass the Thermopylæ; and while this transaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Phillip continues to veil his defigns in obscurity.

He fuspected the dangerous capriciousness of a people, whose fecurity might yet be alarmed; and whose opposition might still prove fatal to his defigns, should they either march forth to the straits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was stationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for the frontiers both of Phocis and Theffaly having long lain waste in consequence of the sacred war, Philip received his provisions chiefly by fea. The feafonable professions of friendship, contained in the letters, not only kept the Athenians from liftening to the remonstrances of Demosthenes, but prevailed on them to depute that orator, together with Æschines, and several others, whose advice and affiftance Philip affected to defire in fettling the arquous bufiness in which he was engaged. Demosthenes faw through the artifice of his enemies, CHAP. for withdrawing him, at this important crifis, from his duty in the affembly: he sherefore abfolutely refused the commission. Æschines, on pretence of fickness, staid at home to watch and counteract the measures of his rival. The other ambassadors departed, in compliance with the request of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of feeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with confequences equally cadvantageous and honourable 77.

While the ambaffadors travelled through Eu- Difafters boea, in their way to join the king of Macedon, of Phaleuthey learned, to their utter aftonishment, the won- his felderful events that had been transacted. Phaleucus had been perfuaded to evacuate Nicæa. He retired towards Peloponnesus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to fail to Italy, where he expected to form an establishment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a descent on the coast of Elis. After this they re-embarked, and failed to Crete, where their invafion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponnesus, they were defeated by the Elians and Arcadians. The greater part of those who survived the battle, fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were shot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant escaped to their ships, but perished foon afterwards in an infurrection which

77 Demosthen, de falsa Legatione.



CHAP. they had excited, or fomented, in the isle of Sicily. The destruction of this numerous body of men is ascribed by ancient historians78 to the divine vengeance which purfued their facrilege and impiety. It is aftonishing that those superstitious writers did not reflect on the swifter and more terrible destruction that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedness of Phaleucus and his followers had been fo recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been punished with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons against

Philip having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer, He had promifed to plead their cause before the Amphictyonic council, to the decisions of which that credulous people confented to fubmit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might eafily controul the refolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; those of the fouthern republics had not even been fummoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Theffalians, alone composed the affembly that was to decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they had perfecuted with unrelenting hostility in a war of ten years. The fentence was fuch as might be expected from the cruel refentment of the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians should be excluded from the general confederacy of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right to fend reprefentatives to the

<sup>78</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xx. gives this as the general opinion. council

council of Amphictyons: that their arms and horfes CHAP. should be fold for the benefit of Apollo; that they should be allowed to keep possession of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of fixty thousand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities should be difmantled, and reduced to distinct villages, containing no more than fixty houses each, at the diftance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them some affistance, should therefore be deprived of the prefidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the superintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of fuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, loft by the Phocians, should thenceforth be transferred to the king of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having executed these regulations, should next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and should exert their wisdom and their power to establish, on a folid foundation, the tranquillity and happiness of Greece 79.

This extraordinary decree, when communicated which is to the Phocians, filled that miferable people with executed fuch terror and difmay, as rendered them totally by the Macedoincapable of acting with vigour or with union, They took not any common measures for repelling eviii. 2. the invader; a few cities only, more daring than A.C. 347. the rest, endeavoured, with unequal strength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered

cruelly by the nians. Olymp.



CHAP. tombs of their ancestors. Their feeble resistance was foon overcome; all opposition ceased; and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with fuch undiffurbed order and filence as feemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a figh, fince the smallest mark of regret was construed into an obstinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the destruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephiffus covered with ruin and defolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flourished above nine centuries in fplendour and profperity, and which will ever flourish in the fong of Homer, fo totally burned or demolished as scarcely to leave a vestige of their existence 50. After this terrible havoc of whatever they possessed most valuable and respected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the fettlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of ftern and unrelenting mafters. At the diffance of three years, travellers, who paffed through Phocis to visit the temple of Delphi, melted with compassion, or shuddered with horror, at the fight of fuch piteous and unexampled devastation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the shattered ruins of a country, and a people, once fo illustrious; the youth, and men of full age,

<sup>20</sup> Paufanias in Phocic. & Diodor, 1, xvi. c. lix. & feqq.

had either perished in the war, or been dragged CHAP. into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whose filent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe 81.

The unexpected news of these melancholy events The news reached Athens in five days. The people were of these events then affembled in the Firæus to examine the state produce of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful in- tion in telligence filled them with confternation. They Athens. imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Theffaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and defolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes, which marked the utmost danger and difmay. It was refolved, "that the Athenians, who ufually refided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that those at a greater distance should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleufis, Phylé, Aphidna, and Sanium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory 82."

This decree flews, that terror was the first Philip movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was Athenians

<sup>31</sup> Demofthen. & Æschin. de falsa Legat. & de Coron.

<sup>\$2</sup> Demofthen, de falfa Legat, fect, 29.

XXXV. man and in a flyle very diffrom what be had formerly ufed.

CHAP, the fecond. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls, they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coast, was ordered again to direct his course towards that country. The king of Macedon was duly attentive to those transactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emissaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that style of superiority which the success of his policy and of his arms, justly entitled him to assume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for fupporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently figned and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay afide this unwarrantable defign, which could have no other effect than to show the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming against a prince, with whom they had to lately concluded an alliance. "But if you perfift, know that we are prepared for repelling your hostilities with equal firmness and vigour."

The Athenians pafs a decree for re-Phocians.

This mortifying letter, was received at the fame time that the Athenian ambaffadors returned from Eubœa, and brought fuch accounts of the destruction of the Phocians, that it appeared fcarcely poffible to afford them any relief. All that remained was to fave, from the unrelenting vengeance of their enemies, the miferable wreck of that unfortunate community. The Athenians passed a de- CHAP. cree for receiving the fugitives with kindrefs, and XXXV. for providing them with fettlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a refolution which, though it was founded on the most evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable cruelty of the Theffalians and Thebans \$2.

against the

Amidst these transactions the Macedonian parti- Philip fans, and especially Æschines and Philocrates, protects the Phowhose vain affurances had been attended with fuch cians fatal effects, had just cause to dread the refent- inhuman ment of their country. The former, who had been of their the principal agent in this difgraceful scene of intrigue and delufion, no longer affected fickness; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he difregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to ftir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld, the destruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adverfary, as he would have feen the conclusion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary interest, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æschines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable, but less probable cause, the desire of faving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were perfecuted to extremity by

CHAP, the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian foes, and protected at the intercession of the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compassion of the Macedonians. There is reason to believe that Æschines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whose refentment he had so highly provoked, opposed an inhuman refolution of precipitating from rocks all those of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the king of Macedon, whose character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without necessity, must, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert fuch an atrocious and bloody fentence, which, without promoting his interest, would have for ever ruined his fame.

and the Beeotians against the cruelty of Thebes.

This conclusion appears the more probable, fince, we are affured, that, upon the fame principle, but with far less success, he affumed the protection of the oppressed Beeotians. Orchomenus, Coronæa, Hyampolis, with other cities of less note in Boeotia, were, in confequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again subjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, who, on this occasion, prepared to treat the rebels with more than her usual insolence and cruelty. Philip espoused the cause of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely difagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partifans in most republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bootians; who, being expelled from their

own country by the intolerable oppression of The- CHAP. ban tyranny, fought refuge in the compaffionate bosom of Athens 84.

Having finished the facred war in a manner fo Macedon favourable to his own interest and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and affifted in the hymns, prayers, and facrifices offered to Apollo, in acknowledgment of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious king A.C.346. of Macedon, who had been the principal instrument of their fuccess, resounded in the facred Pæans fung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the transactions of that prince, erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a folemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body 85. Philip at the same time appointed deputies to prefide at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which most of the Grecian states had already sent their reprefentatives. The Athenians, flung with indignation and regret, abstained from this festival. An embaffy was therefore dispatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece, and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had fo lately contracted an alliance.

by the Amphictyons a the Hel-

<sup>84</sup> Demosthen, & Æschin, de falsa Legat, fest, 20.

<sup>85</sup> Diodor. 1. xvi. p. 60.

Even the Athenians admit this pretention.

The deliberations of the Athenian affembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the confummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of heaven, for repreffing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting, with vigour and boldness, was now no more; that the cause of Greece was an empty name, fince the Greeks furrendered their dignity to the king of Macedon; and that it became their . own republic to confult rather its fafety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demosthenes to recommended this refolution; left, fays he, we should offend those now affembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourfelves. The Thebans, belide ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incenfed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Theffalians refent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Meffenians, and Megalopolitans, are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may affault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally unable to refift. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or fo worthy of you; but, of what kind foever it may be, it were more for the interest of

your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than CHAP. that now, when it is concluded, you should infrirge it. This opinion was universally approved: Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the highest merit and reputation, addressed a discourse to Philip, in which he exhorted him to discain inglorious victories over his countrymen and strends, to employ his authority to extinguish, for ever, the animosities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of chat country, of which Macedon now formed a part, against the wealth and effeminacy of Persia, its ancient and natural enemy \$7.

Whether these exhortations proceeded from the virtuous simplicity which did not suspect, or from the insinuating and artful policy which, though it suspected, hoped to prevent, the hostile projects so of Macedon, the measures of Philip were, doubtless, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be shaken by the specious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invasion of Asia; the conquest of the Persian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own passions, nor the arguments of other men, could hasten, retard, or vary his undeviating progress in a system which could only be completed by consolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conquests.

<sup>87</sup> Ifocrat. Orat. Philipp.

<sup>88</sup> See the Life of Hocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla .- Philip's Expedition to Illyria .- Alexander receives the Persian Ambassadors .- Affairs of Greece .- Demostivenes unmasks the Designs of Philip's Expedition to the Peloponnesus—to Epirus—to Thrace. -Diopeithes opposes him with Vigour .- The Athenians recover Eubaa .- Siege of Perintbus .-Philip's Letter to the Athenians .- Expedition of Chares-of Phocion-who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace .- Philip's Scythian Expedition .- The Incendiary Antipbon .- Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece .- The third Sacred War .- Philip General of the Amphictyons .- Confederacy against that Prince .- He feizes Elatea. - Battle of Cheronea. - His Moderation in Victory .- Demostbenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

Philip evacuates Greece; Olymp. cviii. 4. A.C. 345.

PY his intrigues Philip had obtained more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long feries of victories. The conqueft of Greece was his object, he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpole; while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealoutly of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous refentment of a nation whom he was ambitious to subdue,

fubdue, Philip difarmed the hosfility of Athens, CHAP. and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his defigns. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to fet bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be fafely accomplished by feafonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in Nicæa, which might thenceforth fecure his free passage through the straits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Theffaly, and the ftrongest posts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand Phocian captives; an acquifition which he regarded as not the least valuable fruits of his fuccess; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himfelf.

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often founds vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued. Philippo-In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those Cobyla; northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla', the first at the western extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the fecond towards the east, at the foot of mount Hæmus, above an hundred and fifty miles diffant from each other, and almost equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of

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plants a colony in the de of Thafos.

CHAP. Macedonian subjects, well provided with arms for their desence, were fent to people and cultivate those new fettlements, whose flourishing condition foon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the fame time, Philip planted a colony in the ifle of Thafoe, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already loft possession of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coast of Thrace, seemed now so indifferent about the possession of Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither 2.

His expe-Illyria; Olymp. cix. I, A. C. 344.

In fuch occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large fums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian fea. This diffrict, about fixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable falt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus king of Persia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedon, fent the most trusty of his ministers, who, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the great king, might examine

<sup>2</sup> Demost, de Haloneso.

with their own eyes the strength and resources of CHAP. a monarch, which were represented as so formi-

In the absence of his father, the young Alex-during ander did the honours of the court; and it is faid, fon Alexthat during an entertainment given to the Persian ander reambaffadors, the prince, who had not yet reached Perfian his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wifdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character 3. Among other questions, that could not have been expected from his age, he enquired into the nature of the Persian government and art of war; the genius and difposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads 4. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, feem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambaffadors heard him with aftonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom which fo

which his

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: ' ώς ε εκείνες (the ambassadors) θαυμαζείν, και την λεγομείνη Φιλιππε δειιοτητα απδεν ήγεισθαι προς την τε παιδος όρμην και μεγαλοπραγμισυνης."-Read μεγαλούυχιαν, and then the fentence may be literally explained; "So that the ambaffadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his fon." I recollect not having met with μεγαλοπεαγμοσυνη in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a perfon " who bufies himfelf about great objects."

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Alexand.

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CHAP. wonderfully diffinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, " Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wife and great king '."

Philip's tranfactions in Theffaly, Eubæa, and Megara. Olymp. cix. I. A. C. 344.

Philip had no fooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally fettled the affairs of that diffracted country; having taken on himfelf the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four feparate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and fubmiffive under the dominion of Macedon 6. While Philip was thus employed in Theffaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macadonian authority in the ifle of Eubœa. Nor was he fatisfied with fecuring his former acquifitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara, divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the ifthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonian 7. Philip gained a party in Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; because, being already master of

<sup>5</sup> I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, ώς ὁ παις είτος Εασιλευς μεγας. ὁ δε ημετερος πλεσιος. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>6</sup> Demofth. Philipp. iii.

<sup>7</sup> Demolthen, de falsa Legatione, & Philipp, iii. In Philipp, iv. he speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: ταυτης (feil. Ευθοιας) ολιγως»μενης, Μεγαρα έαλω παςαμικρου, p. 54.

Bœotia, Phocis, and Theffaly, the narrow ter- CHAP. ritory of the Megarians formed the chief obstacle 2 to his free passage into the Peloponnesus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly deferved his attention



The Lacedæmonians, repulfed by Philip, whom Philip prethey had condescended to folicit, rejected by the protest the Phocians, whom they offered to affift, and Laving communilost all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the ties of the Delphic temple, totally deserted a scene of action, nesus ain which they could expect neither profit nor gainst the honour, and confined their politics and their arms of Sparta. within the narrow circle of their own peninfula. For almost two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his usual address and activity, to extend the pretensions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Messené. Argos, and Arcadia. His measures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with fuccess, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the voke of a republic, which they had formerly fourned as oppressive and intolerable. Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into hostility by the Thebans, the eternal enemies of Sparta, and, at that time, closely allied with the king of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requesting him not to permit the destruction of their confederates in the Peloponnesus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a confiderable influence in that coun-

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CHAP. try, which he was glad of an opportunity to increase. To justify his proceedings for this purpose, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceless communities which had fo often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this refolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip fent troops and money into the Peloponnefus, and prepared to march thither in person, at the head of a powerful army 8.

The Coprepare to interrupt his march.

These transactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The Corinthians, jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, still more recently, had taken possession of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppose his passage into the Peloponnesus. Weapons and defensive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exercifed in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; infomuch that Diogenes the Cynic, who loft no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with just contempt the hurry and vain buffle of the effeminate Corinthians, that feemed fo ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to

<sup>9</sup> Lucian de Conferibend, Hiftor. 8 Demofth, de Pace,

roll about his tub ", left he should be the only CHAP.

person unemployed in so busy a city.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less Negociaalarmed, but always better prepared for war, foli- Athens. cited the affiftance of Athens. The latter state had received a confiderable accession of strength, as well as of just honour and respect, from its hospitable reception of the diffressed exiles from Phocis and Recotia. It derived new confideration and luftre from the general congress of ambastadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messené, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to affert their respective claims before the Athenian affembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest fatisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grafped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually affifted each other in feafons of calamity, to make a firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigour in defence of their own and the public fafety, fo fhamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponnefus":. The Thebans joined with the ministers of Philip in calling on the Athenians to adhere strictly to

<sup>10</sup> Aud. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. That learned writer has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the moveable habitation of this philosopher would be fufficiently attefted by ancient monuments. See Winckelmann, d'Hancarville, &c.

<sup>11</sup> Oxnog Henomoungs. Isocrat. in Archidam.

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CHAP, their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince; they endeavoured, by art and fophiftry, to varnish or to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied; and laboured with the utmost assiduity to separate the views and interests of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambaffadors of the inferior states of Peloponnesus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, should favour the views of Sparta, which had so long been the scourge of Greece. They represented this conduct as not only unjust and cruel, but contradictory and abfurd; and used many plaufible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who still strenuously afferted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking fuch a part in the prefent quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnefus.

Artful reprelentations of the Macedonian partifans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, exhorted their countrymen not to break too hastily with a prince with whom they had fo recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and deftructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with fo much difficulty. They observed, that although the meafures of Philip, fince the conclusion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had confidered himfelf as bound in justice to chastife the facrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; furrounded by the Thesialian cavalry and the Theban infantry, he

was compelled to treat the enemies of those states CHAP. with a feverity which his own feelings disapproved. But the time was arrived when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the infolent cruelty of Thebes. These obfervations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleafure those who magnified their ancient grandeur. and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their perfonal fervice, in fuch active measures as could alone fet bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a Answered discourse, which the king of Macedon is said to by De-mostheres, have read with a mixture of terror and admiration ". " When you hear described, men of Athens! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotifm of those who support the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to liften to fuch speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hoftile defigns against

<sup>12</sup> Plut, in Vit. Demofth, in lib. de Dec. Orator.

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CHAP. Greece, the more difficult it is to propose any feafonable advice. The cause of this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition must be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If speeches and reasonings sufficed, we should long ere now have prevailed over our adverfary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the superiority in what forms respectively the chief object of our study and concern; we in our affemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the and points out the dangerous

"Immediately after the peace, the king of Macedon became mafter of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made fuch an use of these acquisitions as fuited the interest of Thebes, not of Athens. Upon what principle did he act thus? Because, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or justice, but by an insatiable lust of power, he faw the impossibility of bending the Athenians to his felfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew that the loftiness of their character would never floop to private confiderations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of justice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to facrifice to a partial and temporary interest, the general fafety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the fame ardour as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more affailable; he knew their folly and their meannefs to be fuch, that provided he heaped benefits on themselves, they would affist him to enslave their

neighbours. Upon the fame principle he now CHAP. cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship of the Messenians and Argives; a circumstance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, fince Philip thus declares his perfuafion, that you alone have wisdom to understand, and virtue to oppose, his defigns; that you foresee the drift of all his negociations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains fuch an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebacs and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely followed the flandard of the inveders; the Argives did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are descended, spurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who acted as the ambaffador of Persia; and, preferring the public interest to their own, provoked the devastation of their territory, and the destruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which can never be celebrated with due praise. For such reasons, Philip chooses for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Meffené, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former states possess not greater strength, wealth, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more power, but less virtue. Nor can Philip plead the merits of their cause; fince, if Chæronæa and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes, Argos and Messené are justly subject to Lacedæ-

CHAP. mon; nor could it be equitable to enflave the inteach those of Peloponnesus to rebel.

> "But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). Surrounded by the Theffalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to affift allies whom he diffrusted, and to concur with measures which he disapproved. Hence the fevere treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel fervitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa-The king of Macedon being now at liberty to confult the dictates of his own humanity and juffice, is defirous to re-establish the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the infolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elatæa.' This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not meditate the destruction of Lacedamon. For this purpose he has remitted money, he has fent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himfelf, to march at the head of a powerful army. His prefent transactions sufficiently explain the motives of his past conduct. It is evident that he acts from system, and that his principal batteries are erected against Athens itself. How can it be otherwise? He is ambitious to rule Greece; you alone are capable to thwart his measures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conscious of his injustice. He is actually contriving your destruction, and he is sensible that you see through his defigns. For all thefe reasons he knows that you detest him, and that should he not anticipate your hostility, he must fall a victim to your

just

just vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, CHAP. watching a favourable moment of affault, and practifing on the stupidity and felfishness of the Thebans and Peloponnesians; for if they were not stupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once spoke 13 on this subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was useless to them, may, perhaps, not unfeafonably be repeated to you. "Men of Argos and Messené! you remember the time when Philip careffed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generoufly bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have liftened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territories of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and fold by one another. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thesfalians ever conjecture that the same prince would fubject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been perfuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you, Messenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip

During his embassy to Peloponnesus, mentioned above. fimiling



CHAP. fmiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him infulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have discovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raifed by the labour of man, and fupported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common onlwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike ufeful to all, especially to free cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preferve this carefully, and no calamity can befal you "4."

Impeachment of Allchines and Philocrates.

Demosthenes then read to the affembly the schedule of an answer, which he advised to be given to the ambaffadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the fame time he exhorted his countrymen to deliberate with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by which they might resist the common enemy; " an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as that feemed possible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vaft fystem of hostile ambition, difmembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless." Had the orator stopped here, his advice might have been followed with fome ufcful confequences. But in declaiming against the encroachments of Macedon, his refertment was na-

<sup>14</sup> Demofthen, Orat, ii. in Philipp.

turally inflamed against Philocrates, Æschines, and CHAP. their affociates, whose perfidious intrigues and machinations had produced the public danger and differace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and confign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleafed to attend the courts of justice at home, than to march into the Peloponnefus. The city refounded with the noise of trials and accufations. Philocrates was banished 15, and Æschines nearly escaped the same fate, by exposing the profligate life of his accuser Timarchus 16.

Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved Philip Cetby his enemies, was failing with c powerful arma- ties the affairs of the ment towards Cape Tenarus, the most fouthern Peloponnesus. promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, befieged and took Trinafus, a maritime city of confiderable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity 17. The alarm was fo general, that it has been thought worth while to record the faying of a Spartan vouth, who remained unmoved amidst the public

<sup>15</sup> Æschin. in Ctefiphon.

<sup>16</sup> Argum. in Æichin. Orat. in Timarch.

<sup>· 17</sup> Plin. Hift. Nat. 1. ii. c. xxxvi.

CHAP. consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" " Why," replied the generous youth, " fhould I fear him? he cannot hinder me from dying for my country 18." But this manly refolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the · invader in the field, they fent Agis, the fon of king Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to fubinit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expreffed his turprife. " What, have the Spartans fent but one!" " Am I not fent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis 19. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the king of Macedon, though unwilling to provoke the defpair of a people, whose degenerate virtue might yet be animated by the inftitutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to refign their pretended authority over Argos, Messené, and Accadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he folemrly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be entrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnasias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Messené, to Neon and Thrafylochus, the fons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit eternal oblivion, if Demof-

<sup>18</sup> Frontin, l. iv. c. v.

<sup>19</sup> Plut. Apophth.

thenes justly branded them as traitors 20; but a CHAP. more impartial, and not less judicious writer 21, o afferts, that by early espouling the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their fagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wifely in courting the rifing fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their own prudence and forefight, and from which the Athenians, after leng provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

Having fettled the affairs of Poloponnesus, the Philippubking of Macedon marched through that country fulted at amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied Corinth; with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiracion, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his fervice; and affifted at the games and spectacles, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent

<sup>20</sup> Παςα γας τοις ίλλησιι, ε τισι, αλλα πασιν όμοιως, Φοςαν προδοτών και δωςοδοκων και θειι; εχθρων αιθρωπων, συνεξη γενεσθαι, όσην εδεις πω προτερον μεμιηται γεγοισιαι. . These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

<sup>21</sup> Polyb. iii. 72.

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CHAP. Corinthians, who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animolity against Philip, did not conceal their fentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the king of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interpolition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was ftrongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digeft an affront 22, when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience "Were I to act with feverity, what must I expect from men, who repay even kindness with infult 23 ?"

his moderation.

Philip exof Epirus, nefes. Olym cix. I. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest boundaries route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements the Halon- that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inspecting with particular care the education of his fon Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant foil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early culture 24. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-

<sup>22</sup> Longinus has preferved the expression of Theopompus, " that Philip could eafily fwallow affronts."

<sup>24</sup> Plut, ibid. 23 Plut. in Alexand.

in-law Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of CHAP. his vaffals, by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopæa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the fame time he exercised his fleet by wresting Halonnesus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of the Athenians, the ancient and lawful proprietors of the island 25.

> and pro-A. C. 343.

Next year Philip was fummoned into Upper Settles the Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that commotions in country, fomented by Arnadocus king of the Thrace, Odryfians. The warlike tribes of that great na- tests the tion, acting with little concert or union, were fuc- Cardiens. ceffively fubdued; and the dexterity of the king cix. 2. of Macedon feconding his usual good fortune, he foon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vasfals or courtiers 26. At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic c Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Cherfonefus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always fet at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersquesites by a new colony. which had continual diffutes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crifis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength and

26 Diodor, I, xvi, p. 464. 35 Demosth, Orat, de Halon.

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These measures rouse the Athenians from their

lethargy.

numbers of the enemy, when they were feafonably defended by the Macedonian arms 27.

The feizing of Halonnesus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open affiftance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more roufed the Athenians from their lethargy. These fresh infults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animofity, and the manifold injuries which they had fuffered fince the conclusion of the peace with Macedon. But initead of oppofing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be refifted with any hope of fuccefs, they employed the impotent defence of speeches, resolutions, and embassies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there feemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repressing his infolent usurpation 28

Philip Cfpatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated fchemes from which he wished not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, sent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonstrances of that people; and dispatched to Athens itself, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that passionate vehemence of language which seems to arise

28 Demosthen, de Cherfoneso, p. 35, & segq.

<sup>27</sup> Demosthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. & Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

from conviction and fincerity, a mercenary fpirit, CHAP. and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago fold himself, and, as far as depended on himself, the interest of his country, to the king of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the fenate and people of Athens, written with that specious moderation and artful plaufibility, which Philip knew fo well to affume in all his transactions. "He of- Its confered to make a prefent to the Athenians of the island of Halonnesus, and invited them to join with him in purging the fea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long fublisted between the two nations, and to concert amicably together fuch commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they fo loudly complained. That for himfelf, he was ready not only to terminate all disputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to diffrust those defigning and turbulent demagogues, whose selfissh ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war 29."

The fubtle artifices of Philip, though fupported Diopeion this occasion by the impetuous eloquence of thes, the Athenian Python, were overcome by Hegefippus and De- general in Thrace, mosthenes, who refuted the various articles of the acts rigoletter with great strength and perspicuity, and unveiled the injustice of Philip with fuch force of Philip.

<sup>29</sup> Demosthen, seu Hegesipp, de Halon, p. 33, & seq. evidence, M 4

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CHAP. evidence, that the Athenians resolved upon sending a confiderable armament to the Cherfonefus, to protect their fubjects in that peninfula 30. Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterprise. Before he arrived in the Cherfonefus, Philip, trusting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himself of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian fertlements in Thrace, he made an incursion into the neighbouring country; stormed the Macedonian settlements at Crobylé and Tiriftafis; and having carried off many prifoners, and a confiderable booty, lodged them in the fafe retreat of the Cherfonefus. On this emergency, Amphilochus, a Macedonian of rank, was fent as ambaffador, to treat of the ranfom of prisoners; but Diopeithes, regardless of this character, ever held facred in Greece, cast him in prison, the more furely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if possible, to render it irreparable. With equal feverity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excursion, charged with letters from Philip; which were fent to Athens, and read in full affembly 31.

The partifansof Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

The king of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and infults, gave free scope to his complaints and threats; and his emissaries had an

<sup>3</sup>º Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33, & feq.

<sup>11</sup> Epistol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat. de Cherfonefo.

easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very fparingly fupplied by the republic, levied confiderable contributions from the Greek fettlements in Asia. The partifans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's detters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens, if not, he would be his own avenger; the perfonal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and infifted, that fuch a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and punished for his misconduct 32

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to Heis defend the accused general, whose measures he powerfully warmly approved; and motives of private friend- by Demofship heightening the ardour of patriotism, render his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus one of the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too fuccessfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizens. Diopeithes, if really criminal, might be recalled, and punished whenever they thought proper. A fimple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce bim to his duty. But



CHAP. Philip, the public enemy, who was continually inxxxvi. fringing the peace, who, before the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppreffed the Cherfonesites, had formed Serrium and Dorifcus, how was Philip to be restrained, unless they repelled force by force? Instead of recalling their troops from the Cherfonefus on the remonstrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himfelf at war with them, till he affaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the fetting in of the Etesian winds, to fall on the Cherfonefus. Will it then be fufficient to accufe Diopeithes? Or will this fave our allies? "O, but we will fail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even should our enemy attack, not the Cherfonefus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him in Thrace, than to carry the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Afiatic Greeks are justified by the example of all his predeceffors, who, according to the strength of their respective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or less, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furnished with convoys to protect their trading vessels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes had not that refource, how could he fublift his troops, he who receives nothing from you, and who has

nothing of his own? From the fkies? No; but CHAP from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleasure? That such traitors should exists is less furprifing than that you should patiently receive from them fuch counsels, as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the king of Macedon, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your foldiers, revile and infult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, rifes up in the affembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with fatisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a fincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and difgrace." The difagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious, for the infidious discipline of certain ministers has fo changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your diffress charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet, Athe-

CHAP. Athenians, if the flates of Greece should thus call XXXVI. you to account for your conduct: " Men of Athens, you are continually fending embassies to affure us, that Philip is projecting our ruin, and that of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained fix months abroad by fickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubæa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have remained infensible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigour. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary ferment! If the Greeks should ask this, what could we answer? I know not.

> "There are mer who think to perplex a wellintentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to do? My answer is fincere, None of those things which you do at present. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and not least to such as are most distinguished by his favours,

The fate of Euthycrates and Lafthenes 33, citizens CHAP. of Olynthus, may teach our traitors the destruction that awaits them, after they have furrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your foil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hoftile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourselves and them, to repel usurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, actruth, of which you ought to be deeply perfuaded; and next, that wherever you reprefs his encroachments, you act for the fafety of Athens, against which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be fo foolish as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Mastira), should form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he should submit to toils and dangers; that, for the fake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he should confent to fpend fo many months amidst winter fnows and tempests; while, at the same time, he difregarded the riches, and fplendour of Athens, your harbours, arfenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians. It is to get possession of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elsewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourfelves from our indolence; not only support, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that, as

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CHAP. Philip has an army ever reedy to attack and conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to succour and to fave them 34."

Demofthenes ventures not to propole the war in form.

It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been recorded among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities confequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for mifleading the people 35, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this difagreeable fubject: " Rash, impudent, and audacious, I reither am, Athenians, nor wish ever to become; yet possess more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who, capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confifcating on the other, have, in either case, a sure pledge of impunity in the flat-

<sup>34</sup> Demofthen. Orat. de Cherfones. p. 35, & seqq.

<sup>35</sup> By the γεαφη παροιομων. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

cery and artifices by which they have long feduced CHAP. the public. The courage of that minister is put XXXVI. to an eafy trial, who is ever ready to facrifice your permanent interest to your present pleasure. But he is truly courageous, who, for the fake of your fafety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, roufes you from your dream of pleafure, disdains to flatter you, and having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himfelf responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels tend to render, not myfelf, but my country great."

The arguments and remonstrances of Demos-The Athethenes not only faved Diopeither, but animated the pose the Athenians with a degree of vigour 36 which they common had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet with spirit was fitted out under the command of Callias, who by fea and feized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a defcent on the coast of Thessaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelasgic gulph. A confiderable body of forces was fent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, affisted by his kinfman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peperathus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite

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CHAP with their Grecian brethren against the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these commotions, but his defigns against the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus 37 being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any fecondary confideration to divert him from that important enterprise.

Philip attempts to get possesfion of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3. A. C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a confiderable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whose vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thousand men hovered round; but the defign was fulpected or discovered, and Philip, to fcreen his partifans from public vengeance, feafonably withdrew his army, and invested the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of these transactions not only increased the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus king of Persia, who being no ftranger to Philip's defign of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To prevent this danger Ochus adopted the fame policy, which, in fimilar circumstances, had been fuccefsfully employed by his predeceffors 38. The Persian gold was profusely scattered among the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof

<sup>37</sup> Demosth, de Coron, & Diodor, 1, xvi, c, xxii,

<sup>38</sup> Plut, in Alexand.

against an unworthy alliance 39 with interest, rojoiced CHAP. at being paid for doing what he confidered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever against the king Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himfelf with equal zeal in that island.

The factious spirit of the Eubœans' rendered The Athethem alike incapable of independence, and of re- cover maining quietly under the government either of Eubœa. Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The cities of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previously folicited affiftance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favourable to their views. From other states they brought back promifes and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly by the influence of Demosthenes, a confiderable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular affemblies in melt of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with fuch animofity against Philip and his partifans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrifons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one

CHAP. XXXVI. The merit of Demofthenes acknowledged on this occasion.

to everuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens and strangers 4°.

Circumflances
which enabled the
Perinthians to
make an
obtlinate
defence.
Olymp.
cix. 4.
A. C. 541.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perfeverance. The town was fituated on the floping ridge of an ifthmus, and ftrongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and flreets rifing one above another like the feats of an amphitheatre, fo that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having scoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the befieged; his miners were bufy at the foundation; at length the battering-rams advanced to the wall, in which a confiderable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsheen had not been idle. The superior discharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of miffile weapon from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians from

<sup>4</sup>º Demosth, de Coron. & Plut, in Demosth.

those parts of the wall and battlements, against CHAP. which the principal attack had been directed. But with inceffant toil, the belieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches 41. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind fertile in expedients, to reffore their hopes, and to reanimate their activity. The fiege recommenced with fresh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly faved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a ftrong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens: and lastly by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, prefenting its apex or narrow point to the befiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and to overwhelm them with miffile weapons as they advanced to the charge. Philip, ever sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an affault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall: he therefore determined to change the fiege into a blockade. Perinthus was flut up

<sup>41</sup> Diodor. p. 466, & fegq.

CHAP. as closely as possible by sea and land: part of the Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thousand pounds sterling), were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the fiege of Selymbria, and foon after of Byzantium itself, the taking of which places, it was hoped, might compensate their lost labour at Perinthus 42.

The Thrafupported by numerous allies, refift the arms of Philip.

During the military operations against the cities cian cities, of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence; as effential to their own fafety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious diforders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He, who was actually found and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which, if allowed to lurk in any part, would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now befieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if fucceisful in these enterprises, they would foon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks looked on the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition migh ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of providence; as a

tempestuous cloud of hail, so destructive to the CHAP. vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods that it might not fall on his own fields 43. These animated and just representations of the common diffress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities 44. Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow student of the virtuous Phocion. refided as ambaffador in Athens. At the fame time the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom, they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he defeats was extremely defirous of maintaining peace with the republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, the Athewhich, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the people,

Philip at. tacks and Diopeithes, and justifies his cor luct to nains.

<sup>43</sup> Αλλα διως τουτ' ορωντες δι έλληνες ανεχενται' και τον αυτον τροπον, ονώερ όι την χαλαζαν, εμοιγε δοκεσι θεωζειν ευχομείοι μη καθ' έαυτης εκατοι γενεσθαι, κωλυείν δε εδείς επιχείρων. Demott. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pais de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with fnow, funny hills, and fertile vallies .- Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-ftorms fo alarming and fo destructive.

<sup>44</sup> Demosthen, de Corona.

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The autique

CHAP. but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by feditious and felfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently furprifed an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Cherfonefus, commanded this predatory band, who, after a flight skirmish, were repelled with the loss of their leader, flain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which, he affured the Athenians, that he had been compelled, much against his inclination: he affected to confider Diopeithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the general of the republic; and as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip affured himfelf that the fenate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had at length repelled violence, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's feizes an convoy de-Stined for the relief of Silvmbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty veffels laden with corn to the relief of the Selvmbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, feems to have imagined that the treaty formerly fublishing between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was furrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying any regard to the complaints and remonstrances of CHAP. Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not destined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the fuperabundance of the fertile Cherfonefus to the rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

The news of the capture of their ships occafioned much tumult and uneafiness among the captured Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this fubject, a decree was framed for fending ambaffadors to Philip, in order to redemand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his instructions, should be punished with due severity. Cephifophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commission, repaired without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at their request, immediately released the captured vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the following letter: " Philip king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambaffadors, who have conferred with me about the release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to perfuade me that thefe ships were intended to convey corn from the Cherfonefus to the ifle of Lemnos, and not destined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually belieged by me, and nowife included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjust commission Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others now in private flations, who are too bufy in urging you to violate

Philip restores the veffels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 3410

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CHAP. your engagements, and to commence hostilities against me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantage from such a rupture. Deeply perfuaded that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders to release the captured vessels; and do you, in return, remove fuch pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs; and let them feel the severity of your justice. On my part, I shall endeavour to preserve inviolate the treaty, by which we fland mutually engaged 45."

Demofthenes perfuades the to fuccour the befieged cities in Thrace.

The moderate and friendly fentiments expressed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Mace-Athenians donian partifans at Athens. But Demosthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations against the cities of the Propontis, in order to stifle the refeatment of the Athenians, at a crifis when they might act against him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations 46, in which, without urging any new matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and enlivened his former observations and reasonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his defigns against themselves by a speedy and effectual affiftance to their distressed

<sup>45</sup> Epift. Philip. in Demosth.

<sup>45</sup> Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat, de Epift. Philip.

brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. CHAP. By his convincing eloquence the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the last transitory glimpfe of fuccess and splendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

It was decreed by the fenate and people, to fit Diffioout a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but expedition unfortunately the command was given to Chares, of Chares, Olymp. whose character rendered him as contemptible to cx. 1. the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of A.C. 340. the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This difafter, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion 47, who, though ever ready to ferve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

in his at-

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, Philipfails flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to in his at tempt to ftorm Byzantium. That city was environed on three fides by the fea, and defended on the fourth tium. by a ftrong wall, and a large and deep trench, covered by lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without rifking a fally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradualXXXVI.

CHAP. ly to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and feemed determined to affault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper meafures for gaining the place by furprife. For executing this delign, he chose the gloom of a tempestuous night; a determined band of Macedonians passed the ditch; the scalingladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs, kept in the towers even in time of peace, to fecure them in the night. The alarm spread with rapidity among the feveral guards, who rufhing tumultuously from their respective stations, as if the enemy had been already maîters of the town, were on the point of blindly affaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flashes of lightning, enabled them to diftinguish their friends, and to discern the danger. Having formed in fome degree of order, they advanced against the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart from which they were with difficulty repulfed by fuperior numbers 28.

The Athenians, command. cien, fave cian ci-Olymp. CX. 1. A.C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterprife did not discourage Philip from carrying on ed by Pho- his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perseverance must finally have prevailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received him with open arms, expecting that under fuch a CHAP commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by fimilar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant 49. The king of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it neceffary to raife the fiege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating refolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many and ravage the Macimportant cities was principally owing, failed from donian Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamateritories. tions of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Cherfonefus, he captured a fleet of victuallers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninfula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He recovered several places on the

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CHAP. coast of Thrace, which had reluctantly submitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, took fuch measures as feemed most proper to protect the Athenian allies in those parts, from future danger. Instead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the wants of his foldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in person the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of those expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had spread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and fword the hereditary dominions of Philip 50.

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cithey had reliered.

The meritorious fervices of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved 51. The deliverance and gratitude of the Cherfonefus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by ties which crowns, flatues, inscriptions, and altars; and are still recorded in an oration of Demosthenes 52, which has defervedly furvived those perishing monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing the ancient and recent benefits of Athens towards them, enacted, that, in return for those favours, the Athenians should be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in their territories, the freedom of their respective

51 Idem, ibid.

<sup>5</sup>º Plut. in Phocion. & Diodor. ubi supra.

<sup>52</sup> Demothen, de Corona,

cities, and the first and most honourable place in CHAP. all their entertainments and affemblies: That whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should be exempted from all taxes: And that, further, three statues, each fixteen cubits high, should be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown should be proclaimed at the four principal festivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Cherfonefus were not less forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a fimilar preamble, fetting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they refolved to crown the senate and people of Athens with a golden crown worth fixty talents; and to confecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. These public and folemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had advifed the measures, in consequence of which such just glory had been acquired. At the distance of feveral years, the orator still boasted of this important fervice. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most fuccefsful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counfellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured 53."



C H A P.
XXXVI.

Atheas
king of
Scythia
invites
Philip to
affift him
againft the
Iftrians.

The circumstance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rife from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling pasfion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Moesia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninfula contained between the western waves of the Euxine and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the fix mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Borifthenes, and the shores of the Palus Mccotis, which districts in ancient times had the name of Little Scythia 54, and are still called Little Tartary 55. A monarch less warlike and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the fouth of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mæsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already grasped as the frontier of his empire, and the proper line of feparation between barbarous and civilized

<sup>54</sup> Herodotus & Strabo, paffim. 55 Geograph. de D'Anville.

nations. It was not, therefore, without fuch excess C H A P. of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of XXXVI. found policy, that, amidit his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas 36, who styled himself king of the Scythians, to march to his affiftance, and to defend his dominions, confifting in the peninfula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas was totally unable to refift. To this propofal was added a condition extremely alluring to the king of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanguish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the kingdom of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

In greedily fnatching this bait laid for his am-Perfidy bition, Philip was not enough on his guard against and infothe usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor that Bardid he fufficiently consider, that by fending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, fent a great body of forces to the north, and promifed to affift them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose conduct ren-

CHAP. dered fuccefsful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by fudden death: the dispirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, without the affiftance of Macedon, Atheas once more regained poffession of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution ferved to display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and fubfiftence. Their just remonstrances and complaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally disavowed the propositions and promises of those who styled themselves his ambassadors; observing " how unlikely it was, that he should have folicited the affiftance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the 3cythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been still more unnatural to appoint Philip his fuccessor, since he had a fon of his own, worthy to inherit his crown and dignity 57."

Phili remonstrates with him in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the infolent behaviour of a prince who had fo recently folicited his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuccessfully, employed against the cities of the Propontis, fent an embaffy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to fatisfy the just demands of the Maccdonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the expence incurred in his defence. The ambaffadors found the king of Scythia in his stable, currying his horfe. When they testified surprise at

feeing him engaged in fuch an occupation, he CHAP. asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission, and explained the demands of Philip, the fubtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furnish a present becoming the greatness of their mafter; and that, therefore, it feemed more eligible to offer nothing at all, than a present totally unworthy of his acceptance 58.00 This evalive and mortifying answer being Philip de-

brought to the king of Macedon when foiled and to chastife haraffed, yet not disheartened, by his unprosperous his ingraexpedition against Byzantium, furnished him with perfidy. a very honourable pretence for raifing the fiege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chastise the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having overreached him by policy, now mocked him with insolence. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourse to his ufual arts, and fent a herald with the enfigns of peace and friendship, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a folemn vow which he had made during the fiege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen statue to Hercules on the banks of

the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to en-

57 Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

counter and elude with fimilar address.

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praising .



CHAP. praising or blaming the pious intention of the king, he coolly defired him to forward the statue, which he himself would take care to erect in the appointed place; that should it be fet up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to fland; otherwife, he could give no affurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons 58.

Succels of his Scythian expedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the fignal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and fword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and feizing the flaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He feems to have employed feveral weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they effential to the defign of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a paftoral flate are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, feparated from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and fixed their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian foldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the lofs of feveral flain or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to refide at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This diftinguished captive was fent as a present to Atheas, who was fo little delighted with his accomplish- CHAP. ments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music. The skirmish in which Isimenias was taken, feems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whose conftitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every where overcome by the disciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx 59.

Philip reaped fuch fruits from his expedition as The namight be expected by a victory over a people who quantity had no king but their general, no god but their of the fword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The fpoil confifted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares, destined to replenish the studs of Pella 60. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promifed statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribate on the Scythians, as a mark of their fubmission and dependence, purpofing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great defigns in Greece, to which country the filent operation of his intrigues now fummoned his return.

But while he marched fouthward at the head of Philip, on an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a furprised very unexpected event threatened to blaft his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his

his return, by the Triballi.

<sup>59</sup> Justin. 1. ii. c. 5.

<sup>. 92</sup> Compar. Justin. l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.



CHAP life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never tho-" roughly fubdued, befet by ambush, and vigorously affaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Moesia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the flower of a nation whose authority their own fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly condescended to obey. The confusion and the danger was increafed by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, haraffed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, feized the prefent opportunity to defert the standard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi 61.

Alexander faves the life of his

The king of Macedon, too prudent to undertake superfluous danger, never acquired by valour what might be obtained by Pratagem; but when a necessary occasion folicited his courage and his prowefs, he knew how to affume the hero, and (if we may transpose an ancient proverb) deto eke out the fox's with the lion's fkin 62." The urgency of the present emergence summoned all the firmness of his mind. With his voice and example he encouraged the aftonished and disheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the same weapon which pierced

62 Vid. Plut. in Lyfand.

<sup>61</sup> Juffin. 1. ix. c. 3. Plut. in Alexand.

his horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground. CHAP. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from faving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his fword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of fafety 63; the fon fo worthily fucceeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appealed, and the Barbarians couted and deand put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with feats the Triballi. an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous fon endeavoured to remove his anxiety by asking, how he could be chagrined at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour 64?

To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, Philip apthe Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The fecret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well as immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

pointed general of the Amphictyons. Olymp. CX. 2. A.C. 339.

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the fuccessful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of affairs en-Ochus king of Persia, who thought it impossible to the Athe-

The fittation of Philip's courages

<sup>63</sup> Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Jufin. l. ix. c. 3. Plut, in Alexand.

nians to with vigour. Olymp. CX. 2. A.C. 339.

CHAP employ his wealth more utefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, exert themselves conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long funk, and animated them with a defire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece. In order to fave the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent ftruggle) to abolifh the very popular law, or rather abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical antefements, fo paffionately idolifed by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval ftrength of Macedon 65. The troops and partifans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides, an orator fecond only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, to perfuade the feveral republics to fecond the generous ardour of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of those illustrious statesmen 66.

Difficulties with which Philip had to ftruggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all those transactions; and the alarm univerfally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate, than to conceal, the danger. Highly

<sup>65</sup> Demotthen, de Corona.

provoked against the Athenians, the continual op- CHAP. posers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate XXXVI. their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Theffalians, who, ever felfish and capricious, would be ready to forfake him with his good fortune. His difgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavourable to fuch a hazardous defign. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success. to attack the enemy by fea, fince the Athenian fleet fo far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almost totally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip His inshewed how well he understood the unsteady tem- trigues with the per of the Greeks, by raifing the fiege of Byzan- incendiary tium, and burying himfelf in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animofity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two focret engines, which continued to work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular affembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that fupine negligence with which Demofthenes fo frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athenians

Antiphon;

CHAP. regarded an unqualified voter in the affembly as an usurper of sovereign power) was discovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his infolence and calumny had justly rendered him obnoxious; in confequence of which impeachment, the fupposititious Athenian was divested of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whose most august rights and honours he had usurped and disgraced. Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourse to the king of Macedon, and offered himself for any enterprife, however bloody or desperate, by which, in ferving the interest of Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too steadily in view, and purfued them with too much ardour and perfeverance, to be very delicate in choosing the means by which he might diffress his adversaries. He greedily closed, therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an instrument fo fit for his fervice

who a tempts to fet fire to the Athemian docks.

The fuperiority of the Athenians by fea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arfenals shewed them determined to maintain and increase, formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the defign was fuggested, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens in difguife, infinuate himfelf into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the main hope of the republic,

While the artful king of Macedon eluded the ftorm CHAP. of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a ferpent, in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered The dethis desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Demof-Antiphon from his concealment, diverted him of his difguife, and produced him at the bar of the affembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion, were on this occasion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of fuch black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long ablence, and accused, perhaps on vain prefumptions, of fuch a horrid crime. They knew befides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to encrease their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms and imaginary dangers. Æschines, and other partifans of Philip, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of Demosthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his infolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the house where

XXXVI.

CHAP. where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his fanctuary 67. Such was the effect of these clamours, that Antiphon was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have refumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the fenate of the Areopagus more carefully examined the information of Demosthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again feized, and tried. Torture, which the inftitution of domestic flavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and his enormous guilt was punished with as enormous severity 68.

Philip's intrigues for emthe affairs of Greece.

Had the detestable enterprise of Antiphon been. crowned with unmerited fuccefs, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude ftroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he fet in motion for gaining the fame end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened refentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the difgrace fultained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be eafily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the feveral parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which

<sup>67</sup> Lyfias paffim in Agorat. & Eratofth.

<sup>68</sup> Demosthenes de Coron, who gives the honourable account of his own conduct described in the text.

the whole was carried into execution. It is on this CHAP. occasion that Demosthenes might justly exclaim, "In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip distinguished above all his ambitious, predecessors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is most worthy of remark, the principal instruments of his ambition flourished in the bosom of that state, whose public councils most openly opposed his greatness 69."

The time approached for convening at Delphi His partithe vernal affembly of the Amphictyons. It was fans fent evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might Athens as have been expected from their just refentment the Amagainst Philip, that they should fend such depu- phictyons, ties to the city of Apollo, as were most hostile to the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were perfuaded, at a crifis which demanded the most faithful and incorrupt ministers, to employ, as their representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æschines and Midias; the former of whom had fo often reproached, and the latter had, on one occasion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre70; and who were both not only the declared

deputies to

enemies

<sup>65</sup> Demosth. de Coron.

<sup>7</sup>º Demofth, in Mid, & Æschin, in Ctesiphont.



C. H. A.P. enemies of this illustrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thraficles, the warm and active partifans of the king of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus 71 pretended fickness, that they might allow Æschines to display, uncontrouled, his superior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepest diffirmulation, might be performed most fuccessfully by a fingle traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the facred offerings, which had been removed and fold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new prefents were made by feveral states, to supply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who prefent a dethe temple highly offensive to the Thebans.

The Athenians particularly fignalifed their pious dication to munificence, and fent, among other dedications, feveral golden shields, with the following inscription: " Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against Greece." This offering, highly offensive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely fulpended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons liftened to their complaints, and it was whifpered in the council, that the Athenians deferved punishment for presenting their gift to the god; before it had been regularly confecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at these murmurs,

Æ schine

<sup>71</sup> Æschines says, Διογιπτον πυριττιιι; " That Diognetus was feized with a fever, and that the fame misfortune happened to Midias," p. 29c.

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

Æschines " rushed into the assembly, and began a CHA formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa 73, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Criffa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been defolated by the Amphictyons, folemnly confecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility 74.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not The Atheless ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamoroufly interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the affembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphiffa. Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had fo recently abetted the execrable facrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or confulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council 75.

nians reproached by the deputy of

<sup>72</sup> Αρχομενε θε με λεγειν, και προθυμοτερον πως εισεληλυθοτος εις το ouvedeiov. Æschin. p. 290.

<sup>73</sup> Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address: αναβοησας τις των Αμφισσεων, ανθεώπος αθελγετατος, και ώς εμοι εφαινετο εδεμιας παιδειας μετεσχηκώς, ισως δε και δαιμονιτινός εξαμαρτανειν αυτοι προαγομενε. " He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by fome offended divinity."

<sup>74</sup> See nese events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

<sup>75</sup> Æfchin, in Ctefiphont.

CHAP. XXXVI. \_\_\_ Æfchines. Locrians for cultivating the Cirrhean plain;

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of exciting fuch tumults in the affembly as fuited the views of Philip 76. In the ardour of patriotic inagainst the dignation, which he knew so well to affume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the innocence, but displayed with oftentation, the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, "Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the ineftir able rewards of glory fo justly earned 77? Shall men, themselves polluted by facrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, prefume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be feen from the temple), behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphiffeans; behold the numerous

76 Demosthen, de Corona.

77 The perfualive energy with which Æschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion, is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æschines (de falla Legatione, and in Cefiphont.) would have juftly been regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æichines, are eclipfed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a fecond part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for fame :

Λεεν αρισευεν εξύπειροχον εμιμεναι αλλωνο

buildings which they have erected there, and that CHAP. accurfed port of Cirrha, justly demolished by our XXXVI. ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified." Æschines here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned that harbour and those lands to perpetual defolation. Then proceeding with increased vehemence: " For myfelf, ye Grecians! I fwear, that I myfelf, my children, my country, will discharge our duty to heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the confecrated territory. Do you, Amphictyons! determine as vidom shall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer folemn prayers for bleffings on yourfelves, and on the republics which you represent. But consider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you fuffer the profanation of the Amphisseans to pass unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only against those who cultivate the consecrated ground, but against those who neglect to punish them: " May they never prefent an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may all their facrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred 78 !"

The warmth of Æschines occasioned the utmost which exconfusion in the affembly. The golden shields, third sairregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no cred war. longer the fubject of discourse. This slight impro-

Paufanias Phocic. & Æfchin. in Ctefiphont.



CHAP. priety disappeared amidst the enormous impieties of the Amphisseans, which had been so forcibly painted to the superstitious fancies of the terrified milititude. It was determined, after violent contentions between those who accused, and those who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having fummoned the affiftance of the citizens of Delphi, should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations, which had so long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. ravagers met with Little opposition in performing this pious devastation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and affaulted by a numerous party of Amphiffeans, who threw them into diforder, took feveral prifeners, and purfued the rest to Delphi. The fignal of war was now raifed; the infulted Amphictyons, in whose persons the sanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their respective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphisseans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which possess only a delegated authority, the measures of the Amphictyons were extremely flow and irrefolute; and when they at length raifed an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Thessalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unfuccefsful 79

The Amphictyons appoint

Affairs were thus brought to the iffue which had been expected by Æschines, and the accomplices

their ge-

who affifted him in promoting the interest of the CHAP king of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council against the lukewarm indifference of the Philip Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned moral. the national religion. " It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo, and the guardians of his temple, to feek out and employ some more powerful instrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His affiftance must again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and the facred shrine." This proposal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome meffage with well-affected furprife, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he should be ever ready to obey so.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper Philip measures for acting as general of the Amphic- Athenian tyons, and provided a sufficient number of trans- fleet by a transagem. ports to convey his army into Greece. He understood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Æschines and his affociates, the Athenians had been perfuaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his paffage with a fuperior naval

eludes the fleet by a

force. To baffle this opposition, Philip employed 80 Æfchin, in Ctefiphont,



CHAP. a ftratagem. A light brigantine was dispatched to Macedon with letters of fuch import as gave reafon to believe that he purposed immediately returning into Thrace 81. Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and minister, he took care to mask his artifice, by fending letters to his queen Olympias. The brigantine defignedly fell into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were feized and read; but the letter of the queen was politely forwarded to its destination 82. The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes poffession of Amphissa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than feemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the king, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose defigns they had lately become extremely jealous, fent a fmall body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long difgufted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public fpirit to oppose, beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous difregard, and feemed firm in

<sup>31</sup> Polyæn, l. iv. c. iis

<sup>32</sup> Plut, in Demetr.

their purpose of preserving a fullen neutrality. CHAP. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a fense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle, against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her minifters of being bribed to Philippife, or to prophefy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while Æschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty mine, to abet the impiety of Amphissas. The king of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, befieged; took, and garrifoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory 84.

The news of these events occasioned dreadful The Atheconfternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, while they who could not be perfuaded to tear themselves from negociate their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, lip, raise a believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious in- against vader. After less altercation and delay than usually prince. prevailed in their councils, they fent an embaffy to Philip, craving a fuspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine negligence, and

with Phiconfede-

<sup>33</sup> Æschin, in Cteliphont, 84 Demosthen, de Corona.

The Thebans fluctuate between the party of that of the Atheni-

ans.

CHAP. to animate and unite them against a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the fubjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambaffadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes sluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The fituation of the Philip and Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important 83. To gain or to retain their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied affiduity. The Thebans temporifed, deliberated, refolved, and changed their refolutions. The partifans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with that stupid indifference, and took their measures with that lethargic flowness, which disgraced even the heavy character of Bootians 86.

Philip feizes Elatæa. Olymp. cx. 3.

To fix their wavering irrefolution, and to awaken their fenfibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general A. C.338. wreck of Phocis, his forefight and policy had fpared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The ci-

<sup>\$5</sup> Diodor, 1. xvi. p. 475.

<sup>26</sup> Demosthen, de Coron.

tadel was built on an eminence, washed by the river CHAP. Cephiffus, which flowed in a winding course through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by feveral navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post, conveniently fituate for receiving reinforcements from Theffaly and Macedon, commanding the paffage into Bœotia, distant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garrifoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the fafety of Thebes and Athens, Philip feized with equal boldness and celerity 87, drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus fecured himfelf from furprife, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him fufficient ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council 88, by whose authority the king of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

We are not acquainted with the immediate ef- Alarm fect of this vigorous measure on the resolutions of thereby excited in the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of Athens. the uncorrupt part of the citizens, may be conjectured by what happened on the fame occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad.

87 Diodor, & Demofthen, nbi fupra. 88 Æschin, in Ctefiphont.



CHAP. Some haftened to the generals; others went in queft of the officer 89 whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the marketplace; and, in order to make room for the affembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradefinen or artificers who exposed their wares to fale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all affembled; the fenctors took their places; the prefident reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, " That he who had any thing to offer on the present emergence, should mount the roftrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with filence and difinay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all prefent; but none obeyed the fummons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the affiftance of her children 20.

Demosthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppose Philip to the utmost of their power by fer and land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; having proposed, amidst universal consternation, an advice equally prudent, generous, and fuccefsful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the defponding citizens, and affuring them that, were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the

Thebans,

<sup>89</sup> Του σαλπιγκτην εκαλευ, p. 317.

<sup>90</sup> Καλυσης δε της κοινης της πατριδος Φωνης τον ερειτα ύπερ σωτηειας το γαρ ο κηρυξ κατα τες νομες Φονην αφιησι, ταυτην κοινην της margidos dixasor est nyewodat, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much findied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

Thebans, hostile to Philip, that prince would not CHAP. be actually posted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had furprifed them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to show the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have fold their country, are supported by the Macedonian forces at Ziatæa, fo you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be fent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to affure the Thebans, that you do not confider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forfake the cause of their common country, which is astually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the prefent juncture. Affure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

These proposals being received with general ap- The deprobation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree that purfor carrying them into execution; a decree which may be confidered as the expiring voice of a people,

cree for pose, dated August,



CHAP. who, agreeably to the magnanimous counsel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing mortal perished, the same of Athens should remain 91. Having painted, in the most odious colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having stigmatised with due severity the recent in-

> 91 See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 229. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate confequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. Βυλομαι τι κή παραδοξοι ειπειι; κή με προς διος κή θεων! μπόεις την ύπες βολην θαυμαση, αλλα μετ' ευνοιας ό λεγω θεωρησατω ει γας απασι προδηλα τα μελλοίτα γενισεσθαί, η προυδεσαν παντες, η συ πεθλεγε Αισχηπ, η διεμαζιερε, δοων κ) κεκεωγως, ός υδε εφθεγέω υδε έτως απος απερί τη πελει τυτών ην είπες η δοξης η προγονών η τυ μελλοντος αιωτος ειχε λογοι. The beauties of fuch paffages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and fentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to fay what is contrary to common opinion, and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you forefeen what was going to happen, had the confequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschi. nes, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forfaken the caute or Grecian freedom, unless they forfooltheir glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers are prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: Αλλα εκ εςι, όπως ημαρτετε, αιδρες Αθηναιοι, τον ύπες της απαντων ελευθεςιας η σωτηςιας κινδυνον αςαμενοί ε μα τες εν Μαςαθωνι προκινδυκευσαντας των προγονών, &c. Seethe paffage, p. 343. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Platza, Salamis, and Artemifium, that the Amenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such paffages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with fuch admirable fymmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural fize, fo, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.

stances of his injustice and lust of power, the ora-tor concludes, " For such reasons, the senate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the interest of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore, have refolved to fend to the coast of Bœotia a fleet of two hundred fail, to march to Eleufis with their whole military strength, to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidst the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themselves manfully in defence of the common cause, with affurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to support them with all their faculties, their treafures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable contest; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to fuffer a Barbarian to wrest the fovereignty from their hands, would tarnish their hereditary glory, and difgrace their country for ever."

The fame undaunted spirit which dictated this Demosthedecree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emissaries employed by Philip on this important

nes perfuades the Thebans to join the flandard of Athens.

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CHAP. occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered affiftance of Athens; and the Athenian army having foon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering diffinctions of ancient hospitality 92.

Preparations on both fides for the battle of Chæronæa.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Boeotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardless of these losses, to which, perhaps, he purposely fubmitted, as necessary stratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thousand strong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was confidered by Philip as well adapted to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were chosen with equal fagacity; having in view, on one fide, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal house, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a fmall river flowing into the Cerhiffus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the destined scene of defolation and woe to their unhappy country 93. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much less careful to avail themselves of the powerful

<sup>92</sup> Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, & feqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, I. ix. p. 414. Juftin. I. ix. c. iii. & Paufanias Bootic.

<sup>93</sup> Plut. in Vit. Demofth.

fanctions of superstition. Unrestrained by mauspicious facrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait no other omen but the cause of their country. Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the fcanty reinforcements raifed by the islands, and states of Peloponnesus, which had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest cause for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyficles and Chares, the first but little, and the fecond unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person strongly sufpected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, flaves of interest or voluptuoufness, whose characters (especially as they had been appointed to command the only flates whose shame, rather than virtue, yet opposed the public enemy) are alone fufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin, °

When the day approached for abolishing the tot- Alexantering independence of those turbulent republics, der routs which their own internal vices, and the arms and bans. intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the rifing of the fun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His fon Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but furrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which

CHAP. faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians · charged with impetuolity, and repelled the oppofing divisions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans 9+ to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their diforder, and purfued the fcattered multitude with his Theffalian cavalry.

Philip defeats the Athemians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, infteed of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, preffed 95 forward against the fugitives, the infolent Lysicles exclaiming in vain triumph, " Purfue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip obferved this rash folly with contempt, and faying to those around him, " our en mies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of fuccefs had rendered them totally infenfible to danger. But the irrefiftible shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thou-

<sup>94</sup> Plutarch, in Alexand. 95 Polyan, Stratagem, l. iv, c. ii.

fand fell, two thousand were taken prisoners; the CHAP. reft escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken Few of the confederates perifhed, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honourable to his understanding that his heart; fince his humanity thus fubdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies 96

According to the Grecian cultom, the battle was Philip vifollowed by an entertainment, at which the king, fits the prefiding in person, received the congratulations of battle. his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their flain. Their request, which ferved as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural , intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, iffued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the infolence of wine and victory; vet the fight of the flaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the facred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back thefe

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CHAP. infolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting filence, denounced a folernn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions 97.

His levity reprimanded by Demades.

But this ferious temper of mind did not last long; for having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the king abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boaftful pretensions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and, struck by this contrast, rehearfed, with the infolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Thersites, when fortune affigned him the part of Agamemnon 98?

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand 99, it is certain that the king of Macedon indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain

97 Plotarch in Pelopid. 98 Idem in Demosthen. 99 Plutarch afcribes to this finart observation the moderation of Philip's fubsequent conduct.

triumph

triumph over the vanquished. When advised by CHAP. his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himfelf master of Athens, he only replied, " Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory " His subsequent conduct corresponded with the moderation of this fentiment. He restored, without ransom, the Athenian prifoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were also gratified in this particular; the king pleafantly observing, that the Athenians feemed to think he had not conquered them in earnest 101. Soon charwards he difpatched his fon Alexander, and Antipater, the most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace on fuch favourable terms as they had little reason to expect. They were required to fend deputies. to the Isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their respective contingents of troops for the Persian expedition, Philip purpofed affembling, early in the fpring, a general convention of all the Grecian states; they were ordered to forrender the isle of Samos, which actually formed the principal station of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or infular possessions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmolefted, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquisition of Oropus, for which they had fo long contended with the unhappy Thebans 102. It was not merely in being

100 Paufanias Bœotic. Diodorus, ubi supra.



CHAP. deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the conqueror. From the transactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himfelf entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whose struggle for freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithlefs and infidious rebels, who merited all the feverity of his justice. punished the republican party with unrelenting rigour; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honours of the republic; and, in order to Gregort their government, placed a Macedonian garrison in the Theban citadel 103.

Caules From which it proceeded.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was fwayed neither by affection nor hatred; his generofity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his interest. Besides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as fensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were fusceptible of gratitude and esteem, the Thebans had too long, and too early, abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuovly exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unfuccessful attempt to refift Philip, to which they had been at length roused less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince, though with far less prudence and activity than CHAP. their fituation required; who, through the whole xxxvi. course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined. almost unaffisted and alone, to resist the common foe, feemed entitled to fuch gratitude and applaufe, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotifm; and the rigorous treatment of fuch a people must have shocked the fentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the fmallest spark of public spirit.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to Daring tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory, of the although the daring and imprudent behaviour of Athenians the Athenians, after the battle, might have ferved defeat. to justify the harshest measures. The first news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or consternation. But when the disorder ceased, the people shewed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides 104, a decree paffed for fending to the Piraus their wives, children, and most valuable effects, together with the facred images and ornaments of their gods, By the fame decree, the rights and freedom of the

CHAP. city were bestowed on strangers and slaves, and restored to persons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themselves in the public defence. Demosthenes, with equal fuccess, proposed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himfelf appointed to fuperintend, he generously accomplished at the expence of his private fortune 105. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of impeaching the worthless Lysicles, whose misconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cause of the late ratar difaster. In a discourse calculated to revive the fpirit of military enthusiasm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the fpeaker thus warmly apostrophised the conscious guilt of the mute and trembling general: " The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and still you breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the fun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the difgrace and ruin of your country." The quick refentment of the hearers fupplied the confequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution 106.

Philip's tion in victory.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hoffile preparations, of Athens, could shake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the

<sup>105</sup> Demosth, de Corona.

<sup>206</sup> Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477-

favourable terms of accommodation, which he had CHAP. already proposed by his ambassadors. The patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but, at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this occasion acted suitably to the same of its ancient wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion 107 was appointed to the chief command. The difcernment of this statesman and general, whose merit had been neglected while it was yet time to perform any effential fervice, might eafly perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidit the important Extreme events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the corruption of the Adreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its thenians. melancholy iffue, hung over their country, a fet of Athenian citizens, diffinguished by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original inflitution, daily affembled into a club, where all ferious transactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and the time totally dedicated to feafting, gaming, and the fprightly exercises of wit and pleafantry. This deteftable fociety faw 108, without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the most careless indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamines in any degree diffurb their festi-

107 Plutarch in Phocion.

108 Athenæus, f. xiv. p. 614-

CHAP. vity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil xxxvi. course of their pleasures. Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip fent them a fum of money, to support the expence of an institution fo favourable to his views. But what opinion must Phocion have formed of such an establishment; or how was it possible for any dispassionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic fo totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could fuccessfully wage war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wifest portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip, were strengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimously blazed forth the praifes of their generous conqueror. Ambaffadors were accordingly dispatched to the king of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condescended to offer: and the only marks of deference shewn to the violent party, who still clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who oftentationfly affected a rude boldness of speech against Philip, was named among the ambaffadors; and that Demosthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those flain at Chæronæa.

Infolence of Democharce.

Demochares acquitted himfelf of his commiffion with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the

Grecian

Grecian commonwealths, too frequently differed C HAP. the decency of public transactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with less fincerity than politeness, lavished on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them, if there was any thing farther in which he could gratify the Athenians? "Yes," faid Demochares, " hang thyfelf." The just indignation of all present broke forth against this unprovoked infolence, when Philip, with admirable coolnefs, filenced the clamour, by faying, " Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested;" and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such outrages are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them 109."

The honourable employment conferred on De- Oration of mosthenes, which shewed that, notwithstanding thenes in the unfortunate iffue of his counfels, the Athe-honour of nians fill approved his principles and his pa- at Cherotriotism, might have been expected to elevate his fentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to foar; and the powers of the orator feem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tirefome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous parts, of the Athenian flory. One

those flain

109 Seneca de Ira.

transient

CHAP. transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the flain, he fays, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the fun from the world "; a figure bold, yet just; fince, after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of refifting the conqueror-the dignity of freedom was for ever loft, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece "11.

> 110 Ωσπερ γας ε. ..ς εκ τε καθετηκότος κόσμε το φως εξελοιτο, δυσχερης και χαλεπος ωπας δ λειπομένος ημεν Ειος έτω τωνδε ανδεων αναιρεθεντων, εν σκοτει και πολλη δυσκλεια πας δ πρωτος ζηλος των Examples yegore. p. 155. " For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and mifery; fo by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy." Of this discourse, which Libanius denies to be genuine, many paffages are corrupt, and many interpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by the observation in the text, without having recourse to the defence of Wolfins: " Orationem Libanius Demosthenis esse negat ut vilem & imbecillem omnino. Quod quis miretur, cum le argumentum fit imbecille ?" Demofthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

> 111 Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetustiffimam libertatem finivit. Justin. 1. ix. c. iii. Demofthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Paufanias, all express the famo fentiments, and nearly in the fame words.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government .-Philip appointed General of the Greeks .- Rebellion of Illyria .- Affaffination of Philip .- His Character .- Accession of Alexander .- His Expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi .- He passes the Danube.-Rebellion in Greece.-De-Arustion of Thebes-Heroism of Timoclea .-Alexander crosses the Hellespont .- State of the Persian Empire. - Battle of the Granicus. -Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus .- Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers .- Alexander's judicious Plan of War .- Arts by which be secured bis Conquests .- The Battle of Issus .-The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity.

HE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance CHAP. and forrow, that by the decifive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became mafter of their coun-Liberal try . But we should form a very erroneous notion the Maceof the Macedonian government, if we compared donian go-

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Demosth, Æschin, Diodor, Plutageh, Arrian, passim, I fhall cite only the words of Strabo: " Χαιρωνεία δε όπω Φιλιππος ό Αμυντε μεγαλως ν κησας. Αθηναίες τε και Βοιωτές και Κορινθίες, natern The Exhales nuclos. " And Cheronea, where Philip, the fon of Arayntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bootians, and Corinthians, in a great battle, rendered himfelf mafter of Greece." Strab. Geograph. I. ix. p. 414.

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CHAP. it with the despotisin of the East, or the absolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable fystem of power and liberty, which diffinguished and ennobled the policies of the heroic ages 2. He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of foldiers and freemen 3. merit entitled him to hold the fceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be fwaved by unworthy hands. The fuperiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; fince, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infrirged the rights of his subjects 4, ceased from that moment to be a king.

extent of Philip's authority in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more fevere maxims of government than those which prevailed

2 When Alexander, intoxicated with profperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callifthenes the philosopher, ει 'Οι προγοιοι εξ Αργας εις Μαπεδονιπν ηλθον, εδε 6ια αλλα νόμω Μακεδονεων αρχοντες διατελεσαν. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

3 In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, " Nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;" scilicet populi. Curtius, l. vi. c. ix. p. 441.

4 A very mean subject literally told Philip, " If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." Plut. Apophth.

in

in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to CHAP. preserve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the fame policy with which he had fubdued them. While Macedonian garrifons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partifans of Philip controuled the refolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The fuperintendence of the facred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in confequence of the double right of prefiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of fupreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the longprojected invalion of Perlia; an office which, as he might have affured it without blame, he therefore blicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people 5.

That this condescension must have been highly Philip flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the of the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assem- Olymp. bled a general convention of the Amphictyonic A.C. 337. states 6. In this affembly, Dius of Ephesus reprefented, with affecting energy, the vexations and

<sup>5</sup> Diodor. 1. xvi. p. 556. Των Ελλητων έλομενων αυτον ερατηγον, 6 Diodor. l. xvi, p. 556. &c.

CHAP, oppression which the feeble colonies of Asia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly approved his complaint, while they recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, infulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not fatisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppreffed their colonies, and uninternuptedly excited and nourished those cruel animofities which had long filled every part of Greece with fedition and blood 7. Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred and jealoufy had, on feveral occasions, thwarted his meafures and disturbed his government. Yet he infifted chiefly on their public injuries, and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a fuccessful expedition into Asia.

forcest

This expedition was determined with univerfal confent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians fullenly absented themselves from the convention) when the feveral states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raife, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse s; a prodigious force, of which the domestic diffensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them

<sup>7</sup> Ifocrat, Orat, ad Philip.

from forming an adequate notion. On no former CHAP. occasion had the several republics appeared so thoroughly united in one common cause; never had they shewn themselves so sensible of their combined strength; never had they testified such general alacrity to take the field, or fuch unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

It belongs to the biographers of the king of The expedition Macedon, to examine the circumstances of the retarded by bloody transaction which clouded this glorious in Illyria, prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is fufficient to mention, that Philip, having dif- fentions in patched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Afiatic colonies, was prevented from immedi- exi. I. ately following that commander by an infurrection of the Illyrian tribes 9. This unfcasonable diverfion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domestic discord which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by the continual infidelities of her husband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceased to augment the number of his wives or concubines ". The generous mind of Alexander must naturally have espoused the cause of his mother, although his own interest had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving I'm formany new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias

a rebellion and domestic dif-Macedon. Olympo

A. C. 336.

CHAP, and his own, with the impetuolity natural to his character; at the nuptials of Philip with Caffandra, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty fon "; and the latter, concluding all those to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, fought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms against their fovereign.

I bilip extricates himfelf difficulties. O'ymp. CXI. 1.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from thefe difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, from these he softened Alexander by affuring him that his illustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigi-A. C. 336. Jance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of furpassing them all in glory and in the merited affection of the Macedonians 12. Soothed by this condescension, Olympias and her fon again appeared at court with the diffinction due to their rank; and to announce and confirm this happy reconcilement with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent festival which lasted feveral days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in shewing their obfequious respect towards their common general and master.

Is affaffinated in going to the theatre.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festivity, Philip often appeared in public with un-

<sup>11</sup> Plutaren, in Alexand.

<sup>12</sup> Plut, Apophth.

guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment CHAP. of all his subjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was flabbed to the heart by Paufanias 13, a Macedonian; whether the affaffin was flimulated merely by private refentment, or prompted by the ill-appealed rage of Olympias, or infligated to commit this atrocity by the Persian satraps; which last is afferted by Alexander 14, who alleged the affaffination of his father. among his reasons for invading the Persian empire.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty- His chafeventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his racter. reign; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumftantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of forefight and fagacity peculiar to himfelf, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character, valour, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perfeverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an affaffin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest defign of his reign; a defign which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilfome life. Had not his days been shortened

<sup>13</sup> Diodor. & Justin. ubi fupra.

<sup>14</sup> Arrian. 1. ii. c. iii. & Curtius, 1. iv. c. i.

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CHAP. by a premature death, there is good reason to believe that he might have fubdued the Persian empire; an enterprise more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already atchieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and fuccefsful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the fplendour of extensive foreign conquest; Philip would have reached the height of fuch renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness; and, in the opirion of posterity, would perhaps have furpaffed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of fenfe and probity, who, if he allows himfelf time for ferious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable confequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of fplendid mifery.

Difficulties attending the acceffion of Alexander to the Macedonian throne. Olymp. cxi. T. A. C. 336.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the fole depositary of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his succeffor. This difficulty prefented Melekander; but it was not the only circumflance that rendered his fituation difficult. The regular order

of fuccession had never been clearly established in CHAP. Macedon, and was, in some measure, incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which, as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promifcuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalship of his brothers, since Ptolemy, born of Arfinoë, and afterwards king of Egypt, was reputed to be the fon of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arfinoë, while she was with child by himfelf; and Aridæus, the fon of Philina, who, for fix years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East, by the terror of his brother's name, and through the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed not vigour of mind eagerly to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, fon of Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip fo little feared the revival of his pretenfions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyreas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a boid and enterprifing commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinfXXXVII.

CHAP. woman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends for crushing those dangerous enemies 15; and, being acknowledged king of Macedon, haftened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be loft by delay.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the ftates at Corinth.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconftancy of the Theffalians, whom he chastifed with proper feverity; and having affembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the fame honours 16 which had been conferred on his predeceffor. During his refidence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiofity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose fingular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the fun 17, and, having made himfelf known as the mafter of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the fun," was the answer of the cynic: upon which the king observed to his attendants, " that he would choose to be Diogenes 18 if he were not Alexander." The observation was natural and fublime: fince, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real refemblance. Both pof-

His character lifplayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

18 Lacrtius in Vit. Diogen.

<sup>15</sup> Diodorus, I. xvii. 2, & feqq. & Justin. xi. 1, & feqq. 16 Idem, ibid. 17 Paufan. 1. ii. p. 88.

fessed that proud erect spirit which disdains autho- CHAP. rity, fpurns controul, and afpires to domineer over XXXVII. fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his defires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, pre- His expepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. Illyrians The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries balli. of Philip, had haftily taken arms to oppose, ere it Olympoxi. 2.1. became too late, the youth and inexperience of his A.C.335. fon. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving fuch formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army, he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of He defeats Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had feized an eminence commanding the tribes of país; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedomans. To elude this unufual attack, Alexander commanded fuch of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free iffue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending waggons . VOL. IV.

dition again Athe and Tri-

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C HAP. waggons might harmless bound over them. was exhaufted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their fwiftness and knowledge of the country faved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for fale to the maritime cities on the Euxine.19.

The Tri-

Alexander having intrufted this bufiness to Lyfanias and Philotas, passed the mountains, and purfued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and Pingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, distant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, furrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to affault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honour-Alexander able pretence for declining the fiege of Peucé. On the Nargin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined refolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those figns of

-ales the

1 Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2, & feqq.

defiance, and animated by the glory of paffing the CHAP. greatest of all European rivers, and that which was furrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations. Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thoufand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank, which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through those rich fields 20 with transversed spears; while they remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as foon as they emerged into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the front, and both fuddenly prefenting an irrefistible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post, and fled to their city, which was four miles distant. There, they at first purposed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, reslecting on his astonishing boldness in passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness of his phalanx, and the irresistible impetuosity of his cavalry 21, they regarded farther opposition

<sup>20</sup> Πλαγιαις ταις σαρσσας επικλιναιτες τον συτοι. The fpears were transversed, not only for the purpose of concealment, 45 but to make a road through the corn."

<sup>21</sup> φοθερα δε της φαλαγγος ή ξυικλασιι, Gizia δε ή των Ιππεων εριθέλη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper life of cavalry, which

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as vain, forfook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern defert 22.

fubmission of the neighbouring nations.

receives the The Macedonians entered, and facked the town. The spoil was entrusted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of fo many favours, returned facrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very submissive embaffies from the furrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, fent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian, and an enemy 23.

Arrogance of the Celtæ.

Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to fubdue the Afiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chaftife the boaftful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), fent ambaffadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty flature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, " what, of all things, "av most feared?" not doubting, they would an-

which we fo little understood in the last century, that the three ranks fired fucceffively before the charge; each, after firing, paffing, by a carocol, behind the reft. Guftavus Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire; which was doubtless a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the fervice of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "6 " Graia subody."

<sup>22</sup> Arrian, 1. i. p. 3, & fegq.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, ibid.

fwer, "yourfelf;" but they replied, "the fall of CHAP. keaven." The king declared them his friends and allies, but whifpered to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people 24." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambaffadors were really fent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched Alexander through the friendly country of the Pæonians, the Tauwhere he received the unpleasant intelligence that lantii, and the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, rian tribes. fon of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewife an Illyrian nation, had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the life-time of Philip, Langarus25 had difcerned the fuperior merit of his fon, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Lan garus, the Agrian targeteers, who thencefort had an important share in all the Macedonian victories. invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive; the Au-

other Illy-

<sup>24</sup> Arrian, l. i. p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208 & 209.

<sup>25</sup> Λαγγαζος . . . και Φιλιππει ζωντος ασπαζομένος Αλεξανδρου duno; no nat idia emperdevoe mag actor. Arrian, p. 5.



CHAP. tariadæ, broken by domestic calamity, or alarmed by private danger, abandoned the defign of cooperating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without opposition to Pellion, the principal strong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encumped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purposing to attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united affault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid veftiges of their bloody fuperstition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having just facrificed, they wanted time to remove 26.

Meanwhile Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, approached with a great force 27 to relieve Pellion, and affift his ally. Alexander had difpatched Philotas to forage at the head of a strong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the affiftance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a decifive action thus feemed inevitable, if the thickness of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding mount ins, had afforded a proper scene for a general engagment. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in

<sup>26</sup> Arrian, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Mera wording durapsus. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were populous in those days; but as every man was a foldier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, CHAP. and ably supported. But the discipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By furprife, by firatagem, by the terror of his military engines, which deftroved, at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres 28 as had never been before feen. on the banks of the Apfus 29 and Erigone, he totally difperfed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were flain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they despaired being able to defend, fought refuge among the Taulantian mountains 30.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Rebellion Alexander had perished in Illyria; and as men in Greece. readily believe that which their interests make them cxi. 2. with 31, this vague rumour was greedily embraced A. C. 335. hy the partifans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues refumed their ufual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themfelves heading the revolt 32; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having fecretly recalled their exiles, treacheroufly 33

<sup>28</sup> Thefe are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6. who, it must be acknowledged, appears fometimes too fond of displaying his

<sup>29</sup> Otherwife called the Eordaicus.

<sup>30</sup> Arrian, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Ου γινωσκοιτες τα οιτα, τα μαλικα παθ' πόλου σοισιν εικαξον. " Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures." Idem, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> The Lacedomonians, fays Arrian, were γιωμώνς αφετημότες, 66 revolted in their minds."

<sup>33</sup> They seized them without the garrison, when improvementary moleutor, " fufpedling no hoffility." R 4

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CHAP. murdered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrifon from that fortrefs.

Deftruction of Thebes. Olymp. CX1. 2.

Alexander, when apprifed of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of A. C. 335. Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Boeotia, and in the space of fourteen days after his receiving the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decifive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was neceffary, it has been faid, to fecure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of being interrupted by rebellions in Europe 34. But, notwithstanding this

> 34 Plut. Diodor. Justin Among the moderns, Mably fur les Grêcs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who fays, p. 46. 66 Alexandre devoit affurer fa domination dans la Grêce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de paffer en Afie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable . 'es vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-vitneffes, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Εκδίδυς ετι τοις Θηθαιοις τριθην, ει μεταγνοντές επι τοις κακώς εγνώσμε= τοις, πρισθευσαιντο πας αυτοι. And again, Ετι γας τοις Θηθαιοις δια Φιλιας ελθειν μαλλον τι η δια κινδυνε ηθελε. And still to the same purpose, Alekardeos de ude us en moles meorebales. Arrian, p. 8.

fagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction CHAP. of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of XXXVII. obstinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the infurgents time to repent of their rashness. The wifer part of the Thebans proposed to embrace the opportunity of fending ambaffadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the fedition encouraged the multitude to persevere; and instead of shewing remorfe for their past crimes, fent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who affaulted and flew feveral of the Macedonian outguards 35.

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, com- The occamander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban fion and wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. flances of A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, fon of Andromenes; but both were fo warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander faw the necessity of reinforcing them, left they should be surrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but foon rallying, beat back the affailants, and purfued them with difordered ranks. Alexander then feized the decifive moment of advancing with a close phalanx. His affault irrefiftible. The Thebans fled amain; and fuch was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the purfuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place.

XXXVII. ----Cruelty of auxiliaries.

CHAP. A dreadful flaughter enfued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable refentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number 36, were either put to the fword or dragged into captivity. feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rafed to the ground; but the citadel was still garrifoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts of mercy, Alexan-

The feverities exercifed against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the inftigation of his Grecian auxiliaries 37. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were faved from the general defolation. He commanded likewife, that the facred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitclity; and as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he deftroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the reftoration of Orchomenus Platæa. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were diffinguished by some stashes of light,

<sup>36</sup> According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut, ibid. Ælian. Var. Hift. 1. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid, apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

<sup>37</sup> Diodor, l. xvii. p. 569.

that difplayed his magnanimity. It happened in CHAP. the fack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Heroism Theban matron, the ornament of her fex. The of Timofoldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having gratified his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and filver. She conducted him to a garden, and shewed him a well, into which the pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp it, while the woman, being behind, pushed him headlong into the ciftern, and covered him with stones. Timoclea was feized by the foldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aspect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander asked her, "Who she was, that could venture to commit fo bold a deed?" "I am," replied she, " the fifter of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her answer, and defired her to depart free with her children 38. While Alexander returned towards Alexander Macedon, he received many congratulatory embaffies from the Greeks. Those affected most gratulafriendship in their speeches, who had most enmity balles of in their hearts. The Athenians fent to deprecate the Greeks. his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the perfons of Demosthenes, .

CHAP. Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An affembly was immediately fummoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimously passed for trying the orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting on them fuch punishment as their offences should appear to merit. This pretended forwardness in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately transmitted to him, was rendered ftill more acceptable, by being delivered by Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful fervice 39. Amidst the various embaffies to the king, the Spartans alone preferved a fullen, or magnanimous filence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt: and, without deigning to require their affiftance, prepared for the greatest enterprise that ever was undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

Tranfactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the East. Olymp CXI. I. A. C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant fuperstition. A faithful image of the Olympic folemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Ægæ. Continual games and facrifices were performed in Dium, during the space of nine days, in honour of the

39 The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xviip. 498. Æschin. in Ctefiphont. Plut. in Vit. Alexand. & Arrian, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs Arrian's authority stands unrivalled; but Æschines, a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning the civil transactions of the Athenians.

Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the CHAP. ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public reprefentations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a fon, he had provided a fucceffor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotisin of Alexander disdained every personal confideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father 40.

Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Alexander croffes the Greece and Macedon, and committed to that ge- Hellespont neral an army of above twenty thousand men 41, to with h maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, Olymp. he departed early in the fpring, at the head of A.C. 314. above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry 42. In twenty days march, he arrived at Seftos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in an hundred and fixty gallies, and probably a ftill greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast; the Per-

4º Diodor, I. xvii. p. 499.

fians.

<sup>41</sup> Diodorus, who enters into fome detail on this subject, fays, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred ca-42 Arrian, p. 12, valry.

CHAP. fians, though long ago apprifed of the intended invalion, having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

State of . the Perfian em-

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomannus had been raifed by affaffinations and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander fucceeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in ftifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying, the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which diffinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characterife a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of those arts and improvements which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspes, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and fixty Eubæic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damafcus, Arbela, Sufa, Perfepolis, Echatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but fuch was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to have given him an income of fixty millions fter- CHAP. ling43; a fum which will admit allowance for exaggeration, and still appear fufficiently great.

Although the extravagance and vices of Sufa, Circum-Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to which the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the prepared it for de-Persians were prepared for destruction rather by struction. their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceafed to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved infussicient to keep in awe the diftant fatraps, or viceroys. The ties of a common religion and language, or the fense of a public interest, had never united into one fystem this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to these unfavourable circumstances we join the reflection, that under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire-of Persia, we shall not find much reason to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eaftern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprifed, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries 44.

Having arrived in Afia, Alexander, than whom Deliberanone ever employed more fuccessfully the power of tion of the fuperstition 45, confirmed the confidence of his fol- fatraps.

lowers

<sup>44</sup> Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius. 43 Justin. xiii. I.

<sup>45</sup> Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, passim.

CHAP. lowers by many auspicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he purfued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, affembled in the town of Zeleia, distant fixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmolested, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealoufy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

**Tudicious** advice of Memnon,

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He obferved the danger of refifting the Macedonian infantry, who were fuperior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their king. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lofe courage on the first difappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their fafety depended on fudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without risking the event of a battle, they had other means to check the progress of the invaders. For this purpofe, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, dettroy all other fruits of the ground, and defolate the whole country, without sparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia 46; Arsites, governor of Lesser

rejected.

Phrygia,

<sup>46</sup> Αναξίου της Περσων μεγαλαψυχίας, " Unworthy the magnanimity of Persia." Diodor. p. 501.

Phrygia, declared with indignation, that he would CHAP. never permit the property of his subjects to be ravaged with impunity. These sentiments the more eafily prevailed, because many suspected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to assemble their respective forces with all possible expedition, and to encamp on the eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Hellefpont) which, iffuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

The fcouts of Alexander having brought him Alexander intelligence of the enemy's defign, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line 47, the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, confifting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the flope of a rifing ground, behind the cavalry, fearcely less numerous. Notwithflanding this alarming intelligence, the young

prepares to pass the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

<sup>47</sup> The dann φαλαγέ is explained in this fense by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of lixteen men. The dinhy Quhayt, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

CHAP, prince determined to pass the river. Having adaxxxvII. vanced within fight of the hoftile ranks, his horse fpread to the right and left, the maffy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight fections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

Rejects the cautious counfels of Parmenio.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; " it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in front, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try fuch dangerous manœuvres feemed unneceffary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of fo formidable an army." These prudential confiderations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform fomething worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he fprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of the Granicus. Olymp.

Animated by the hope of foon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines. The baliftas and catapults, by which, in a ext. 3. girlo. A.C. 334. fimilar fituation, he had repelled the Taulantii,

were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander CHAP. distributed his orders; a dreadful filence enfued; the hoffile armies beheld each other with refentment or terror. This folemn paule was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a fignal given by Alexander, refounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a fquadron of cuiraffiers, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewife advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent, as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they fucceffively reached the shore. The Perfian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the companions 49 with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian engagement which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their skil-

<sup>48</sup> I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphrasis*, from the completeness of their defensive armour. Milton mentions them in Samson Agonistes,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Archers and flingers, Cataphracts and fpears."

<sup>49</sup> The eight fquadrons of chosen cavalry, which were of that kind called Cataphracis, were honoured with the name of Companions and friends of the king. Arrian & Diodor. passim.

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CHAP. ful evolutions and disciplineso; still more to their ftrength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree54, far furpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Personal prowefs of Alexander and the Macedonian captains.

Meanwhile Parmenio croffed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal fuccess, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwife appeared unfurmountable. The attention of the enemy was fo deeply engaged by the fucceffive attacks of the cavalry, that they feem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had croffed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his prefence, and, after performing all the duties of a great general, displayed such perfonal acts of prowefs as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be fafely abandoned to the direction of their own referement and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been

Cornus VIRG. GEORG. ii. v. 447. trained

<sup>50</sup> They derived great advantages, particularly, from the light infantry intermixed with their fquadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Perfian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their lances.

<sup>51</sup> At myrtus validis haftilibus & bona bello

trained from their youth, in the more confpicuous CHAP. parts of the field. Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midft of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his mafter of horse, Aretes shewed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian fupplied the king with a weapon. Thus armed he rode up, and affaulted Mithridates, fon-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the hoffile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself ftruck by Ræfaces with a hatchet. His helmet faved his life. He pierced the breaft of Ræfaces; but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grafped weapon.

The heroifin of Alexander animated the valour The Perof the companions, and the enemy first fled where fians defeated. the king commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, fince the Perfians had begun on every fide to give way before the Macedonian infantry had completely paffed the river 52.

<sup>52</sup> Guischardt, p. 208. says, " Aussitôt que la phalange fut en Etat d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout son front herissé de piques, la victo re ceffa d'être douteufe." It appears not, however, that



CHAP. Stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and briftling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit. The foot, confifting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, still continued in their first position, not firm, but inactive, petrified by aftonishment, not steady through refolution53. While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry affailed their flanks. Surrounded on all fides, they fell an eafy prey; two thousand surrendered prisoners; the rest all perished, unless a few stragglers perchance lurked among the flain.

Lofs on both fides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates fatrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cap-

the phalanx at all acted against the Persian cavalry. The battle of Granicus was entirely an equeftrion engagement, as had been prophesied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

53 Εκπληξει μαλλου ει τη παραλογή, η λογισμώ, Ειδαπώ. Arrian. It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves till they beheld the iffue of the equestrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guischardt in his admirable Memoires Militaires, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment they met with in the prefent battle, feem sufficient to remove that dishonourable fuspicion. Their conduct, feemingly unaccountable, is ascribed, by Arrian, to their attonishment, that Alexander's cavalry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian horse, which was four times more numerous.

padocia, Mithridates, fon-in-law of Darius, and CHAP. Arbupales fon of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the flain. Such illustrious names might lead us to fuspect, that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian 54 reprefents them; and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in fuch an important engagement, Alexander should have lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry 55. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their flatues were formed by the art of his admired Lyfippus 56, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

This important victory enabled Alexander to Humanity difplay both his humanity and his prudence. declared the parents and children of the deceased Alexanthenceforth exempted from every species of tri-He carefully vifited the wounded, atbute 57.

and pru-

<sup>54</sup> Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 372. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Perfians, he fays, were fix hundred thoufand.

<sup>55</sup> Others diminished the loss to thirty-five horsemen and nine foot foldiers. Ariftobul, apud Plut, in Vit. Alexand.

<sup>56</sup> Arrian fays, ότπες και Αλεξανόζον μόνος προκριθείς εποίει. " Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtlefs, increased the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have fpoke more accurately, had he faid, " to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artifts reprefented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

<sup>57</sup> Arrian diftinguishes τω σωματι λειτεργιας; και κατα τας κτησεις εισφορίας, perfonal fervices; and contributions, in proportion to their property.



CHAP tentively asked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boafted exploits. The Perfian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and foldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause ot their country. But even this feverity Alexander foftened by a very feafonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repofitory of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he fent three hundred fuits of Persian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent prefent was infcribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, fon of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively affociated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his fervice.

Immediate confequence of tory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Afiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns furrendered at his approach. Sardis, the fplendid ca-

pital of Croefus, opened its gates to a deliverer, CHAP. and once more obtained the privilege of being governed by its ancient laws, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppression of garrisons; and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired their ancient glory in arts and arms, refumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Perfian expedition of Alexander, the Ephofians were still employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been fet on fire by Herostratus, twenty years before that period, and on the same night, it is said, which gave birth to the deftined conqueror of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progress, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana 58.

Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the Siege of progress of the conqueror. The latter place, com- and Halimanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a me- carnaffus. morable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down before it, when the garrison, confifting of Greeks and Perfians, fallied forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the befieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected,

CHAP, he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians crected their battering engines, and prepared to affault the enemy on equal ground. But a nocturnal fally attacked these preparations; a fecond engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies 59.

Bold adtwo Macefoldiers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had fo obstinately refisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rathness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that fide of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two foldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boafted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to affault the wall of Halicarnaffus, animated lefs with the mad hope of victory, than with an ambition to display their respective prowefs. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first men who approached, and threw javelins at others who followed them. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many foldiers belonging to the fame battalion advanced to their relief. Halicarnaffians, also, hastened to the defence of their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown down; and had

greater numbers joined in the affault, the town CHAP. must have been taken by storm60,

The humanity of Alexander rendered him un- Halicarwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary fuccess of such an unpremeditated en- reluctantly terprife, engaged him to ply the walls with new ed. vigour. The defence was as obstinate as before; two desperate fallies were made, and repelled with A.C. 334. confummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious foldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the befreged would finally furrender, and thus fave their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perifhed, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer relistance was imposfible. In this emergency they displayed the same decifive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having lummoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, fet fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arfenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately fent a

taken and demolish-Olymp. cxi. 3.

detachment to punish those who had excited, or

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CHAP, orders to spare such of the townsmen as were found in their houses. Next day, he examined the castles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loss of time; but that independent of the toon, they were of themselves of little value; a circumstance which obliged him, reluctantly, to demolish Halicarnassus, that it might never thenceforth ferve as a retreat to his enemies61.

Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive scason of the year was employed by Alexander in fecuring and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the discretion of his lieutenants; the king in perfon visited his more important conquests; and few places were honoured with his prefence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the fiege of Halicarnassus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the administration to Ada, the hereditary governess of that province. Ada was the fifter, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign, both by the Carian Laws and those of Upper Asia, where female fuccession had been established ever fince the age of Semiramis. But the great king, with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the just claim of Ada, and feated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princess, however, ftill maintained possession of the strongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada hastened to meet him, addressed him by the name of fon, and voluntarily furrendered to

him Alinda. The king neither rejected her pre- CHAP. fent, nor declined her friendship; and, as he alwavs repaid favours with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousard foot and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

The measures of Alexander were equally deci- His judifive and prudent. The Persian sleet, supplied by of war. Egypt, Phænicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times out-numbered his own, which, fmall as it was, ftill appeared too expenfive for his treasury. Alexander determined to difcharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himfelf mafter of the fea, fince every harbour that furrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy 62. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conquest, he purfued his journey through the fouthern provinces of the Afiatic peninfula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was difpatched into Greece to raife new levies; and fuch foldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were fent home to winter with their wives; a meafure which extremely, endeared Alexander to the army, and enfured the utmost alacrity of his European fubjects, in furnishing supplies towards the enfuing campaign.

<sup>62</sup> It will appear in the fequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to purfue, with fecurity, his conquefts in the Eaft.

The arts by which he fecured his conquefts.

Accompanied by fuch winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander feemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of fentiment; but it sould not have been more fubservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrifons in Lower Afia. The tributary princes and fatraps readily fubmitted to a milder and more magnanimous mafter: and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favourite inflitutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animolity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry, and alleviated public burdens. His tafte and his piety alike prompted him to repair the facred and venerable remains of antiquity. He confidered the Barbarians, not as flaves, but as fubjects; the Greeks, not as fubjects, but allies; and both perceived in his government fuch moderation and equity as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta 63.

63 Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, passim; & Thucydid. Xenoph. Hocrat. & Diodor.

Having

Having received the submission of Xanthus, CHAP. Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or fea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the Singular felicity of false of greater expedition, divided the corps under Alexanhis immediate command. A confiderable deach-march ment traversed the Lycian and Pamphilie, moun- from Phatains, while the king in person pursued the still Perga. more dangerous track, leading along the fea-coaft from Phaselis to Perga. On this soaming shore, the fea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a ftrong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the fouth. Yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies 64 which announced fuccess to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the

64 While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promifed glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the fea-coaft, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, fignifying that the time was come when the Perfian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, τυτοις επαεθεις, ηπειγετο την παραλιαν ανακαθηρασθαι. " Encouraged by this prodigy, he haftened to fubdue the coaft." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an historian to fay, " Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

CHAP. main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; a brisk gale sprang up from the north; the fea retired; and their march thus became alike easy and expeditious. The authentic evide ce of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Josephus, with no less indecency than folly, compares with the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philofophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring instances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, Lemed to be produced by the immediate interpolition of divine power, which, in effesting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, fubiervient to the fecret purpofes of its providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambaffadors from Aspendus, the principal city and fea-port of Pamphylia. The Afpendians offered to furrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garrison. Alexander granted their request, on condition of their raising fifty talents to pay his foldiers, and delivering to him the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambaffadors accepted these terms; but their countrymen, who were distinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still more than by their commerce and their wealth, discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery while he examined the walls of Syllius, another strong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Afpendus.

dus, the greater part of which was fituate on a CHAP. high and fteep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were likewise built on the plain, furrounded only by a flight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town afce ded the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Afpendians, alarmed by the apprehension of a siege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He com- Hepumanded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on; treachery to pay, instead of fifty, an hundred talents; and of Aspento furrender their principal citizens as fecurities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor fet over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon, and fubmit to arbitration a dispute concerning some lands, which they were accused of having unjustly wrested from their neighbours 65.

Having chaftifed the infolence and treachery of Alexan-Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia. Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, Olymp. cxi. a. whom he had commanded to meet him in that coun- A.C. 3330 try. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewise ordered to assemble in the same province; from which it was intended, early in the fpring, to proceed eaftward, and atchieve still more important conquests. To reach the southern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under a necessity of traversing the inhospitable mountains of the warlike Pisidians. Amidst those rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians

65 Arrian, p. 26.

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CHAP. lost several brave men; but the undisciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Pifidians was unable to check the progress of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rend zvous. This place is diftant about feventyfive mins from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician fea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief feat of their opulence and grandeur 66. Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a defire feized him of afcending to the ancient castle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which Hicadven- was believed to involve the fare of Asia. Gordius, as the flory went, was a man of flender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a finall piece of land, and two vokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and fat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains 67 in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his errand, fhe ordered him to ascend the

ture at Gordium.

66 See vol. i. c. vii. p. 200.

<sup>67</sup> Arrian, p. 27. calls it υπερυψηλον, και παντη αποτομον. "Exceedingly high, and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at leaft, the Telmeffians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30. hill.

hill, and there facrifice to Jupiter. Gordius in- CHAP. treated her to accompany him, that the facrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a fon. Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was diftinguished by his beauty and valour. If should feem that the father of Midas had, in confequence of his marriage, fettled among the Telmessians, with whose arts his fon would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were haraffed by cruel feditions; they confulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot sheald foon bring them a king, who would appeale their tumults. While the affembly fill deliberated on the answer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot 68, accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him king; their feditions ceased; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, confecrated his father's chariot, and fuspended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was fo nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander unried, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by historians 69; but all agree that his followers retired

<sup>68</sup> The Greek word ἀμαξα expresses either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us, this ἀμαξα was "cultuhand fanc a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens," 1, iii. c. i, p. 10.

<sup>69</sup> Curtins, I. iii. c. i. fays, he cut it with his fword. Plutarch fays he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts:

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CHAP. with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle. A feafonable from of thunder confirmed their credulity 7°; and the belief, that their mafter was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to facilitate that event

Treachery of Alexander, the fon of Æropus.

The apid progress of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that feafon of the year when armies are little accustomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our furprise at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had fignalifed his valour against the fiercest nations of Asia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons against Alexander, from those by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardufians 71. Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he hoped to destroy him by the arm of an affaffin. Many traitors were fuborned for this infamous purpose, but none with greater prospect of success than Alexander, the fon of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the fon of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrahar's were condemned as accessary to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entrufted with the command of the Thessalian cavalry, after the

counts; and the latter on the authority of Ariftobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

<sup>7</sup>º Arrian, p. 31.

<sup>71</sup> Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Perfian throne. Diodor. 1. xvii. p. 565.

nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to CHAP. the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and feduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the viligance of Parmenio 2, who communicated the intelligence to his mafter, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy fon of Æropus was feized, and committed to fafe custody.

Darius, without defifting from his intrigues, The army finally had recourse to arms. Las troops were affembled in the plains of Babylon. They confifted of an hundrer, thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure or more remote, fent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Perfian fervice, is faid

marches from Upper Alia.

72 According to Arrian, p. 25. a fwallow shared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was afleep at mid day, the fwallow hovered around his head, perching fometimes on one fide of his couch, and fometimes on another. Its inceffant chattering roused the king from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Infead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noify and troublefome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Ariftander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the king by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

CHAP, to have amounted to fix hundred thousand men. The magnificence of the Perfians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their muster was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monare. 73. Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and furrounded by a palifade. The whole army, paffing fuccessively into this inclosure, were rather meafured, than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the fplendour that furrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, filver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treafures, and his concubines, all efcorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their mafter 74.

Alexander paffes the Gate of Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, flowly advanced towards Lower Afia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city of Galatia. In that place, he received an embaffy from the Paphlagonians, who furrendered to him the fovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders.

<sup>73</sup> See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419, & feqq.

<sup>74</sup> Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges huic agmini proximæ. Q. Curtius, I. iii. c. iii. & Diodor. I. xvii. p. 580.

He granted their request, and commanded them CHAP. to obey Calas, fatrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province, the army encamped at the distance of fix miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, fince the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's Camp. Towards the fouth, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three fides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arfames, governor of that country, had fent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprifed of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavyarmed troops in the Camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to furprife the Persian forces stationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the pufillanimous Arfames; to whom the whole province was entrufted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarfus. But he had only time to fave his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him, as their deliverer.

At Tarfus, Alexander was detained by a malady, Falls fick occasioned by excessive fatigue: or, as others fay, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

at Tarfus.

CHAP. city, in a clear and rocky channel 75. Philip the Acarnanian was the only person who despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poifon him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; fo that the physician read, while the king drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity 76, has been construed into a proof of both.

Alexander marches to Mallos.

The fickness of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to feize the only pass on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Assyria. The king foon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiofity of Anchialos was the comb of Sardanapalus, diftinguished by the statue of that effendinate twrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Affyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of modern Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpole: "Sardanapalus, fon of

<sup>75</sup> Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness: " Frigidiffimus quippe mulla riparum amenitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. iv. From his laboured description of this river, it feems as if he imagined that water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander.

<sup>76</sup> See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, h. iii. c. v.

Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarfus in one CHAP. day. As to you, ftranger! eat, drink, and fport 77, for other human things are not worth this," alluding to the clap of his hands 78.

Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at Alexander the eaftern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain ftraits; of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, diftant rius, in an only two days march from the Cilician frontier. The hostile armies were separated by the mountains the defiles which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander haftened of Amato pass the straits called the Syman Gates, proceeded fouthwards along the bay of Issus, and encamped before the City Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occafioned by fickness, and by the many pious ceremonies79 with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was afcribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings so, eafily per-

paffes the and Daopposite -

77 The word translated of sport," is mails in Arrian, p. 32. But that author fays, the Affyrian original had a more lascivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. translates it appolionate, " veneri indulge."

78 Mr. de Guignes, fo deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this infcription to be entirely conformable to the ftyle and manners of the East. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & fegq. .

79 Processions with lighted torches, facrifices to Æsculapius, gymnaftic and mufical contests. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

80 Arrian expresses this fentiment with more his than usual energy: Των κατα ήδονην ξυνοντων τε και ξυνεσομενών επι κακώ τοις αιει Εασιλευεσι.



CHAP. fuaded the vain credulity of their master, that Alexander shunned his approach. The proud resentment of Darius was exasperated by the imagined fears of his adverfary; with the impatience of a defpot he longed to come to action; and not fufpecting that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates in fearch of the enemy, he haftily determined to pass, in an opposite direction 81, the straits of Amanus, in quest of Alexander. This fatal meafure was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding the strong representations of Amyntas 22 the Mace Onian, and of all Darius's Grecian counsellors 83, who unanimously exhorted him to wait the enemy in his present advantageous pofition. In the language of antiquity 84, an irrefiftible fate, which had determined that the Greeks should conquer the Persians, as the Persians had the Medes, and the Medes the Affyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march fouthward to the bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the fick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march across the

<sup>81</sup> These movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconfiftent and unintelligible.

<sup>82</sup> Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He affured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Perfians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

<sup>83</sup> Aristomenes the Pherman, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymon. das the fon of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, paffim.

<sup>84</sup> Arrian, Plut. Diodor, Curt.

mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men CHAP. to death with shocking circumstances of cruelty 83, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

That enlightened prince, who could fearcely be- Circumlieve the folly of Darius, fent a fmall flat-bottomed which enveffel to reconnoitre his motions. This veffel couraged speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him donian with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having fummoned an affembly, the king forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion fo naturally suggested, fince the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Perfians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no effential fervice. In preparing for this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian ifles with his fleet, was fince dead; and his fucceffors in command, after irritating the islanders by their infolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increased, by many volun-

<sup>85</sup> Χαλεπως αικισαμενος αποκτεινε; Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he afcribes this ferocity to Darius himself.



CHAP. tary accessions of the Asiatics, who admired his courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the foldiers, who the preceding year had been fent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus disposed to indulge the most fanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they encreated to be led to battle 86.

of both armie.

Disposition Alexander commanded them first to refresh their bodies; but immediately difpatched fome horse and archers to clear the road to Iffus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight took possession of the Syrian straits. The foldiers were then allowed a short repose, fufficient guards being posted on the surrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the poffage continued narrow; and new columns being fuccessively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the fea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being apprifed of the enemy's approach, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry CHAP. and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both fides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front: but as the mountain on Alexander's left, floped inwards, Darius placed on that finuofity twenty thoufand men, who could fee the energy's rear, though it appears not that they could advance against them. Behind the first ling the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unferviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vaftness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield 87.

His pufillanimity was more fatal than his igno- The battle rance. When he perceived the Macedonians ad- Olymp. vancing, he commanded his men to maintain their cxi. 4. post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in fome places high and freep; where the access feemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions which shewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered 88. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along

<sup>87</sup> Arrian, p. 36.

<sup>88</sup> Και ταυτη ευθυς δηλος εγενετο τοις αμφι Αλιξανδρον τη γνωμη δεδελωμενος. " And thence he immediately appeared to those about Alexander to be already enflaved in his mind." In those times, flavery was the natural confequence of being conquered in battle.

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CHAP, the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the feveral brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even fuch captains of the auxiliaries as were diftinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and flow step, left the phalanx should suctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then fprung into the river. Their impetuofity frightened the Barbarians, who fearcely waited the first shock so. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and fuccess of Alexander's affault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement enfued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Mccedonians ambitious to maintain the unfullied glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the fon of Seleucus, and other officers of diffinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great flaughter, wheeled to the left, and, animated by recent victory, finally prevailed

against

<sup>39</sup> They did, however, wait it; for Arrian fays, subus yas ws er negot many evereto. The " mann er negot eyereto;" when the darts and javelins ceafed, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile, weapons.

against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of CHAP. Persian horse still maintained the battle against the XXXVII. Theffalian cavalry; nor did they quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himself to Aight 90.

The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest Rout of on all fides. Their cavalry and infantry fuffered the Perequally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the fon of Lagus 91, fays, that the prouers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the flain was computed at an hundred and ten thoufand, among whom were many fatraps and nobles.

The great king had discovered little obstinacy Escape of in defending the important objects at stake. His Darius. left wing was no fooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound on the thigh 92, judged it improper to purfue him, till the Greek mercenaries were dispersed; and the approach of night facilitated his escape.

<sup>9</sup>º Arrian, I. ii. p. 36, & fegg. 91 Idem. ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Chares, cited by Plutarch, fays, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the filence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable

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The captives and booty.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Afiatic luxury and opulence 93. It contained however in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the great king, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This inestimable booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syligambis, and his infant fon. In an age when prisoners of war were fynonymous with flaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderness of a parent, blended with the respect of a son. In his charte attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far furpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience; but burft into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunish that he had feen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian foldier. Alexander fent to affure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate

<sup>93</sup> Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a cafket of exquifite workmanflip, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander faid, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Ariflodie, and often mentioned by ancient writers; have to reachests, "the Iliad of the casket." Strabo, 1. xiii, p. 888. Plut in Alexand.

of his friends 94. Syfigambis approached to pro- CHAP. ftrate 95 herfelf before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the king, as their drefs was alike, the turned to Hepheftion. Hepheftion fuddenly stepping back, Syfigambis faw her miftake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, madam!" faid the king, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander of."

> tues of Alexander

The virtues of Alexander long continued to ex- The virpand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Iffus, expand The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by with his prosperity. a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the fame generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had fternly refused; in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambafradors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his prefence. Theffalifcus and Dionyfodorus, the Thebans, he inflantly declared free, observing, that the misfortunes of their country justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every

<sup>94</sup> Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterised the affection of Hephestion: " Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

<sup>95</sup> Heave den nas reconvensas. Arrian, 1. ii. p. 39. 96 Curtius, I. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

CHAP, prince from whom they might derive relief. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the respect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in fafe custody, because Sparta fullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon. But as his forgiveness still increased with his power 97, he afterwards released Euthycles.

97 Arrian, p. 42,

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

Siege of Tyre.—Defperate Refishance of Gaza.—
Easy Conquest of Egypt.—Foundation of Alexandria.—Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—Marches into Assirta.—Battle of Gaugamela.—Darius betrayed and slain.—Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius.—Bactrian and Scythian War.—Siege 4 the Sogdian Fortress.—Surrender of Chorienes.—Commotions in Greece—Checked by Antipater.—The Cause of Ctessiphon and Demosthenes.—Æschines banished.—State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble scort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and croffed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror. Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war, to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent

ι ΄Ως ταχιτα μισοι αυτε τε και τε Αλιξαιόμε τοι Ευφίατη ποιησαι. Arrian, p. 40.



CHAP. to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried by an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the fea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he therefore directed his march fouthward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon 2, readily opened their gates. The Tyrians fent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the fon of Azelmicus, their king, who had himfelf embarked with Autophradates in the Perfian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community 3 from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he defired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform facrifice there to Hercules .

Upon

<sup>2</sup> I omit the ftory of Abdelerminus, whom Alexander raifed from the humble condition of a gardener to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. I. iv. c. i. Diodorus, I. xvii. relates the fame flory as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun, Alexand, translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian feemed worthy of imitation.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian fays, that thefe ambaffadors were 2000 TE HOLDE STEARLESOL. It should feem that the king of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

<sup>4</sup> The reader may recollect, that Philip fent a fimilar meffage to Atheas, Fing of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians CHAP. discovered equal firmness and prudence. A second embaffy affured Alexander of their unalterable refpest, but at the same time communicated to him state of their determined resolution, that neither the Perfians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This boldness appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war 5. But the refources of their wealth and commerce feem to have elevated the courage, instead of foftening the character, of the Trians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon', had long reigned queen of the fea. The purple shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast, early gave them possession of that lucrative trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilized countries of antiquity 8. Tyre was feparated from the continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls exceeded an hundred feet o in height, and extended

often employed by antiquity to jullify very unwarrantable tranfactions.

<sup>5</sup> Old Tyre was built on the continent, by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was hefieged by Salmanefar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a fiege of thirteen years; but the greater part of the inhabitants had previoufly fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. l. viii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. & l. x. cap. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Ifaiah, xxiii. 12. 7 Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

<sup>8</sup> Homer, Herodot. &c. passim. See likewisevol, i. p. 336.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian favs one hundred and fifty feet. The copies probably are erroneous.

C HAP. eighteen miles in circumference. The convenience of its fituation, the capacioufness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron 10.

Alexander belieges Tyre. Olymp. cxii. i. A. C. 332.

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the fiege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which feemed neceffary in itself, and effential to the success of still more important enterprises, only stimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emer-Throws a gencies, boldness is the greatest prudence. The moleacross first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the fea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure arose from the impersection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and missile weapons from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewife, having the command of the fea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the completion of their labours. To refift thefe affaults, Alexander erected, on the furtheft

## THE HISTORY OF GREEGE,

projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on CF which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to refift the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, which is however, the ingenuity of his adverfaries foon by the Tyrendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge rians. hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, fulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raifed two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vaft caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon inftrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the fea by two gallies. As fhe approached the mole, the rowers fet her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were foon thrown into a blaze. enemy, failing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins ".

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against Alexander fuch accidents. He immediately commanded new mole. engines to be made, and a new mole to be raifed, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toils exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were always obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of stone; wood was brought from Anti-Li-

11 Arrian, p. 44, & fegg.



His military and naval reinforcements.

CHAP. banus ; and it should feem that the Arabians, having diffurbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave rife to the improbable fiction of his having conquered Arabia-By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forcesfeafonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhaufted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the fame time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had fubdued, came to offer their affiftance in an undertaking, which could fearcely have proved fuccefsful, while the Tyrians commanded the fea. The fquadrons of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twentyfour vessels 13, fo that the Tyrians, who hitherto

> 22 Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus, It would be endlefs to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this fiege, which is one of the most romantic paffages in his history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain tafte the picturesque beauties of his flyle will atone for errors in matter of fact. He may be allowed to raife an imaginary florm, who can describe it like Curtius. " Tum inhorrescens mare paullatim levari, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus ciere, & inter senavigia collidere. Jamque scindi coperant vincula, quibus connexe quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, & cum icgenti fragore in profundum fecum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose actions he disfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that is entitled

> 13 Curtius, l. iv. c. iii, fays, that it confided of one hundred and eighty fail. Plutarch, in Alexand, fays, that the haven of

to condemn Curtius.

confided in their fleet, now retired behind the de- CHAP. fences of their ports for fatety.

Singular operations.

fiege.

But these persevering islanders, though they prudertly declined an unequal combat, were forfaken of the neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulk and gallies ", deftined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were affailed with continual showers of ignited arrows 15, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raifed on their lofty battlements. This diftant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious fervice. Alexander commanded a fquadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water, and again

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian diffinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he fays, a veffel of fifty oars, merracorropos; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

14 Such veffels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest failers. Arrian, p. 46.

IS The Popole of ois.

CHAP. cutting the cables, fet the Macedonian veffels adrift. It thus became necessary to prepare chains. which were used instead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were fecured in firm anchorage, the bank of stones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

The Tyrians defeated at €ea.

In this extremity the Tyrians, still trusting to their courage, determined to attack the Cyprian fquadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of this defign could only be furpafied by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previously covered with spread fails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. The hour of attack was fixed at mid-day, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians were usually employed in private affairs, or the care of their bodies, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The best failing veffels were carefully felected from the whole fleet 16, and manned with the most expert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all enured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At first they came forth in a line, flowly and filently; but having proceeded within fight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced abreaft of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were funk at the first shock;

<sup>16</sup> They confifted, fays Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and feven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208, & fegq.

others were dashed in pieces against the shore. CHAP. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a fhort time in his pavilion, was no fooner informed of this desperate fally, than, with admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered fuch veffels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with feveral quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, haftily prepared, he failed round to attack the Tyrians. The befieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recal their ships. They had scarcely changed their courfe, when the enemy affailed, and foon rendered them unferviceable. The men faved themfelves by fwimming; few veffels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

The iffue of these naval operations decided the Tyretaken fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hostile fleet, the Ma- Olymp. cedenians now fearlefsly advanced their engines on exil. 1. all fides. Amidft repeated affaults during two July. days, the befiegers difplayed the ardour of enthusiasm 17, the besieged the fury of despair. From

17 From the beginning, the difficulties of the flege had appeared almost unformountable to the foldiers. " But Alexander," fays Curtius, " haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the fiege to employ the aids of superflition. At one timest was faid, that



towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing fpontoons across, the bravest fometimes passed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians fuccessfully employed hooks and grappling-irons to remove the affailants. On those who attempted scaling-ladders, they poured vessels of burning fand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was opposed by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhaufted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perfeverance of Alexander. On the third day, the engines affailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two fquadrons, attacked the opposite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the fealing-ladders, to advance, that his foldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, first mounted the breach. This gallant commander was flain by a spear; but Alexander,

Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fattened him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a fatyr playing before him, long cluded his grafp, but finally allowed himfelf to be caught. The augurs divided the word Σατυρες, a Satyr, into two fyllables, Σα Τυρες, Tyre is thine. By fuch coarfe artifices did Alexander conquer the world.

who was prefent wherever danger called, immedi- CHAP. ately followed with the royal band of Companions. At the same time the Phænician sleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the fiege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken fome Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the fea, in fight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were flain; thirty thousand were reduced to fervitude 18. The principal magistrates, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were faved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had loft four hundred men in this obstinate fiege of feven months 19.

The conquest of Phoenicia was followed by the Sulmiffubmission of the neighbouring province of Judæa20. fion of Judæa20. fudæa2.

<sup>38</sup> Curtine, I. iv, c. iv. fays, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were faved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon. This circumflance, omitted by Arrian, derives fome probability from the vigorous refistance which, ninêteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702-704.

<sup>19</sup> Arrian, I. ii. p. 44-50.

<sup>20</sup> All the historians of Alexander are filent concerning his journey to Jerufalem, and his extraordinary transactions there, described

CHAP. XXXVIII. Desperate refistance of Gaza. But in the road leading to Egypt, the progress of the conqueror was interrapted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely disficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis. an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by pro-

described by Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. This story, invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, is totally inconfifent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had fubmitted to his arms, " Τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιςινης προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη." Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewife contradictory to the best-authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the elemency of the conqueror, Alexander, fays the Jewish historian, profirated himself before that venerable old man; an action which fo much furprifed Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master, " Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the fequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the meroniumous), till long after the period alluded to by Josephus; neither could be be accompanied by the Chaldwans, as that writer alleges; much lefs could the highprieft, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, fettled in Babylon and Medea, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even paffed the Euphrates. See this fubject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65-69.

ατ Εσχατη δε ακιτο ως επ' Αιγυπτοι εκ Φοινικής ιστι, επι τη αρχη της ιεηια». " It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phænicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

<sup>22</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. Bahameses.

viding copious magazines. The Macedonian en- CHAP. gineers 23 declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the difgrace and danger of leaving a ftrong fortrefs behind him, commanded a rampart to be raifed on the fouth fide of the wall, which feemed least fecure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious fally, and threw them into flames. It required the prefence of the king to fave the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition 24, he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's . darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breastplate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the fiege of Tyre, arrived by fea. A wall of incredible height and breadth 25 was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raifed their batteries; the miners 26 were bufy at the founda-

<sup>23</sup> Ot μεχανοτόμο, the engine makers; It flould feem that the fame perfons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> While Alexander was faceificing, a bird of prey let fall a flone on his head. According to Arithander, the foothfayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

<sup>25</sup> Ευρος μει 1, δυο 52δ.με, ύψος δι ες ποδας πειτιπαστα και διακοσιες. "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is abfurdly erroneous.

<sup>16</sup> Υπονομων τε αλλη και αλλη οξυσσομειων. Atrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and ufed only on great emergencies.

CHAP.

tion: breaches were effected; and, after repeated affaults, the city was taken by ftorm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without lofing ground 27, perished to a man. Their wives and children were enflaved; and Gaza, being repeopled from the neighbouring territory, ferved as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Eafy conquest of Egypt. Olymp. cxii. 1.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza, was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In feven A.C. 332. days march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelufium, to which he had previously fent the fleet, with an injunction carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes, and rivers. His decifive victory at Iffus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent fubjugation of Syria and Phoenicia, together with the actually defenceless flate of Egypt (Mazaces the fatrap of that large province having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops), opened a ready passage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. There, Alexander was received as fovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one fervitude and another, always ready to obey the first fummons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new mafter. Grateful for his unexampled fuccess,

Alexander

<sup>27</sup> Και απεθαίον παντές αυτέ μαχομένοι, ως έκαςοι εταχθησαν. The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Lysias, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopylæ.

Alexander facrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian CHAP. gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, which were adorned by Grecian ariifs, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces, and failed down the Nile to Canopus 28.

At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercifing his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving, his conquefts, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the Lake Marceotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation 29, but traced the plan of his intended capital.

described

<sup>28</sup> Arrian, p. 51, & feqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Egypt, fays Baron Tott, who lately furveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a flatefman, was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It
flood in need of a harbour, vaft, and of eafy access. The
mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages; the only
proper fituation was diffant twelve leagues from the river, and
in the heart of a defert. Ou this spot, which none but a great
genius could have discovered, Alexander built 2 city, which,
being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capiYou, IV.

CHAP described the circuit of its walls, and affigned the ground for its fquares, market-places, and temples 30. Such was the fagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all fubfequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the feat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexand C visits the Ammon. Olymp.

In Egypt, an inclination feized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean. that he might vifit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was exii. 1. of Jupiter Artimos.

A.C. 332. fituate in a cultivated fpot of five miles in diameter, diftant about fifty leagues from the fea, and rifing with the most attractive beauty amidst the fandy deferts of Lybia. Among the African and Afiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a fimilar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been fo easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the fanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiofity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a desolate country,

> tal of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth ftill respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarifm, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive. Mem. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

<sup>30</sup> Arrian, l. iii. fub init.

but not destirute of water. He then boldly pene- CHAP. xxxvIII. trated towards the fouth, into the midland territory, defpifing the danger of traverfing an ocean of fand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary this gloomy scene of uniform sterility 31. The fuperstition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or ferpents; which, without fuppofing a miracle, may, agre abiy to the natural inftinct of animals, have fometimes bent their course, through the desert, towards a well-watered and fertile fpot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the fource of this fertility formed not the least curiofity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile falt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal. The priefts of Ammon inclosed it in boxes of palm-tree, and bestowed it, in presents, on kings and other illustrious personages; such salt being regarded as purer than that procured from feawater, and therefore preferred for the purpose of facrifice, by persons curious in their worthip 32.

Alexander admired the nature of the place, con- Alexander fulted the oracle concerning the fuccess of his expedition, and received, as was univerfally reported,

fettles the

<sup>31</sup> Arrian, p. 53, & feqq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.

<sup>32</sup> Arrian, ibid.

C H A P. a very favourable answer 33. Having thus effected his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to fettle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were reinstated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to administer the civil government; but the principal parrifons, Alexander prudently entrufted to the cornered of his most confidential friends 34; a policy alike recommended by the strength and importance of the country, and by the restless temper of its inhabitants.

Darius collects an army from

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the feat of arts and empire, and which actually compose the ftrength and centre of the Turkish power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vanished with a conqueror who demanded unconditional submission to his clemency 35) still found

33 Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 68c. The pricft, or prophet, meant to address Alexander by the affectionate title of maidless child, fon; but not being fufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he faid, was doc, fon of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were' founded Alexander's pretenfions to divinity. Plut. ibid. & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconfiftent with Arrian, and with Strabo, I. xvii. D. 1168.

34 Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealoufy of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not fenators, but men of the equefirian order, to be Proconfuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

35 In this, Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers.

refources in his eaftern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, CHAP. Korofan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern. times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to fignalife their reftlefs valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Affirma and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Meanwhile, Alexander having received con- Alexander fiderable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, purfued his journey eastward from ria. Phœnicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus to, crin. 2. boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, A.C. 351. and haftened to meet the enemy in Affyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the fame province, fixty miles diffant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation 37.

into Affy-

In both their accounts, which are totally inconfiftent with each other, there are internal marks of falfehood.

36 Darius had entrufted the defence of the pass to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks, But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his poft, and drew off his forces. Arrian,

37 This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

The

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Approaches the enemy.

Their numbers.

The fourth day after paffing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his fcouts, that they had feen fome bodies of the enemy's horfe, but could not discover their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other fcouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hoffile cavalry fcarcew exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to flacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pœonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with fuch celerity, that feveral of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the strength of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indur 38. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to fix hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thousand 39. But all agreed, that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Iffus 40.

38 Arrian, p. 57.

Alexander

<sup>39</sup> Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

<sup>40</sup> Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. xxxir. & liii. Oralius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander received this information without CHAP. testifying the smallest surprise. Having commanded a halt, he encamped four days, to give Examines the field of his men rest and refreshment. His camp being battle. fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the fick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was faid to confift of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unincumbered with any thing but their provisions and armour. The march was undertaken at the fecond watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hoftile camps, fome eminences intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, furnmoned a council of war, and different measures being proposed, acceded to the fingle opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle 41, and

<sup>41</sup> Την χωραν πασαν ίνα το εργον εσεσθαι εμελλει. " The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 18.



carefu'ly examined the disposition of the enemy. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled by his courage, and both surpassed by his activity, performed those important duties in person, at the head of his light horse, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity, he again assembled his captains, and encouraged them by a short speech. Their ardour corresponded with his own; and the soldiers, consident of victory, were commanded to take rest and refreshment \*\*.

Dispositive of the me-

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithftanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Persian custom, the king occupied the centre of the first line, surrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court, and defended by his horse and soot guards, amounting to fifteen thousand chosen men. These splendid troops, who seemed fitter for parade than battle, were stanked, on either side, by the Greek mer-

43 Δεπιοποιεία κι και αιαπαυισθαι εκιλεισε τοι στεατοι. " He commanded his army to fup and reft." Arrian, p. 38. This does not well agree with what is faid, p. 57. εδεί, αλλο ότι μο δαπλα Φερεσι, " That the foldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore fupplied the word " provisions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Currius, l. iv. c. κίϊι. fay, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the king answered, that he diffained ελείμαι το μελείς " to fleal the victory:" an answer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; fince the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and courage.

cenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully CHAP. felected from the whole army. The right wing XXXVIII. confifted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Perfians, and Cardufians. The various nations composing this immense host were differently armed, with fwords, fpears, clubs, and hatchets: while the horse and foot of each division were promiscuously blended, rather from the result of accident, than by the direction of defign. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chofen fquadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within who refight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying main all night unthe wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a der arms. nocturnal affault, from enemies who often veiled their defigns in darknefs, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unufmeasure, the gloomy filence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a reftless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granious and the Iffis.

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in Alexa manner fuggested by the superior numbers and ander's deep order of the enemy. His main body con-battle;

XXXVIII.

CHAP. fifted in two heavy-armed phalanxes, each amounting to above fixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the heavy-armed men, reinforced by his targeteers, with orders, that when the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them 13. The cavalry ht infantry were fo disposed on the wings, that while one part refifted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode of attack.

Having thus arranged the feveral parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contacting at once with fuperior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius all extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian fouadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. Alexander

<sup>43</sup> Επεταξε δε και δευτεραν ταξιι ώς ειναι την Φαλαγγα αμφισομον. Arrian, p. 60. The pahays autisous is explained by Ælian, as described in the text.

October.

immediately detached a body of horse to oppose CHAP. them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then iffued mela. forth with impetuous violence; but their appear- cxii. 2. ance only was formidable; for the precautions A.C. 331. taken by Alexander, rendered their affault harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with fo little order, that the horse, mixed with the in fantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to fupply. Alexander feized the decifive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of fquadrons. He was followed by the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed forward with load shouts, as if they had already purfued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful; after a feeble refistance, the Barbarians gave way; and the pufillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight 44,

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in dange, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant space was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which fome fquadrons of Perfian and Indian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile camp 45. It was then that Alexander derived fignal

<sup>44</sup> Εφυγε εν τοις πρωτοις αισχρως. " He fied fhamefully among the foremoft." Arrian, p. 69.

<sup>45</sup> The words of Arrian are, All stishoartes the Palarya (viz. the fections on the left), nyuntaro, its to evanuation



and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and tarageteers, which he had fkilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed, or put to slight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who

πονεισθαι ηγγελλετο. Και ταυτη παραρραγεισης αυτοις της ταξιως, κατο το διεχον, διεκπαικοι των τε Ινδων νίνες, και της Περσικής ίππε. ώς επι τα σκευοφορα των Μακεδονων, &c. The learned Guifchardt's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text. " Les fections de la droite de la phalange avant donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent aussi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le fort de combat au centre, se presserent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embaraffa tellement les foldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fet alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jetta se les derrières de ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la confternation devn. générale. L'effet en fut fingulier; les Perses se voyant coupés, dans 'eur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils fe jetterent à corps perdu fur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put refifter au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections, de celle-ci poufférent en avant, & n'observerent pas que, depuis la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrérent tout-à-coup par la crevasse, & poussérent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

main-

maintained a sharp conslict. Sixty of the Com- CHAP. AXXVIII. were wounded. Having at length diffipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the bufiness was already effected, chiefly by the Theffalian horse; and nothing remained to be done, but to purfue the fugitives, and to render the victory as decifive as possible 46.

According to the leaft extravagant accounts, co. 6with the loss of five hundred men, he deftroyed quenc of the victory. forty thousand of the Barbarians 47, who never

thence-

46 Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspieuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by observing the immense difproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better folved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. I. From the inture of fire-arms, mode- James are involved in smoke and confusion. 2. From the same cause, modern armies occupy a much greater exter of ground, and begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more difficult to observe and ascertain their mar œuvres. 3. The immense train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impossible to perform, without great danger, those rapid evolutions in fight of an enemy, which so often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almost every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of historical description.

47 In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the

CHAP, thenceforth affembled in fufficient numbers to XXXVIII. diffpute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Sufiana, and Perfis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis 43, formed the prize of his skill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the fummit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown 49. The burning of the royal palace of Perfepolis 50, to retaliate the ravages

> victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not miffile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached fo nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times, the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various means of retreating with confiderable fafety. The fphere of military action is so widely extended in modern times, that before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanguished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the purfuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be faid to have faved the effusion of human blood. engagements (fince the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the fame in every age) are still distinguished by fimilar circumbances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

> 48 The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, fufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut, in Alexand.

49 After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deferve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be juftly blamed.

50 Arrian, I. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, 1. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the

palace.

of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of CHAP. his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adverfary.



The fettlement of his important and extensive Measures conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii. those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defed the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the purfuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince elcaped by a precipitate and ob-

fcure 51 flight across the Armenian mountains into

of Darius.

palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was comumed. Diodorus fays inaccurately, & megi The Cariheiav Tomos, the place around the palace;" and Curtius, I. v. c. vii. with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis fo completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, is at pains to prove that Perfepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepols, having violated their treaty with the Muffulmen, were butchered without mercy, and the city totally demolished. See Examen Critique, p. 125, & seqq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reasons for bel'eving that there were two cities called Perfepolis by the Greeks, fituate at a confiderable diffance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Musfulmen. See his Supplement to his Recherches fur les Arts, &c. de la Gréce.

Arrian observes, that Darius shewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Sufa and Babylon, towards which he juffly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, 1. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, 1, v.

c. i. are too abfurd to merit refutation.

Media.

CHAP. Media. Being gradually joined by the fcattered remnant of his army, amounting to feveral thoufand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purposed to establish his court in Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Babylon 52; but in case he were still pursued by the conqueror, his refolution was to proceed eastward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying wafte the intermediate country, that he might thus interpose a defert between himself and the Macedonians. In this defign, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and fuch inftruments of convenience or luxury as still softened his misfortunes; and remained in person at Echatana with his army. Alexander, when apprifed of thee measures, hastened into Media. In his way he fubdued the Paritacæ; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by Bifthanes, the fon of Ochus, Darius's predeceffor 53. This prince informer him, that Darius 1 Hed from thence five days before, attended by three thousand horsemen, and fix thousand foot.

<sup>54</sup> The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; fince the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

<sup>53</sup> Arrian, p. 66. speaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predeceffor, neglecting the fhort reign of Arces, the fon of Ochus, who was poisoned soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas, Diocor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hift. vi. 8.

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander pro- CHAP. ceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he lest his treafures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city Alexander he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and Darius; feveral auxiliary fquadrons; paying them, befides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his flandard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlift; a permitfion which many embraced. A ftrong detachment under Parmenio was fent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left fick at Sufa; was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; while the king, with a well-appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition 54 in pursuit of Darius. Having paffed the Caspian Straits, he was met by Bagistanes, a Babylonian of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, fatrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown afide all respect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he haftened forward with a few felect bands, encumband only with their arms, and two days provisions.

<sup>54</sup> His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day; fometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illustrate and confirm each other.



CHAP. In that space of time, he reached the camp from which Bagistanes had deferted; and finding fome parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being feized and bound, was actually carried prifoner in his chariot; that Beffus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed the imperial honours; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his fons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their adelity inviolate; but finding themselves unable to prevent the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the defigns, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

who is treacheroully flain. Olymp. exii. 3. A.C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore difmounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to purfue the great road which Beffus had followed, advanced in perfon with his chofen band by a nearer way, which was almost defert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guides. From the close of the evening

evening till day-break he had rode near fifty miles, CHAP. when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Satibarzanes and Rarzaentes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by fix hundred horfe. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him 55. Darius was the last king of the house of Hystaspes, and the tenth in fuccession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct fufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predeceffors 56

In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm the muresteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He derers of

55 Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in Alexand. & Curtius, l. v. cpxii. & Justin, l. xi.c. xv. are inconfiftent with each other, and all of them betray the define to contrast the exaltation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," fays Curtius, " with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praife of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

56 Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions reprefenting Darius as a monster or vranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orientale, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulnels and accuracy fo conspicuous in Arrian?

gave



gave orders, that the body of Darius should be transported to Persia, and interred in the royal mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince were uniformly treated with those distinctions which belonged to their birth; and Barciné 57, his eldeft daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian fervice, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his fons, well became the character of a prince, who could difcern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then purfued the murderers of Darius through the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of fix hundred furlongs. Having received the fubmiffion of Aornos 58 and Bactra, he passed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks of this river, that Beffus, who had betrayed his mafter, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was furprifed by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity 59 better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bactrian and Scythian war, Spitamenes fucceeded to his ambition and danger. In purfuit of this daring rebel, the refentment of Alexander hurried him through the vaft

<sup>57</sup> Called by fome writers Statira.

<sup>58</sup> We shall meet with another place of this name, between

<sup>49</sup> He was firipped naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other murde ers of Darius.

but undescribed 60 provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the fouthern region of Tartary. The more northern Olymp. and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. Thefe rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obflinately refifting, retreated skilfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians, on feveral occasions, surprised his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable " But the enlightened intrepidity, and ini-

CHAP. CXII. 4. cxiii. I. A. C. 328,

60 The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subfequent discoveries, in the learned work entitled Examen des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, ufually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with the admirable maps of D'Anville.

61 In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curmentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the flain. Curtius, l. vii. c. vii. Alexander was not prefent in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the king ftruck with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or leffer bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, callied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, I. iii. fub fin.

CHAP

mitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians; finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and defultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander croffed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians 62 on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs soon recalled him from an inhospitable desert.

A lexander finally reduces the The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to

62 Before Alexander paffed the Jaxartes, he received an embaffy probably from the Abian Scythian. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preferved in Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. It is remarkable for the bold elevated ftyle, in which thefe Barbarians difplay their own advantages, and defcribe the deftructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing fentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. " Great trees," fay the Scythians to Alexander, " require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, left, in climbing to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have feized. Grafp Fortune with both your hands; fhe is flippery, and cannot be Confined. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Those to whom she ftretches out her hand, the allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may more cashly manage it. Our poverty will be fwifter than your army loaded with spoil. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and defire not to command." The figurative ftyle of the Scythians is fufficiently confonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principi dr Scienza nuova, vol. i. p. 156, & fegg. See likewife Chapters fifth and fixth of the present History. Le Clerc, therefore, speaks with equal ignorance and feverity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he fays, " Scythæ ipfi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamistro inusti, in medium prodeunt." Judic. Curt. p. 326. fubfubmission. The Barbarians fighting fingly were CHAP. fucceffively fubdued; their bravest troops were oradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades, commanded by Hephæstion, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Cænus 63, and himfelf. Near Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cænus artacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deferted their unfortunate general, and furrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Maffagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the defert; but being apprifed, that the Macedonians prepared to purfue them, they flew this active and daring chief, whose courage deserved a better fate; and in hopes of making their own peace, fent his head to the conqueror.

provinces between theCafpian and the Taxartes. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A.C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly refisted Alexander in the open country; but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacene, two important fortresses, long deemed impregnable, still bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxvartes the Bactrian, who headed the rebellion (for fo the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was fteep, rugged, almost inaccessible, and provided with corn for a long fiege. The deep

Siege of the Sogdian fort-Olymp. cxiii. 2. A.C. 327.

<sup>63</sup> Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus. Arrian.

CHAP.

fnow, by which it was furrounded, increased the difficulty of affaulting it, and fupplied the garrison with water. Alexander, having fummoned the Bactrians to furrender, was asked in derision, Whether he had furnished himself with winged foldiers? This insolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himself master of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This refolution was confonant to his character. His fuccess in arms, owing to the resources of his active and comprehensive mind, fometimes encouraged him to enterprifes, neither justified by necessity, no warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an instrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and facrificed the lives of his men to military experiments, alike hazardous and useless: yet, on the present occasion, sound policy feems to have directed his measures. Having determined foon to depart from those provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an energy behind: it might feem necessary to destroy the feeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almost incredible, to impress such terror of his name, as would aftenish and overawe his most distant and warlike dependencies.

which is taken by a contrivance equally Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortrefs, and proposed a reward of twelve talents to the man who should first mount the top of the rock

<sup>64</sup> Above £ 2000, equal in value to near £ 20,000 in the prefent age.

on which it was fituated. The fecond and third CHAP. were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the last of ten was to be gratified with the sum of three ingenious and darhundred daries. The hopes of this recompence, ing. which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, ftimulated the love of adventure, fo confpicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully felected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with finall pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might ferve as a fignal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed fnow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprife, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this fimple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the fummit of the rock, which overlooked the fortress; and waving their figral in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous fight, he fummoned the befieged to furrender to his winged foldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and reprefented them as completely armCHAP. XXXVIII. Alexander's ge-

nerous

na.

of Roxa-

ed; Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress 65.

This obscure and even nameless eastle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments; but even in the servour of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind distained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condescending affection raised her to the throne, choosing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to transgress the laws of humanity.

The fortrefs of Chorienes furrenders. Olymp. exiii. 2. A.C. 327. In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætacæ were in arms, and that many of his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the fortress or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he hastened to the Parætacene. The height of the rock, which was everywhere steep and eraggy, he found to be near three miles, and its circumference above seven. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which surrounded the mountain, should be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men de-

65 Arrian, p. 91, & fegq.

66 Id. ibid.

fcending

fcending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. These, being placed at proper distances, were covered with hurdles of ozier confolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Bacbarians at first derided this seemingly useless labour. But their infults were foon answered by Macedonian arrows. By thefe, and other miffile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, fo much annoyed the befieged, that the latter became defirous to capitulate. For this purpose, Chorienes, from whom the place derived its name, defired to converse with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, fince the taking of his wife and children, had submitted to Alexander. His request being granted, Oxyartes strongly exhorted him to furrender his fortress and himself, assuring him of Alexander's goodness, of which his own treatment furnished an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to fuch troops and fuch a general. Chorienes prudently followed this advice; and, by his speedy fubmission, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendship of Alexander, who again entrusted him with the command of his fortrefs, and the government of his province. The vaft magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætacæ for a long fiege, afforded a feafonable fupply to the Macedonian army, especially during the severity of winter, in a country covered with fnow many feet deep 67.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The virtues difplayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquefts.

By fuch memorable atchievements, Alexander fubdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which fupply the fources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous war, the great abilities of the general were confpicuously diftinguished. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor fickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity: his courage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have passed for temerity. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practifed the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects 68. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his reftless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the differnment of this extraordinary man, not only

<sup>68</sup> Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, paffim,

effential to the fecurity of the conquests which he CHAP. had already made, but necessary preparations for more remote and fplendid expeditions which he ftill purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the fucceeding chapter, he performed with fingular boldness and unexampled fuccess.

During the three first years that the invincible heroifin of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vioilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the fouthern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, infligated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hoffility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnefus, which imprudently liftened to their counfels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the infurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninfula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to king Agis, and three thoufand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to fend ambaffadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From that generous prince, the rebellious republics received promife of par-

Commotions in by Antipater. Olymp. cxii. 3. A.C. 3300

revolt 69. From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unufual de-

don, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill judged

> Tranquillity of that country

<sup>69</sup> Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi, c. i.

CHAP. XXXVIII. during the fublequent years of Alexander's reign. gree of tranquillity and happines. The fuspicious and severe temper of Antipater was restrained by the commands of his master, who, provided the several republics sent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of submission. Under the protection of this indulgent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests they were essentiated, the Greeks still preserved the forms, and displayed the image, of that free constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

accufed by Æichines, and defended by Demosthenes.
Olympoxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

While Alexander purfued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold that intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalship in power and same had long divided the affections of their countrymen. In confequence of a decree proposed by Ctefiphon, Demosthenes, as above mentioned, had been honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Because he had decreed public honours to a man actually entrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because, contrary to law, he had advised, that the crown conferred on Demosthenes, should be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, inftead of being rewarded with a crown, crown, he ought to be punished as a traitor. Va- CHAP. rious circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, prevented this important cause from being heard by the Athenians, till the fixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians feemed to promife every advantage to Æfchines, who had long been the partifan of Philip, and of his magnanimous fon; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctefiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

lumny.

In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument, combined with for cathe most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions 70, by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his audience, when, to justify his advising the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No! I fwear it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the fame cause at Marathon and Platæa." What sublime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at this extraordinary fentiment, which, in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was furrounded, would appear altogether excessive and gigantic?

The orator not only justified Cteliphon and Generolity himself, but procured the banishment of his adver-

CHAP. XXXVIII.

fary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accufation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more folid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before Æschines set fail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept. a generofity which made the banished man feel feverely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, " How deeply must I regret the lofs of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elfewhere!" Æschines retired to the ifle of Rhodes, and inflituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the anfwer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himfelf!"

His death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A.C. 322. Demofthenes furvived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more sufficious policy of An spater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassing to the little island of Calauria, he ended his life by poison 71.

The fentence of the AtheIt may be thought, that the conqueror of the Perfian empire would have little leifure, or incli-

nation.

<sup>71</sup> Plut, in Demosthen, & Lucian, Demosthen, Encom.

XXXVIII. nians in favour of Demosthenes, honourable to the moderation of

nation, to attend to a personal dispute between two CHAP. Athenian orators: and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be confidered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the fuccefsful, opponent of the greatness of his family; and in the beginning of his own Alexanreign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconfolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honours of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the fentence of the Athenian people; a fentence which reverfed the decision of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never refented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and fecurity which they enjoved under the Macedonian government.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but also delivered from the cares, of independent fovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dif- latter years fenfions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propenfity to the focial embellishments of life; a propenfity by which they were honourably diffinguished above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at

State of Greece during the of the reign of Alexan.



any former period. The schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardour and fuccess. Many improvements were made in the sciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their anceftors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotifm and true valour were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love. nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an affociation with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boafted trophies of Marathon and Platæa. By a fingularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political difgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of his nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE AN SERFOOT

## CHAP. XXXIX.

Alexander's Indian Expedition .- Route pursued by the Army .- Aornos taken .- Nysa and Mount Meros .- Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes .- Defeuts Porus .- Founds Nicea and Bucephalia .- Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes .-Sangala taken .- Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests. - He sails down the Hydaspes. - Takes the Mallian Fortress .- His March through the Gedrosian Desert.-Voyage of Nearchus.-Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests .- Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians .- Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics .- Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon .- His Death, and Character. - Division of his Conquests - Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria. - The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. - State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

Y just views of policy, rather than the mad- C HAP. ness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions dertakes had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Afia Olymp. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror would not have

XXXIX. Alexander un-

his Indian expedition. CXIII. 2. A. C. 327.

CHAP. fecurely enjoyed the splendour of Sufa and Babylon; nor without the affiftance of numerous and warlike levies, raifed in those barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprife, he prepared early in the fpring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrufted with a fufficient strength to overawe the furrounding provinces.

Traverfes the Paropamifus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander haftened fouthwards, and in ten days march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the fea of China. This fouthern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamifus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate fpace, especially towards the central country of Bukaria, is far more elevated than any other portion of the Eastern continent; and the towering heights of Paropamifus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have,

The errors of Diodorus, 1. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, 1. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, 1. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, 1. Xv. p. 724.

perhaps, been rather exaggerated than derribed, CHAP. by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, " Those mourtains are covered with ice; the cold which I fuffered was extreme; the country prefents a melancholy image of death and horror 3."

But the rugged nature of the country was not Difficulty the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had of pene-traing into struggle. The northern regions of India were to India by inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern land. times, by men of fuperior ftrength and courage4; and the vigorous refiftance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninfula by land, as it has always been found eafy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and fubdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coafts.

The experienced leader feems to have conducted Routepurhis army by the route of Candahar, well known to Alexthe caravans of Agra and Ifpahan. Having reached ander. the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdiccas, to Aear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for croffing that river. After many fevere conflicts,

Z 3

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, I. vii. c. iii.

<sup>3</sup> See " le Voyage du Pere Desideri." It was performed in the year 1715. Lettres Edifiantes, xv. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, p. 97, & feqq.

XXXIX.

CHAP. he fullimed the Afpii, Thryræi, Arafaci, and Affaceni; fcoured the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their fastneffes; and drove them towards the northern mountains, which fupply the fources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Adrnos taken.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri, still defied his affaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the most warlike of their neighbours, after their other ftrongholds had furrendered. From its description, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where lowest; accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful fpring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a fufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thousand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himself master of a place, which fable described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of antiquity 5. By the voluntary affiftance and direction of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the Baziri, Ptolemy a cended part of the rock unper-

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, p. 92. who supplies the particulars in the text, fays, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid fiege unfuccessfully to Aornes. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occasion, as on many others, " 11; корти тв λογε," " as an oftentatious fiction."

ceived; Alexander with his usual diliger consisted a CHAP. mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the refources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to spin out the negociation during the whole day, and in the night to effect their escape. Alexander, who fuspected this intention, met their art with fimilar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians defcended the mountain, he took possession of the ftrong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

The Macedonians proceeded fouthward from Alexander Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile diffrict, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nysa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic, or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony established by Bacchus at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering Greeks, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nyfa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian foil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preferved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just fat down in his tent, covered

Nyfa and



CHAP. with free and dust, and still armed with his casque and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The king having raifed them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condefcension, they recovered sufficient boldness to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties for the fake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they infifted on the name Nyfa, derived from the nurse of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in their territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretenfion, which might attest to succeeding ages that he had carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus?,

readily

6 The respect shewn by the Greeks to their purses is well known, and is attefted by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks ftill imitate their ancestors. The word employed to fignify a nurse, properly denotes " a second mother." See Mr. Guy's Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce.

7 Eratofthenes the Cyrenean, and many other ancient writers, afferted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the Eaft, were invented by the flatterers of Asexander. But Strabo juftly observes, that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the fon of Philip. To justify this obfervation, he cites the verfes of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his Bacche, introduces Bacchus, faying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semely.

Λιπων δε Λυδων τας πολυχευσας γυας Φρυγων τε Περσων θ' ήλιοδλητης πλακας, Βακτευα τε τειχη, την τε δυσχειμον χθονα Μηδων, επελθων Αραβιαν τ' ευδαιμονα Ασιαν τε πασαν, ή παρ άλμυραν άλα Κειται, μιγασιν Ελλησι Βαρδαροις θ' ομε Πλημις εχωσα καλλιπυργωτες πολεις.

66 Leaving

readily granted their request. Having new food that Nysa was governed by an aristocracy, he demanded, as hostages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who headed the embassy. Alexander asked him, "At what he smiled?" He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen, and more, should you think proper. But can you believe it possible that any city should long continue safe, after losing an hundred of its most virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the best, should you be contented with two hundred of the worst, men in Nysa, be affured that, at

66 Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the fun-beat plains of Phrygia and Perlia, the Bactrian fortreffes, and the wintry florms of the Medes-having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Afia, crowned with fair-turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyssa in particular. Βροτοισι κλεινην Νυσσαν. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: I. Becrufe the relations of authors on this fubiect are totally inconfiftent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether filent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, poffess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosopper and historian discovers his fentiments to be the same with Strab 's, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, εί ακ ακριδή εξετασην χρη ειται των υπες το θειο, εκ παλαιο, μεμυθευμενων;" " that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully fifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyze, the Grecian mythology.



CHAP your cerum, you will find this country in as flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased with his address, Alexander remitted his demand of the magistrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the fon and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under fuch an accomplished general.

Alexander receives the

The transactions which we have described, and fadus, and a march of fixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdiccas of Taxiles, to make the preparations necessary for passing the latter river, most probably by a bridge of boats 8. On the eastern bank, Alexander received the fubmission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought, befides other valuable prefents, the affiftance of feven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes. But the

> 8 Arrian, p. 100 & 103. leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was confirteded. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander, afcertain the pass of the Indus, at which the Macedonians croffed that river. Major Rennel, late furveyor-general of Bengal, has the following observations in his excellent memoir on the map of Indostan: " I take it for granted, that Alexander croffed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now flands; as it appears to have been it all ages the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India . . . Attock must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention feems to have been to penetrate by the shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behat) where the fortrefs of Rotas now stands; and here he put in execution his ftratagem for croffing the river, whilft the opposite shore was puffeffed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

king, who never allowed himself to be our one in CHAP. generofity, restored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

the fummer folftice, at which feafon the Indian Hydaspes, rivers are fwelled by heavy rains, as well as by the notwithmelted fnow, which defcends in torrents from the opposi-Paropamifus. Trufting to this circumstance, Porus, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydalpes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his fon commanded a detachment, confifting of the fame kind of forces, which were all well accoutred, and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of paffing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable hoft; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favourable feafon. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his post. The king next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having posted his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raife in the night

loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants

The army croffed the Indus about the time of Prepares to



CHAP. where or a edanger threatened. This scene was repeated feveral fuccessive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and haraffed by perpetual alarms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noife, but merely to difturb his repose, at length defifted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank 9

Dispositions for that purpole.

The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpole. At the diftance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there flood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an island, likewise over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such objects were favourable for concealment: they immediately fuggefted to Alexander the defign of passing the river with a ftrong detachment, which he refolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform; and, amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamifus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly during day-time to cross the Hydaspes. While

these operations were carrying on by Caterus, CHAP. Alexander, having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian 10 cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-afforted brigade, adapted to every mode of war required by the nature of the ground, the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and island; and in this fecure post prepared to embark, after taking such precautions against the viciflitudes of war and fortune, as could be fuggested only by the most profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were precise: should the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the paffage to the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten over with his cavalry; otherwife not to ftir from his post, until he observed Porus advancing against Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal diffance between the bank, where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, chiefly confifting of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into the pay of the conqueror. To provide for any unforefeen accident, fentinels

<sup>10</sup> Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were iπποτοξοται,
46 archers on horseback." Arrian, l. v. p. 102.

The paf-

fage ef- .

fected.

CHAP. were placed along the bank, at convenient diftances, to observe and repeat fignals.

> Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation; the clash of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, paffed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line. accompanied in his veffel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lyfimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irrefistible diffusion of their master's glory.

> The king first reached the opposite bank, in fight of the enemy's out-guards, who haftened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which they landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually fo much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breafts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, confidering, that should Porus offer battle, these forces

forces would refift till joined by the heavy infaitiy; CriAP. but should the Indians be struck with panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the lightarmed troops would thus arrive in time to attack and purfue them with advantage.



Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus's son Porus detached his fon to oppose the landing of defeated and slain. the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain: most of the chariots were taken; the slime of the river, which rendered them unserviceable in the action, likewise interrupting their flight.

The fad news of this discomfiture deeply af- Disposiflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed by Porus not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared forrelitting to pass the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated affault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten, rather than refift, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of the enemy, commanded by their king. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty, thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, confifted of three hundred armed chariots, and

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two hundred elephants. With these forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain fufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet; in these intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, fince their horse, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at fight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they must be themselves exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by those terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Skilful of the Macedoni. an army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of manœuvres the royal cohort and equestrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops should join. This being effected he allowed them time to reft and recover strength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the disposition of the Indians: Upon observing their order of battle, he immediately determined, not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once refolved on an operation, which, with fuch troops as those whom he commanded, could fearcely fail to prove decifive.

together unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, ftretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, fhould they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in their posts, waiting the event of this complicated affault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise obfervance of time and distance.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian The battle archers, and exposed to the danger of being fur-daspes. rounded, were obliged to form into two divisions, of which one prepared to refift Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution fo much disordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to fland the fhock of the Macedonian cavalry, which furpaffed them as much in ftrength, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no fooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the affailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous

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to refift them with a close and deep phalanx. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again fought the same friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost intirely surrounded, by the Macedonian horse; at the same time that the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow space, and surious, through their wounds, proved more formidable to stiends than soes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury.

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the division, under Craterus, passed the river. But the arrival of these siesh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved less formidable in reality than appearance, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that conqueror "". With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valour and resistance of his enemies;

<sup>11</sup> Arrian, p. 112.

<sup>12</sup> See Arrian, p. 113. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, but rather to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom he derived his materials; nor could it be expected that those generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

but, in computing the numbers of the flain, they CHAP. become averse to allow this valour and resistance XXXIX. to have produced any adequate effects.

The Indian king having behaved with great Courage gallantry in the engagement, was the last to leave nanimity the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, of Porus, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entrusted with the care of seizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who was his ancient and inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendship. By the entreaties of Meroe, the high-minded prince, spent with thirst and fatigue, was finally perfuaded to furrender; and being refreshed with drink and repose, was conducted to the presence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his flature (for he was above feven feet high) and the majesty of his person; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked in what Rewarded he could oblige him? Porus answered, "By acting by Alexander. like a king." " That," faid Alexander with a Smile, " I should do for my own fake, but what can I do for your's?" Porus, replied, " All my wishes are contained in that one request 13." None

<sup>13</sup> The modern histories of Alexander universally misrepresent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus fay, " that he defires to be treated like a king " an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, Tero pair εται σοι Παρε εμε ένεκα συ δε σαυτε ενέκα δ, τι σοι φιλον αξιε?

XXXIX.

CHAP. ever admired virtue more than Alexander. Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and having foon afterwards received the submission of the Glause, who posleast of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the flain, performed the accustomed facrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia; the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it flood; the latter, fituate on the opposite bank, was named in honour of his horfe Bucephalus 14, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to brild and fortify these new cities.

Foundation of Nicæa and lia.

> 66 I will ael towards you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you defire that I should do on

> 14 This generous animal, who had fo long shared the toils and dangers of his mafter, had formerly received fignal marks of royal regard. Having difappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander iffued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and fword. This command was immediately obeyed. " So dear," fays Arrian, " was Bucephalus to Alexander, and fo terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian,

In promoting the fuccess of Alexander, the fame of his generofity conspired with the power of his arms. Without encountering any memorable Alexander refiftance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acefines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conqueft, the obstacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Acefines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks, which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, occafion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable, and still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to pass in boats, many drove against the rocks, and perished; but fuch as employed hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The Hydraotes is of the fame breadth with the Acefines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eaftern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to refift his progress. They had encamped on the fide of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, inflead of a breaft-work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians dirred not from their post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for fuch an attack, immediately difmounted, and conducted a battalion of foot

CH . P. against the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakest; some passages were opened; the Macedonians rushed in; and the Indians, being fuccessively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

Sangala and taken.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invefted. On one fide, the town was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be furrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with fuccess. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then invested the greatest part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by fome deferters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy, the fon of Lagus, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the fpot where he fagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first found of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the affiftance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger: By this judicious disposition, the enemy were

fuccessfully repelled, after leaving five hundred CH men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a confiderable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the fiege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the fealing-ladders were fixed; leveral breaches were made; and the town was taken by affault. Seventeen thoufand Indians are faid to have perified in the fack of Sangala; above feventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was razed; its confederates submitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the fiege or affault; twelve hundred were wounded.

conquefts.

The perfevering intrepidity of Alexander thus Eastern rendered him mafter of the valuable country, now of Alexcalled the Punjab, watered by the five great streams ander's whose confluence forms the Indus 15. The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which be actually intended to cross, allured by the flattering description of the adjoining territory,

15 The annals of the Gentoos diftinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Kooneah, " the great robber and affaffin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowefs. The high idea enterty ned of him by the Indians, appears from their afcribing to his tafte and magnificence, the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & feqq. M. Anquetil's Zend-Avefta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Centoos, P. ij. p. 5.



CHAP were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country. These monuments, crected midway between Delhi and Lahor 16, marked the

> 16 Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hift. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his excellent Memoir on the new Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not fo high up the river. " After croffing," fays he, " the Acefines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now flands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphafis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debapour, by the circumstance of the deferts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a defert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-fix Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional fcale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty fuch miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recrofting the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acefines, in a low fitration, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and thefe are also the parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, be-

extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus CH limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the opposition of enemies, but by the immoveable and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander fubmitted Alexander to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his the Hydaftrophies in the Eaft. But his reftless curiofity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and by his himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa Olymp. and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the fake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæstion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march fouthward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Mace-

pcs, accx111. 3. A. C. 326.

tween which places, I fuppofe, Alexander's altars were erected." It is rather unfortunate for this ingenious conjecture, that the defert on the eaftern bank of the Hyphafis, between Alexander and the Conges, is to be found only in the inaccurate compilation of Diodorus, 1, xvii, p. 612, (whose narrative of Alexander's expedition is as much inferior to Arrian's, as his imperfect and inconfiftent account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand, is inferior to the admired Anabalis of Xenophon), and in the romantic description of Curtius, 1. ix. c. ii. The existence of such a defert, at the extremity of Alexander's conqueits, is contradicted by the circumftantial and fatisfactory narrative of Arrian, I. v. p. 119. who fave, " that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave; governed by a moderate ariftocracy; flourishing in peace and plenty; pofferling a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and



CHAP. doman conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians. Cyprians, Phænicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the flandard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, above two thoufand vessels ", for failing down the Hydaspes till

> 17 " It may appear extraordinary," fays Mr. Rennel, " that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vaft a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is faid to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and veffels ready confiructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the veffels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the Gulph of Perfia, were found in the Indus. Veffels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are fometimes used in the Ganges; and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of veffels, he fays, nat δοα αλλα ποταμία, η των παλαι πλεοντών κατά τες ποτάμες, η ει τω τότε ποιηθείτων, p. 124. The veffels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly coilected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, I. Long ships, for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships, for carrying provifions, baggage, &c.; and, 3. in Taywya Thoia, veffels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the thips of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and illanders, appears from Airian, p. 124 & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconfiftent with the relation of Curtius, I. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, 1. xvii. p. 563. and that of Justin, 1. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each fide the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus. its

its junction with the Indus, and thence along that CHAP. majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet the king embarked in person with the ployed feveral months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were fuccessively besieged and taken; but, at the storm of their capital, a scene was transacted, which would have indicated madness in any other general, and which betrayed temerity even in Alexander.

When their streets were filled with the enemy, Extraordithe Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortrefs was defended by a thick wall, which being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconfiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians, commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with all possible expedition. But this service being performed more tardily than usual, the king, in his anger, fnatched a ladder from one who carried it. and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their genefal, followed in fuch numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the fummit; the fame accident happened to other ladders which were haftily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For forne moments, the king thus remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness, of his

venture in belieging lian fort-

CHA? arms, and the extravagance 18 of his valour, exposed to thick vollies of hostile darts from the adjacent towers. His refolution was more than daring. At one bound he fprang into the place, and posting himself at the wall, slew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to affault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peucestas, the only Macedonians who had got fafe to the top of the wall, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardless of their own fafety, defended the king, whose breast had been pierced with an arrow. They were foon covered with wounds, and Alexander feemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burft through the gates of the place. Their first concern was to carry off the king; the fecond to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos; others, that no furgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the lifeguards, opened the wound with his fword, by his mafter's command. The great effusion of blood threatened his immediate diffolution; but a feafonable fwooning retarded the circulation of the fluids, stopped the discharge of blood, and saved the like of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their

<sup>18</sup> Τω ατοπω της τολμης; literally, 66 the abfurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit fuch an expression; arono; properly fignifies " what has no place in nature." It is commonly translated abfurd, but may here mean supernatural.

gloomy fadness during his danger, and their im- CHAP. moderate joy at his recovery 19.

ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Perfepolis, through the barren folitudes of Gedrosia. This exiii. 4. arduous defign was not inspired by an idle ambition to furpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis. whose armies were faid to have perished in those deferts, but prompted by the necessity of tupplying with water, the first European sleet which navigated the Indian fea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the

Having performed his intended voyage to the fian defert. Olymp. A.C. 325.

Tigris. This important voyage was performed, voyage of

19 The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is faid by Curtius, I. Ax. c. iv. to have happened in ftorming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities, compared with Arrian, 1. vi. p. 127, & fegg. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

and afterwards related, by Nearchus 20, whose enterprifing genius was worthy of the mafter whom he ferved. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually affifted each other. By the example of the king, both

20 Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long refided in amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preferved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Seven months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the fea. Nearchus failed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Plin. Nat. Hift. 1. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and others: but its authenticity is confirmed by the incomparable D'Anville. See Recherch, Geog. fur Le Golfe Perfique, Acad. des Inferip. t. xxx. p. 133.

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. were taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traverfed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest foldie, ar nor was it till after a march of two months, diftinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

aer is joinmania by divisions army.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had fent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stafanor and Phrataphernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a feafonable fupply of camels and other beafts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by difease and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this destructive expedition 22, was repaired by the ar-

21 Parties were continually employed, on all fides, in fearching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the fun was excessive, and reflected by the fcorching fand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirft, exhaufted by fatigue, and oppreffed by care. Amidft thefe diffrefsful circumilances, fome foldiers discovering a fmall quantity of turbid water, brought it in great hafte to the king. He received the prefent with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

22 Plutarch fays, that the march through Gedrofia coft Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, fince he fuppofes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangas; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrofian

deferts.

He punifles the

duct of his generals.

rival of numerous battalions from Media, which CHAP. rendered the ftandard of Alexander fufficiently refoectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the Medes of de-misconspoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other deteltable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own foldiers confirmed the accufation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction. and ferved as a falutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practifed by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and confolidate his empire, than his vigilance to reftrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppreffion 23.

bable ac-

Among the fables which give the air of romance Improto the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may count of reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is faid Carmania. to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and allowing the utmost extravagance of diforder and folly to himfelf and his followers 24. The revel continued feven days, during which a

24 Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

<sup>23</sup> Και τυτο, είπες τι αλλ-, κατεσχεί εί κοσμώ τα εθίη τα εξ Αλεξανθευ, δοευαλωτα, η έκοντα προσχωρησα και, ποσαυτα μεν πληθει οντα, τοσον δε αλληλών αφερημοτα οτι εκ εξην ύπο τη Αλεξανδέε Βασιλεια αδιεισθαι τες αρχομείες όπο των αρχοντων. Arrian, 1. vi. p. 143. "This, especially, kept in awe the nations that were either fubdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily fubmitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durft not injure the governed."



CHAP. fmall body of fober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of Darius and of Afia 25. Were not this improbable fiction discountenanced by the silence of contemporary writers 26, it would be refuted by its own abfurdity. Inftead of yielding to the transports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was extremely fufceptible of compassion, must have been deeply afflicted by the recent lofs of fo many brave men; nor did the necessity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admit of unfeafonable delay.

the governors of Persepolis, and Sufa.

Encouraged by the long absence of their master, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually exposed his life, Harpalus, Orfines, and Abulites, who were respectively governors of Babylon, Perfepolis, and Sufa, began to despife his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable ministers. In such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entrusted to Hephæstion, with orders to proceed along the fea-coeft, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the king haftened to Pafargadæ. Or fines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were punished with as enormous feverity 27.

<sup>25</sup> Curtius, I. ix. c. x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> Arrian, who excufes Alexander's adopting the Perfian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.

Baryaxes, a Mede, who had affumed the royal CHAP. tiara, fuffered death; his numerous adherents shared the same fate. The return of Alexander from the East proved fatal to Abulites, and his fon Oxathres, who, during the absence of their mafter, kad cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had been no less flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them, to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes feems himfelf to have been foon afterwards treacherously slain 28. The brave Peu-Peuceffag ceftas, who had faved Alexander's life at the affault rewarded. of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command. he proved his wisdom to be equal to his valour.

28 Comp. Curtius, 1. x. c. ii. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor. 1. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, I. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendthir of his illustrious fon, who, foon after mounting the throne, e ployed him as his treasurer. But, before the battle of Issus, this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara. Alexander, unwilling haftily to condern an old friend, who had for his fake incurred the refentment of Philip, afcribed the mifconduct of Harpalus to the bad counfels of Taurifcus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Taurifcus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his fervice, and again entrufted him with the cuftody of his treasures. Arrian, I. iii. c. vi.

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CHAF. By conforming to the customs, adopting the manners, and using the language of the vanquished, he acquired the affectionate respect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condescension, directed by found policy, was highly approved by the difcernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander the internal state of his conquests. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A.C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the feat of Afiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander fpent the last, and not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was filent in his prefence; and his only remaining care was to improve and confolidate his conquests. For these important purposes, he carefully examined the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his troops was judiciously employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Affyrian and Persian kings had obstructed the navigation of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no reason to dread sleets of war, wished to invite those of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arfenals were conftructed; a bason was formed at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand gallies. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with the most remote regions of the earth. His ships were fent to ex-

XXXIX. fels to ex-

plore the Persian and Arabian gulphs. Archias CHAP. brought him fuch accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its shores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in exa- plore the mining the Arabian coaft; but he found it impos- and Arafible to double the fouthern extremity of that im-bian mense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis, in Egypt. This daring enterprife feemed to be referved for the king in person. It is certain, that, shortly before his death, he took measures for examining this great southern gulph, as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian Sea, which was then believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean 29. But objects, less remote, demanded his more Restrains

immediate attention. In the winter feafon, the dations of waters of the Euphrates, which produce the ex- the Eutraordinary fertility of Affyria 30, are confined within their lofty channel. But in fpring and fummer, and especially towards the fummer folitice, they overflow their banks, and, instead of watering, would totally deluge the edjacent territory, unless the superfluous fluid were discharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is faid, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed

by fprings, nor replenished from mountain snows, but branching from the great trunk of the Eu-

<sup>29</sup> Arrian, L. vii. p. 158.

<sup>30 &</sup>quot; This country," according to Strabo, " is more fertile than any other; producing, it is faid, three hundred fold." Strabo,



CHAP. phrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the fea, through lakes and marshes, by various, and, for the most part, invisible outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually funk into its foft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the feafon when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian fnows. This diminution of the river rendered it infufficient to water the fields of Affyria; an inconvenience feverely felt in a country almost unacquainted with rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unfuccefffully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he failed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the foil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the inosculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which ferved to moderate the inundations at one feafor, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this effential fervice to Affyria, he followed the courfe of the Pallacopas, and furveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with those superannuated Greeks, who seemed no longer

Builds a city near the canal of Palla-

capable

capable of military fervice, and with fuch others CHAP. of their countrymen as thought proper to fettle in this fertile, though remote country 31.

cedonians.

Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alex- Incorpoander thus traverfed the populous provinces of the Barbarian East, and fuccessively visited the imperial cities of levies with Persepolis, Sufa, Echatana, and Babylon. These and Maplaces, and others of inferior note, were adorned with fignal marks of his tafte, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened, views of policy. The important defign of uniting, by laws and manners, the fubjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of fixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Afiatics. In the Macedonian fquadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, fuch of the Barbarians as were most diffinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raife new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being affociated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of those recruits, whose improvements in arts and arms fully answered his expectations, and justly rewarded his forelight. The arrival of fuch numerous auxiliaries enabled him to

CHAP. discharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, such XXXIX. Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the fervice, worn out with age, or enfeebled by fickness. After an interesting scene, which we shall have occasion to describe, he dismissed those respectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to fucceed Antipater in the admiristration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long executed that important trust with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his mafter with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon 32.

Pags the debts of his foldiers.

At Sufa, Alexander learned that his foldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profession, had contracted immense debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each man should give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to fatisfy them at his own expence. The troops fuspected an intention, merely to discover their characters, and to learn their oconomy or profusion. At first, therefore, many denied, and all diminished, their debts. But Alerander iffued a fecond declaration, " That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lifts were immediately presented, and the whole debts discharged, to the amount, it is faid, of four millions sterling.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of CHAP. a different kind, which discovers, however, the fame spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander Intermarto his Afiatic fubjects. In the royal place of Sufa, the Eurohe publicly espoused Barcine 33, the daughter of peans and Darius; and bestowed her fifter Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinfmen. By the advice of their mafter, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by prefents, and by the hope of royal fayour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names, prefented to the king, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Afiatic women 34.

riages of

In all the cities which he vifited, he was care- Alexander ful to celebrate the mufical and gymnaftic games; those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the fenses, as well as to ments at please the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the most ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that no-

prepares to exhibit dramatic Echatana. Olymp. cxiv. I.

33 Called Statira by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

34 Plutarch, feizing the true fpirit of thefe regulations, ex-Claims, Ω βαρβαζε Ξερξη, εξ ανοητε, εξ ματην πολλα περι την Ελ-Αποποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν, έτως εμφρονεις βασιλες Ασιαν Ευρωπη συναπτεσι, ε ξυλοκ, εδε σχεδιακ, εδε αψυχοκ κ) ασυμπαθεσι δεσμεις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμω, η γαμοκ σωφροσι, η κοινωνιαις παιδων τα γενη συναπτοντες. O! barbarous and foolish Xerxes, thou who labouredst in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, it is thus that wife kings join Afia to Europe, not by boards, fhips, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chafte nuptials, and the indiffoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i, de Fortun. Alexand. See likewise above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

thing

CHAP, thing has a more direct tendency to unite and harmonife the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleafures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose above three thousand players and musicians, collected from all parts of Greece, affembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was chosen for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions 35. But the fickness and death of Hephæstion changed this magnificent spectacle into melancholy obsequies. In the moment of his triumph, the king was deprived of his dearest friend 36. This irreparable lofs, he felt and expressed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and justified his immoderate forrow by the inconfolable 37 grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Pa-

Death of Kephæf-

> 35 It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were foon diffused through other parts of Asia. Αλεξανδευ την Ασιαν εξημερεντος, Όμηρος ην αναγνωσμα, η Περσων ή Συσιανων κ', Γεδεωσιων παιδές τας Ευριπιδυ κ', Σοφοκλέυς τραγωδίας ηδον. " Alexander, having tamed Afia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Perfians, Sufians, and Gedrolia, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. ibid.

> 36 Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's considence; yet he often faid " Craterus loves the king, Hephteftion loves Alexander." Plutarch in Alexand. In paffing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. Ælian, Var. Hift. xii.

37 If, in the melancholy shades below, The flames of friends and lovers ceafe to glow, Yet mine shall facred last; and, undecay'd, Burn on through death, and animate my fhade.

> Pope's Iliad. troclus.

troclus. During three days and nights after the CHAP. death of Hephæstion, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tafted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Funeral honours. games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thencefory and to retain the name and banner of Hephæstion38; and the lofty genius of Staficrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy of bim, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deferving of beroic worship. To appeale the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's fecretary, who shortly before Hephæstion's death, had offended this illustrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercifed power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favour, and whose virtues disarmed envy 39.

38 According to Plutarch, Staffcrates proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, I. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489. afcribe this defign to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, Ea de perso Tor Adw nata xwpar aprit γας ένος δασιλεως ενυβρισαντος ενται μνημειον. " Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event relates above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

39 Arrian, p. 156. tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæstion, innumerable and abfurd sictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the fame falfehoods were fometimes authorifed by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.

To

CHAP. XXXIX.

tifes the

To moderate and divert his forrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once bufiness Alexander and amusement, undertook an expedition in perfon, which perhaps would otherwise have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Coffæans, a fierce and untractable nation, inhabited the fouthern frontier of Media. Secure amidst their rocks and fastnesses, they had ever defied the arms of the Persians; and the degenerate fucceffors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchase their friendship than to repel their hostility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of these magnificent but pusillanimous princes condescended to bestow presents on the Coffeans, that they might procure an undifturbed passage for themselves and their train; and this impolitic meanness only encreased the audacity of the mountaineers, who often ravaged the Sufian plains, and often retired to their fastnesses, loaded with the richeft spoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of fuch indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally fubdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Coffæans were driven from their last retreats, and compelled to furrender their territory. After obtaining fufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ranfom their prifoners, and at his departure from their country, took care to erect fuch fortreffes as feemed neceffary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headstrong people 4°. In

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In returning from this fuccessful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambaffadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of der. Asia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the fouthern extremity of Æthio .a. It was then, fays his hiftorian, that he appeared mafter of the world, both to his followers and to himfelf; and, as if the known parts of it had been infufficient to fatisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian forest, with a defign to build ships, and explore the undifcovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas. But neither these losty His medefigns, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of lancholy. royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greatest splendour 41, could appease his grief rus, 1. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, most unwarrantably and abfurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief. took the amusement of man-hunting, and massacred the whole

Coffæan nation, without diffinction of age or fex. Plut. p. 94. 41 Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537-541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred conches that the pillars which supported it were encrusted with gold ; that he gave audience, furrounded with guards, and feated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, " the mafter of both continents" found it necessary to unite the pomp of the East with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the r ecious effences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we discover the credulous, or rather criminal fophift, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which difgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted affertions of the obscure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenœus, we can oppose the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch .- Could he who fo feverely cenfured the effeminate and luxurious life of Agnon and Philotas, be himfelf effeminate and luxurious? " Of all men," fays Arrian, " Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleafures." Arrian, I. vii. p. 167.



CHAP. for the loss of Hephæstion. The death of his beloved friend is faid, by Arrian, to have haftened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him fufceptible of fuch impressions as the firmness of his manly foul would other ife have refifted and repelled.

Artifices to Babylon.

He, who had fo often employed fuperfition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miferable paffion. The fervants of princes, ever quick in difcerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their mafters, foon discovered and abused the weakness of Alexander. Alarmed at the fevere treatment of feveral of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, practifed with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatness of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine displeasure against the king, should he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Coffæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan priefts, who conjured him to change his refolution, because there had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The interest of the Chaldæans conspired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a ftupendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Affyrian kings. But the produce of the confecrated ground, instead

instead of being applied to its original destination CHAP. of repairing the temple, and offering facrifices to the Gods, had, ever fince the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldaan priefts. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priefts, he difcerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best pro phet that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldmans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least not to enter it on the eastern fide, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rifing fun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his defign impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

During his fhort ftay at Babylon, his mind was His fhort disturbed by superstitious fears 2 awakened by the city disintrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the fuperfii-Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well tious fitted to operate on a difordered fancy. In his In-Tenets of dion expedition, he had converfed with the Gymno- the Indian fophifts, or Brachmans, men who practifed the mans. philosophy which Plato taught, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent state of existence. To those sages,

stay in that turbed by

42 He became, fays Plutarch, Sucestants meos to Delove

XXXIX.

Prophecy of Calanus.

CHAP, the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of derifion or pity. At fight of the coiqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence ch the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the wo.ld, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for infulting the fon of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by faying, "That all were the fons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and fet at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curiofity, or irrefiftibly captivated by the foothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his companions. Alexander treated this eaftern fage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had paffed his feventy-fecond year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell fick in Perfia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be conftructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horfeback) was conveyed in a litter. In fight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to affift at this uncommon folemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre; the music struck up; the foldiers raised a shout of war; and the Indian,

with a ferene countenance, expired arridft the CHAP. trames, finging a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The curiofity of Alexander-was unbounded; but his humanity likewife was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline with fling the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his fake, had abandoned his native land. But before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take heave of Alexander, faying, that " he should again fee him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were confidered by the Greeks as prophetical. Those of Calanus funk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impression which they made, hastened his departure from a city, in which fo many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside.

His fuperfitious terrors, however, feem to have Death of been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, at Babyand by directing the improvements in the canal of lon. Olympe Pallacopus. Having refumed his courage, he ven- cxiv. 1. tured to return to Babylon, gave audience to fome May 28th. Grecian ambaffadors, who prefented him with golden crowns from the fubmissive flattery of their feveral republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had fo long meditated. But his defigns and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting

Alexander

CHAP and fer ivity to which, after the fatigues of war. he had often shewn himself too much addicted; and a feer, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing he was foon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength, he spent in assisting at daily sacrifices to the Gods. During his illness he spoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the foldiers furrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching diffolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was speechless, but had fill strength to stretch forth his hand 43.

<sup>43</sup> Arrian fays, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, fuch as, that he had been poisoned by the emiffaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the " ftrongest;" and that he had forefold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumours receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which feems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

Such was the reign of Alexander, while conracter, being unexampled and inimitable, in on y be explained by relating his actions. H was of a His chalow stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind an inated and ernobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gy innaftic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst 44, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing fuch exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generofity and in prowefs, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to furpass himself. His fuperior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind45. In his extensive dominions, he built, or

<sup>44</sup> Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun, Alexand.

<sup>45</sup> Plutarch fays, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in confequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and honour in Afia. " Ω παιδις απολομεθα, ει μη απωλομεθα." " Ο my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone." In the fame manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilized, Egypt would not boaft her Alexandria, Mesopotamia her Seleucia, &c. And again, " Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachofii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain and not to kill, their parents; the Perfians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut, ibid.

CHAP. for ided not less than seventy cities 46, the situal tion of nich being chosen with consummate wi dom, ten d to facilitate communication, to premote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth 47. It may be fuspected, indeed, that he miftook the extent of hun an power, when, in the course of one reign, he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarum, to foften fervitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Afiatic foil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet let not the designs of Alexander be too haftily accused of extravagance. Whoever feriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His refources were peculiar to himfelf; and fuch views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none befides. In the language of a philosophical historian, " he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar difpensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind 48." .

From

<sup>46</sup> Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tit. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he fowed Afia with Greek cities.

<sup>47</sup> Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephan. Byzant. in νος. Αλεξανδειια.

<sup>48</sup> Ουθέ εμοι ξω το θειν Ουναι αν δοκει αιης υδενι αλλωμαθεωπων εοικως. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an inftrument in the hands of Divine

From the part which his father Philip Alf acted in the affairs of Greece, his h been transmitted through the impure annels of The faults exaggerated flattery, or malignant ervy. The in- of which numerable fictions, which difgrate the works of he is achis biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic accounts of his reign, and inconfistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the plefent work, it feemed unnecessary to expatiate on Such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to felect and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose, can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge, that Alexander's actions were not always blameless; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and refulted from his fituation rather than from his character.

From the first years of his reign, he experienced resulted the crimes of difaffection and treachery, which from his multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the rather than extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to go- character. vern them. Several of his lieutenants early afpired at independence; others formed conspiracies against the life of their mafter. The first criminals were treated, as we have already feen, with a lenity becoming the generous fpirit of Alexander. But Olymp. when Philotas, the fon of Parmenio, and even cxii. 4.

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of prophane history to enquire. On this fubject, the reader may fee Bishop Lowth on Ifaiah, xix, 18. and xxiv. 14.

Par-

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P. 's himfelf, afforded reason to suspect the ity; when the Macedonian youths, who according the institution of Philip, guarded the oyal pavilion prepared to murder their sovereign.

4) Philotas was punt and in the country of the Arii; Parmenio as put to death in Madia. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & feqq.), who as given the fulleft account of these executions, fays, that Philotas deserved not the com alion of hit friends: "Amicorum misericordiam non meruit." He le ves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a feerifice to his or a treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian think the the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity. Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who distained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously affassinating his friends.

This conspiracy is related by Arrian, I. iv. c. xiii. and xiv. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the king, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The difgrace feemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a confpiracy was formed to deftroy Alexander in his fleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy, the fon of Lagus. The youths confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Callithenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently browbeat the prince, whom he was bound to respect (Arrian, p. 871.). The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when perfons accused were tried before numerous affemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth, and destroyed atrocious offenders on the fpot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Callifthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, I. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii, c. viii. Seneca Suafor, i. Justin, l. xv. c. iii. Philostra-198, l. viii. c.i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356 & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Ariftot. Surdas, ad voc. As an example of the injuffice done

the

he found it necessary to depart from fystem, and to bold with a firmer hand government. Elated by unexamply a prosperity, and the submissive reverence of vanguished nations. his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Madedonian nobles, who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions than fub ects. The pretenfions which found policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to proftrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal fovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities confecrated by the practice of ages, he must infensibly have lost the respect of his Afiatic fubjects. With a view to reconcile the

the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca: " Hoc eft Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Perfarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callifthenem. Quoties diclum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipsam quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, fed Callifthenem occidit." Yet this Callifthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian. loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotifm of the Greeks, and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendant glory of Alexander, which eclipfed their own. In speaking of Philip and his fon, even Cicero (de Offic.) fays, " Alter semper magnus, alter fæpe turpiffimus." See likewife Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The last-mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconclutive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would have certainly been conquered by the Romans,

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principles of the victors and vanquished. d an immediate descent from Jupite Ammon, claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priefts, and which, he had ret fon to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonian, who univerfal v acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. Jut the fuccess of this defign, which might have entitled him, as fon of Jupiter, to the fame obeifance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of feveral of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterifed the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which difgraced his age and country.

Murder of Clitus. Olymp. cxiii. 1. A.C. 328.

On fuch occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to endure. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners, proved satal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly infulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions

to divinity. The king, being likewise in ted, CHAP. vas no longer mafter of himfelf, when C' had been once carried from his prefene returned a fecond time to the charge, and beh wed more in folently than before. In an ur'appy moment, Alexander thrust a spear in o the breast of his friend si; but instantly reper ing his fury, will have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the rungency of his remorfe, which neither flattery could foften, nor fophistry appeafe52, rendered his life burdenfome, and his actions inconfiftent. At times, he affumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of Oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in feveral passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been befet with flatterers, furrounded by conspirators, adored by the

51 Montesquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit deux mauvaises actions; il brula Persepolis & tua Clitus." (Esprit des Loix, I. x. c. xiv.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Citus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, afcribes entirely to the infolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blameable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

52 Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophift, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Juftice was deferibed by the ancients as feated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whofe actions ought to be held juft by themfelves and others. This flagitious fervility Arrian fourns with indigna-

tion, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84,

paffive

XXXIX.

CHAP. paffire abmission of his eastern subjects, and inthe licentious petulane; of the Greeks nians.

Difficultics of Alexanation, and the magnanimity by whi he or cia e the i.

The indig, ation or jealoufy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a fcene was cran acted at Opis on the Tigris, which shews the difficulties of his fituation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame hem. Having affembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the fervice, and fafely conducted to their respective provinces. This propolal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with difguft. The foldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thoufand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The king, they thought, no longer cared for the fervice of his veterans, and therefore difmiffed them with contempt. The spirit of fedition feized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with fcoffs, " That he had no farther use for them; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the king sprung from the rostrum on which he stood, and commanded the most audacious to be feized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt feverity Perity appealed the rifing tumult. The laters CHAP. fied. Alexander again mounted the rottum, and fpoke as follows: " It is not my delign, Macedo- His own nians, to change your resolution. Return home, account of the reign without hindrance from me. But, before leaving of Philip the camp, first learn to know your king and your- les. felves. . My father Philip for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains fome wretched herds, which you had neither ftrength nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illyrians, and Treballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your fastnesses, but in your valour. By his wifdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, instructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to those nations, at whose names you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chaftised the Phocians, reduced the Theffalians, and, while I shared he command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been fuccessively tributaries, subjects, and flaves. But my father rendered you their masters; and having entered the Peloponnefus, and regulated at difcretion the affairs of that peninfula,

XXXIX. - S

CHAP. penir a, he was appointed, by universal consent of combined Greece appointment no. more how wrable to himfelf, than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarce fixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, fafely croffed the Hellespont, though the Persians still commanded the sea. By one victory we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia, were added to your empire. Yours now are Bactria and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Affyria, the wealth of Sufa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, fatraps. What have I referved for myfelf, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures 5t? Or why should I collect them? Are my pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than many of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breaft, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every fort of weapon. I often watch,

<sup>53</sup> It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these, as diffinet from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing such public defigns as feemed conducive to the profperity of the empire.

mat you may eniverepose; and, to testify by un- CHAP. emitting attention your happiness, he have - (XXXX. mined to fend hand the aged and infirm among you, loaded with weath and honou? But fince you are all defirous to have he, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the fignal bounty of your king, you estrusted him to the vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless, will befpeak your gratitude and piety 54."

trum, and haftened to the palace, accompanied frene a. only by his guards. During two days, none were the Tigris. admitted to his presence. On the third, he called exiii. 4. the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed A.C. 35. among them the principal departments of military command. He then iffued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by fuch other names as commanded greatest respect. Apprised of these innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confusion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and deposited their arms at the gate, humbly requesting to see their king, and declaring that they would never stir from the place. ill their tears had moved his compassion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abasement, and wept. The affecting filence, marked by alternate

Having thus spoken, he sprang from the ros- Affesting Olymp.

emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was



CHAP. in the avalry: "Thy Macco ans, O king! at-XXII. grieved that the Persians a. Should be called thy kindred, and entitled as fuch to embrace thee, while none of themselves are allowed to taste that Monour 55." Alexander replied, " From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then stepped forward and embraced him; and feveral others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and leturned to the camp with shouts of joy, and songs.

A festival celebrated mon by the Maceand Perfians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring teftimony of his historians) Alexander was the most mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven for the happy iffue of this transaction, he celebrated a folemn facrifice, and, after the facrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Afiatic fubjects. The Macedonians were next to his person; the Persians next the Macedonians; the Grecian priefts and Persian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Perfians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose difmission had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander discharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each foldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds fterling. He again fleed tears at parting with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served him in so many glorious campaigns; and, as a testimony of his affectionate concern for their fafety,

appointed

<sup>55</sup> Arrian fays, " While none of themselves ever tasted that honour." Makedovan ema tis yeyental tautus the times. Arria 1, p. 154. 16

appointed Crater's, whom he loved as his own CHAP. luctor.

line 56, to be their

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the der's constate of the ancient worle. But he spirit of improve quests. ment is transient, and demands perpetual efforts; the fources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It feems at first fight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the fuccession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long defolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of fecuring the empire for the infancy of his fon Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal fuccession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a fon, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimfical deftination announced little union or stability. Perdiccas, in virtue of possessing the ring or feal of his deceased master, affumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of

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CHAP. Perdicers. Each general truted in his fword for an independent eftablishmer aw troops were raifed and disciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who become fuccessively prisoners in different hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any cellation of crimes and calamities 57, or any permanent fettlement of the provinces, until the battle of Issus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Asia 58. The issue of the same battle gave Macedon and Greece to Caffander, and Thrace, with feveral provinces of Lower Asia, to Lysimachus.

Subfequent history of Egypt and Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till fubdued by the Romans, to be governed by the respective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally 39 adopted

57 Diodor. Sicul. 1. xix & xx. paffim.

58 Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

59 Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Christian æra, it was fpoken by Jews, Romanc, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Soria, as well as ... Italy and Carthage. It must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judæa, fince the infpired writers employed it in propagating the gospel, which was to be first preached to the Jews. For this univerfality, the Greek feems to have been indebted, r. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Afia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander, whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the focial and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.), whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Conftantinople was taken by the Turks; fo that, from the time of Homer, it sublifted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and four hund ed

the language or manners of their Grecian fove- CHAP. reigns. In Egy he first successors of Alexander accomplished the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their oftentation was enore remarkable than their tafte; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of fervitude; they funk into the foftness and infignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither bufy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

In the hiftory of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, em diviwho gradually feized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the der's em-Euphrates and the Hadriatic fea, and fucceffively guered by reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, mans, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts 58, and its

The west-Alexanpire con-

60 Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal feat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and same of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero ay I Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Taedue, &c. But of this more in the next chapter.

CHAF. vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of ta The acquisition of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth 59 of those nations, they are entitled to little regard from posterity, since, from the death of Alexander, they were not diffinguished by any invention that either improved the practice of war, or increased the enjoyments of peace.

State of Greece after the age of Alexander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization diffused through the East, was sufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assimilate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the principle of degeneracy is often stronger than that of improvement, the floth and fervility of Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its most enterprising inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally infulted by the feverity and the indulgence of his fuccessors, fince, in either case, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to fubmit to a master, they lost that elevation of character, and that enthusiasm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed by the just sense of national pre-eminence. Their domestic diffensions, by carrying them in great numbers into the fervice of foreign princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their

<sup>61</sup> Of which fee an account extracted from the public regiders, in Appian. Alexand, in Proem.

tactics and difci line through countries far more CHAP. extensive and popular sus than their own; and amidst all their perfonal animofities, the captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of defpotifm which their mafter magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly relifted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them deeper into fervitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer afpired at excellence. The fpirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League 62, the unfortunate iffue of which has been already explained in this work 63, Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any feries of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

Of the judicious Polybius treats the Achman league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Maccdonians, as epifodes in his invaluable history of the progress and aggrandifement of the Roman republic.

<sup>03</sup> See vol. ii. p. 15.

## CHAP, XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander-Poetry-Music-Arts of Design-Geography-Aftronomy-Natural History-Works of Aristotle -Philosophical Setts established at Athens-Decline of Genius-Tenets of the different Sects -Peripatetic Philosophy - Estimate of that Philosophy-Its Fate in the World-Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Episurus-The Stoic Philosophy-Estimate of that Philosophy-The Epicurean Philosophy-Character of Epicurus-Philosophy of Pyrrho-Conclusion.

XL. State of literature in the age of Alexander.

CHAP. N the latter years of Alexander, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; vet the source of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of that illustrious conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus', who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled fuccefs, which far eclipfed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and fervile fuperstition. Exaggeration in matters of CHAP. fact produced the welling amplification of flyle, XL. those meretriciou ornaments, and affected graces, which characterifed the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Onesicritus, and Hegefias 3. The false talte of these pretended historians. to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many of their contemporaries. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece, in the age which had applauded the chafte and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschires, and Demosthenes 4. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those who are incapable of excellence, still covet diffinction, and despairing to equal their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, have recourse to false conceits and artificial refinements.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece Poetry. produced not any original genius in the ferious

Lucian de Scribend, Hiftor,

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, 1. xix. p. 446.

<sup>4</sup> Dionyf. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sub m. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. passim.

CHAP. kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, capable to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts; who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, fince he declared, that he would rather be the Therfites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus'. Yet in the fame age Philemon, Antiphanes 6, Lycon7, above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks were extremely unfavourable to this species of writing, The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due respect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their differnment, and gradually made them fenfible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than faid, and to those more interesting, because juster, delineations of character, which diftinguished the comic strains of Philemon and

Improvement of

6 Athenæus, 1. xiii. p. 555.

Menander 8.

Alex-

<sup>5</sup> Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii. c. v.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun, Alexand.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Plat. Comp. Ariftoph. & Menand.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight CHAP. in dramatic entertainments. Theffalus was his favourite actor, out Athenadorus was more ap- Music. proved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magiftrates, who, according to the Grecian custom, were appointed to decide the pretentions of rival candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the lofs of his inheritance. The muficians Timotheus " and Antigenides " still displayed the wonderful effects of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, we find that mufic, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times univerfally employed to feduce and inflame the passions 12.

The arts of defign, painting, sculpture, and Arts of architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge 13, than munificence to reward them. The eastern expedition of the latter introduced, or at least greatly multiplied, in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited fome of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of Pyrgo-

<sup>9</sup> Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun, Alexand.

<sup>10</sup> Hephæst, de Metr.

<sup>11</sup> Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.

<sup>12</sup> Ariftot. Politic. 1. viii. c. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Judicium fubtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. 1. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

CHAP teles were diffinguished in this valuable, though

Lyfippus.

minute art 14. He enjoyed the exclusive honour of representing the figure of Al vander on gems, as did Lysippus of casting is in bronze, and Apelles of painting it in colours 15. Lyfippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predeceffors in ideal beauty 16. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is faid to have made fix hundred and ten figures in bronze 17; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far furpaffed that of all flatuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous lift of painters, centemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; fince no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed 18. The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus 19, whom Apelles acknowledged as his fuperiors in

Apelles and other contemporary artists.

14 Plin. l. vii. c. xxxvii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

16 Plin. iii. 194, & feqq.

fome parts of composition; Aristides the Theban, who was inimitable in expression 20, and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted to

<sup>15</sup> Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. i. 221, iii. 217-228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous flatue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lausanne.

<sup>18</sup> Plin. iii. 222. 19 Idem, iii. 226.

<sup>20</sup> Idem, iii. 215-225.

paint the immortal exploits of Alexander 21. The CHAP. inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated \_ in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pvreicus 22 confined himfelf to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus 23 o caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting was explained in many works, the lofs of which is much to be regretted \*\*.

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and Work of writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his fame 25. His picture of Alexander, grasping a thunderbolt, was fold to the temple of Ephefian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to reftore the parts that had been effaced: fo that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The fenfibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he fo fuccefsfully expressed. Alexander was no fooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation

<sup>21</sup> He exhorted him to paint them " propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Plin. iii. 226.

<sup>23</sup> Idem, iii. 229.

<sup>25</sup> Plin. iii. 222, & fegq. 24 Idem, ibid.

CHAP from being the mistress of a king, to become the possession of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he affumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely afferted, that none of his competitor's could imitate the gracefulne's 26 of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged himfelf inferior to feveral of his contemporaries. The defire of feeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealoufy. But inftead of yielding to the dictates of this unworthy paffion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the fame talents in their fellow-citizen, which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit 27.

Decline of the arts after the death of Alexander. Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased <sup>28</sup>. By this expression, Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated, but to make farther progress; fince neither the scholars of Apelles and Lysippus, nor those who came after them, were capable to reach the glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria seem to have bent their attention rather

<sup>26 &</sup>quot; Deeffe iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigiffe; fed hâc folâ fibi nemiaem parem." Plin. iii. 222, & feqq.

<sup>27</sup> Plin. ibid. 23 " Ceffavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

to literature, than to the arts. But, in both, the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aspired beyond the humb's merit of imperfectly imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Veleucia; and, from the fame circumstance, they keem to have flourished longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt 29.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the Geograimprovement of the sciences, both natural and phy. moral. His marches were carefully measured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers 30 were employed to furvey the more remote parts of the countries which he traverfed; and the exact defeription of his conquests, which, from these and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the science of geography 31.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander Astronoeagerly demanded the aftronomical observations, my. which had been carefully preferved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully transcribed, and transmitted to

<sup>29</sup> Winkelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums, p. 711, & fegq.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, I. ii. p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, &c. Academ. des Sciences, t. viii, p. 13.

CHAP. Aristotle 32, who was probably prevented by his , infirm flate of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conquerer of the world.

Natural history.

Nor was this the only prefeat to his preceptor, by which Alexander displayed a once his gratitude and love of science. Natural nistory was peculiarly indebted to his curiofity and munificence. At the expence of near two hundred thousand pounds, an expence equivalent to a far larger fum in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals 33, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precifion 34 in his work on that subject,

Moral knowledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would feem that the moral fciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests 35. The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by fuch a wide furvey of manners, institutions, and usages; no. was this

<sup>3</sup>º Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Ariftot. de Cœlo, I. ii.

<sup>33</sup> Prin. I. viii. c. xvi.

<sup>34</sup> See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

<sup>35</sup> The arts and fciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, Az Angardeos. " He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, Kagner us yas supogear, &c. should be studied by all princes who afpire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

advantage, perh ps, confined to those who per- CHAP. formed the expedition, whose works have unfortunately perished; fince the moral and political treatifes of Ariftoth difcover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copidus fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophun and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who feems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but folicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

" Aristotle," fays Lord Pacon 36, " thought, Works of like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign fecure, unless he destroyed all bis brethren;" nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material, world. Not fatisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions beyond all human knowledge, with the fame confidence that his

CHAP. pupil entered on a battle. But hiving to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rafhness was less successful than that of Alexander.

His philo-

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics 37, is obscure throughout, often unintelligible, still more chimerical, but far less agreeable, than that of his mafter Placo. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, existence, substance, quality, genus, species, &c. which were fo long and fo uselessiy tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human foul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names, rather

37 By fome writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his Phylics, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Ariftotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were conceived as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the effence of things feparate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material fubftances, and the human foul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he feems to have ineluded thetoric and criticitm; and morals, including economics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609.; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

than new discoveries; and the doctrine of the im- EHAP. mortality is no where fo fully elucidated by this philosopher, as i) had been by Plato.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the Physics. name of metaphylic, in the modern fense of that word, fince he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abkract ideas, not by observation and experience: When he descends to particulars, he betrays more ignorance concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, confidering the grofs errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not vet invented. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to observe nature; it could not therefore be expected that they should imitate her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Ariftotle appears to have been lefs verfed than his predeceffors, Pythagoras and Plato; although, in the invention of the art of fyllogifm, he difplays a perfeverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical fciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries.

The fcepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, Logic. and still more the captious fophistry of the Eristics, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with more attention than his predeceffors, the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation and the fnares of fubtlety.

CHAP. He undertook, therefore, the ardious talk, of refolying all reasoning into its prima y elements, and of deducing from thence the rule, by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises, in order to render it legitimate. This bold defign he accomplished; having erected, on a fingle axiom, a larger fystem of abstract truth, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever avented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he fets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the most part sufficiently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtleties of the Sophists and Erifics, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.

His critical and moral writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Ariffotle's writings perifhed ", Lad nothing been faved but the works above mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of posterity. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we can only lament vast esforts mis-spent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind,

<sup>38</sup> See the fate of his works carefully related in Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion,

the fame fubtlety of reasoning, and vigour of in- CHAP. tellect, directed to objects of great importance, and extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived and the opportunities peculiar to himfelf, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth His great Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his provefather was king's physician. In his early youth, A.C. 268. he was fent to Athens, and remained there twenty years an affiduous fcholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with unexampled fuccess, and where the philosophic fpirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigour. Selected by the discernment of Philip, to guide and confirm the promifing dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, feveral proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library 39, a work of prodigious expence in that age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian

opportunities of imCHAP, and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Ari-XL. ftotle was collected for use, not norely for oftentation 40.

His long refidence at Athens;

The last fourteen years of his life he spent mostly at Athens, furrounded with every affiftance which men 41 and books could afford him, for profecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, enfured tranquillity and respect to the man whom he diftinguished as his friend; but after the premature death of that illustrious protector, the invidious jealoufy of priefts and fophifts inflamed the malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the fame odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive 42 virtue of Socrates, fiercely affailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of perfecution, he fecretly withdrew himself to Chalcis, in Eubæa. This meafure was fufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal fafety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrafted with the firmness of Socrates in a fimilar fituation, he condescended to apologife for his flight, by faying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a fecond op-

and death. Olymp. cxiv. 3, A. C. 322. Ætat. 63.

4º The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They confidered a great library as contributing to the fuperfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid-Galen. Comment. 2. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

41 Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical enquiries and compositions. Ο δισοφα, και καθ΄ αυτον ων, δυναται ειωρων βελτιοι δισως συνεργες εχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

42 Virtutem incolumem odimus

Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. Horace.

portunity

portunity " to fin against philosophy 45." He CHAP. feems to have farvived his retreat from Athens only a few month); vexation, and regret probably shortened his days 44.

Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of Philosofpeculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too established deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the tempo- at Athens. rary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripaton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics 45. Olymp. At the same time, Zeno taught virtue in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his disciples derived the appellation of Stoics 46. Epicurus explained pleafure in those well-known gardens, which were diffinguished by his name 47. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cynofarges 48; Speufippus and Xenocrates fucceeded Plato in the Academy 49; and even Pyrrho, the Elian, the founder of the fceptical fect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eaftern expedition, and fhared the munificence of that prince 50, be-

<sup>43</sup> Αμαρτανείν περι την Φιλοσοφίαν. Ælian, I. iii. c. vi.

<sup>44</sup> Laert. l. v. in Ariftot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker.

Histor. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 787, & feqq.

<sup>45</sup> The common opinion, that the followers of Ariflotle were called Peripatetics, en Tu o Heginaren, " ex deambulatione," adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

<sup>46</sup> Laert. vii. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Cicero ad Attic. 1. ii. epist. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Suidas in Speufipp. Laert. l. iv. c. 1, & feqq.

<sup>50</sup> Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. I. i. c. iii.

CHAP. came, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens 51. Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its Seedom, and of its military

A . 396. Decline of genius.

glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the feat of learning, affurned that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive hyafion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths 52. For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the feveral fects, fubmissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius difappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new fect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been affigned for the termination of the prefent work, feems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and fingularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence 53; or because, in the words of a great philosopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction."

<sup>51</sup> Laert. in Pyrrhon.

<sup>52</sup> See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, v. iii, c. xxx.

<sup>53</sup> Long, de Sublim, fect. 44.

Instead of examining this speculative question, CHAP. which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better fult Tenets of the defign of an historical work, to explain the ent leds, tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various fuccess in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperverted fentiment, and impartial reason.

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, Tenets of recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of the Peripatetic human nature, and placed the chief happinels of test. man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise 54 of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Ariftotle, the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the fame manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, refulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, confifting of mind and matter, it feemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means necessary to maintain this

54 The Stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. 'Ο μει φιλοδέςς αλλοτριαι επεγειαι idios ayabor unolaubani. o di Cilindone idias minur. o de ser exan, idian meagir. M. Anton. vi. 51. " The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the action of others; the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wife man, in his own active exertions."

inferior

F. e o

CHAP interior part of his nature in its most perfect state. The absence of disease and infirmity, and the proper conflitution of all our bodily organs, are things defirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means to exert those mental energies, from which our principal felicity refults. In the fame manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are defirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wife man is enabled to exercife his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities 95, Aristotle required not that perfect felf command to which fome philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as fuitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain fensibility of paffion not only excufable, but necessary; fince refentment enabled us to repel injuries 56, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the evils that might otherwife overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmest of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam 57; he main-

<sup>55</sup> Ουτε γας εκ της ευδαιμονίας κιτηθησεται εαδίως, ετε υπο των τυχοντων ατυχηματων, αλλ' ύπο μεγαλών και πίλων. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. x.

<sup>56</sup> To bear infults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a flave. Tode προπηλακίζουωνον ανεχεσθαι ανδραποδαδε. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Er Tuxai; Herapinais. Ariftot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

tained, however, that we ourselves were the prin- CHAP. cipal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately prefent with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure fubject to our own direction and controul, than on our external fituation and circumstances, which only affected us by accident, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power and fornetimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar luftre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; end this inward pleafure always alleviated the fmart of external wounds. Affaulted by the most terrible afflictions, a wife man would not deferve indeed the epithet of happy; vet neither could he be called miserable, fince he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change. and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and controul. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves 58.

58 In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have endeavoured to translate, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. The outline has been traced with equal perspicuity and elegance by Dr. Adam Smith, in his Account of the Systems of ancient Philosophy, annexed to his admired Theory of Moral Sentiments. The defign of my work obliges me to treat the subject more particularly. E e 3

To

CHAP.

powers.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of those, we possess fome in common with other animals 59, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of nature 60. In none of thefe, it is evident, can the proper employment of man confift, but rather in fuch faculties as, being peculiar to himfelf, diffinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellencies of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will ; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and affimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wifdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit 62 of the intellectual part of the foul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the defires and affections, which being formed fubordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their fovereign. The intellectual

Intellectual and moral virtues.

<sup>59</sup> The To aidderika, the powers of fenfation, &c.

<sup>60</sup> The το θρεπτικών, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

<sup>61</sup> Επαισμει δε και τον σοφον κατά την έξην των έξεων δε τας επαινετας, αρετας λεγομέν- Ethic, Nicom. I. i. c. ult.

virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; CHAP. the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name 63. It is by practifing

63 HOixoc, elos; moralis, mos. The fame holds not in English. The words agern in Greek, and virtus in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praife-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate afe of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Heme, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly confiders as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are pressed and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very effence of virtue; and all other diffinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term virtue to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, fagacity, &c. as well as to juffice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks diffinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Ariftotle characterifes moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and fays, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. I. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for faying, 66 that the ancient moralifts made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good caufe, Dr. Beattie appears to me to go too far in afferting, " that though they confidered both the moral and intellectual virtues as neceffary to the formation of a perfect character, and fometimes difcoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and infignificant, or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralifts, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as diftinct E e a

CHAP. judice, that we become just; by practifing temperance, that we become temperate; by practifing courage, that we become sourageous. Hence the wonderful power of legislation, and early institution, by which the Cretans, the Spartans, and fome other nations, were honourably diffinguished among the rest of mankind; and by which such flates as shall wisely imitate their example, may still reach the same elevation of character, and still acquire the fame renown: " For it is not a matter of little moment, how we we accustomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not imnatural nor planted by nature; for that which is established by nature, cannot be effentially changed by cuftom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, defeend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally afcends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The fame holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our fenfes, and other natural gifts, have the power of performing their feveral functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we should allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preferved by practice

> tinet from the intellectual, fince the former could not exist without a mixture of reafon or intellect. Ethic. Nicom, passim; and particularly, I, iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were fo far from being effeemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Ariftotle confiders the exercise of the former totally independent of the latter, as conflituting our highest perfection and happiness. Ethic. Nicom, l. x. c. vii.

only.

only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to na- CHAP. ture. We are born capable to attain it, but the invaluable attainment must be made and perfected by habit. Yet the greater part of those who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse to vain fpeculations, flattering themselves that this is philosophy. Their conduct relembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his phyfician, but do nothing which he prescribed. By fuch medicine it is not possible to cure the diforders of the body, for by fuch philosophy, those of the mind.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be re- Wherein duced to metaphyfical precision. It is to be ob- it confitte, ferved, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind refembles bodily health and ftrength, which are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment and exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we should fear only such objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the fame manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and

CHAP, teizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by fuch objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called infensible. Temperance ceaches us to purfue only fuch pleafures as we ought, at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occasions. According to the same view of things, generofity lies in the middle between avarice and profusion; modesty, between pride and diffidence; mildness, between irascibility and softness; magnificence, between oftentation and parfimony; popularity, between forbidding didain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue confifts in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes 64

How it mult be attained.

Confidered as the quality of an action, virtue confifts in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too strong nor too weak, but has precifely that degree of strength, which right reason teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue confilts, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this mediocrity, fince, in judging persons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but fuch acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The most worthless of human kind fornetimes indulge the propenfity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will also, from

feeling, more frequently act wrong. The fentil CHAP. ments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in diffress, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewife prompt us to gratify the vileft and most brutal of our paffions. Befides this, there are many, and those the most important virtues, the exercise of which is not at first attended with pleasure. To support labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wifdom and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not obviously recommended by any natural defire; nor is the practice of fuch duties immediately agreeable. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance, to curb and restrain our natural appetites for pleasure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumfpection, and ever watchful attention to the most remote consequences of our actions, which is effential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all those virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice, patriotism, and friendship, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only fure test that we have acquired them, is, that they are practifed with pleafure. With good reason, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve as they ought; for though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleafant, the honourable, and useful; yet honour and utility are likewife purfued as pleafures 65.

of moral

CHAP. The most extensive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our defire of pleasure, and aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, as Heraclitus o'sferves, it is harder to combat pleafure than anger. The irafcible passions are always moved by fome appearance of reason; and, in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their fovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys fensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural defire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our constitution, every part of which it impregnates and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonourable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus fays, "there is a long-continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature 66 "

The moral virtues cannot, according to Ariftotle, fubfift without fome mixture of the intellectual;

66 Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

LOT

Onput modurgers or maderno sparrows Orde man, In Ταυτην ανθεωποισι τελευτωσαν Φυσιν ειναι.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: "Eas Gior αριτοι, κουν δε αυτον ή συνηθεία ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p. 602. " Choose the best life, and custom will render it agreeable."

but the latter may fubfift alone and independent! CHAP. and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the pureft and most permanent felicity of which man is fusceptible, results from the exercise of his ra- fource of tional powers upon subjects of abstract speculation The labours of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of man. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and fuppofes a variety of fituations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may distribute his justice or generofity; he must possess the means by which to exercife those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; fince, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigencies of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wifdom are pure and fimple, like the intellectual fource from which they foring. Not fubfervient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every fide, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercife of every member-or faculty enlivens the fense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleafure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect, which renders us fensible of the divine principle within us! To live according to nature, is to live according to the nobleft

CHAP. Joblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, o human as we are, we went not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality 67; affured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods 68.

Estimate of Aristotle's philofophy.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Its fate in the world. It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the fame authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Ariffotle did not commence till more than a thoufand years after his decease, and continued several centuries. The Peripatetic school sublisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens; but the

<sup>60</sup> Χρη δε εκατά τες παραίθετας, αιθρωπικά Φρονείν, ανθρώπου οιτα, εδε θιητα του θιητοι αλλ εφ' όσον ευδεχιται απαθανατιζείν, και άπαντα ποιειν κατα το κρατισον των εν αυτφ. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

<sup>68 &#</sup>x27;О бе ната нен енегушт, на тетог вератения, наг бланетенос арта nas θεοφιλεγατος εσικέν ειναι. Id. c. x. c. viii.

Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence CHAP. above the Portico and Arademy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and frience generally preferred Plato to Aristotle 69; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, flowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the fecond and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the doctrines best adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and fhadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty without the genius, of Plato 1º. During the fucceeding centuries, the doctrines of Ariftotle flowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Ariftotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, physic, and metaphysic, fuited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the infolence of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and

<sup>69</sup> Cicero, paffim.

<sup>7</sup>º Belides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may confult, on this fubject, profesfor Meiner's Beytrag uber die Neu Platonische Philosophie. Leipsig, 1782.

C. H.A.P. practical works of Ariftotle were neglected, his fpeculative philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romith fuperfittion, they long conspired, with aftonishing success, to enthral the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions o Zeno and Epicurus.

- Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are lefs perfpicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they fubflituted the narrowness of their own artificial fystems; and it will ever be the fcandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boafted following the fame path, should have reached such opposite goals; the feet of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil; and the fect of Epicurus. that pleasure was the only good: the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and defirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely defirable for the fake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride, loudly afferting, that the philofophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary fage an absolute command over his passions; and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their fyftem; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods

and, in proportion as their principles receded from EHAP. truth and nature, and lattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffused with greater rapidity, more zealoufly embraced, and more obstinately defended 71.

In examining by what shew of reason, men The sloid whose wisdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at fuch extraordinary conclusions, the dignity of virtue demands the precedence for Zeno. That philosopher affected, with great accuracy, to examine the natural propensities of the human race; to observe the various changes which they underwent in their progrefs from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external causes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to display the illustrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature had affigned him. Self-prefervation, he observed, was the univerfal and primary defire of all animals. In man, this defire respected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex existence in the most perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleasure to the means necesfary for this purpose; but that we defired pleasure for the fake of preservation, not preservation for the fake of pleafure, he thought evident from the first motions and efforts of all animals, tending to

<sup>71</sup> Laert, in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, 1. i, ii, iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

CHAP, XL.

privent diffolution, and preceding any diffinct no-

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he shewed himself endowed with defires of a different, and more exalted kind. Nor to mention the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his fenses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to express these objects, as well as the notions of his own mind concerning them; and had no fooner made this important acquifition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, and dependencies of the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and fincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he converfed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the fource of innumerable errors and prejudices, ferved, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be built.

<sup>72</sup> The principles of the floical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epistetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the floics.

o In examining the nature and relations of other CHAP. things, he gradually became fensible of his own His affections, he felty carried him beyond his Social afown person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleafure of beholding it. The fentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary fentiments, to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his fentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great fociety of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views still farther, he perceived, that every species is relative to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally fubfervient to, each other, while all of Universal fyllem. them effentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that univerfal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrowness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehension, we shall

CHAP: first that they all depend on anh other, and are united in one scheme or constitution of things, The individuals of the human race were doubtless formed, not for themselves alone. In the different feres, the external organization, and still more the inward frame, the correspondence of parts, and still more the sympathy of fentiments, indicate the male and female mutually destined for each other. The naked helpleffness of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in fmall communities, must have fallen a prey to the favages of the defert; and, with the growth of these communities, social affection naturally makes progrefs; fince, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are continually multiplied and frengthened.

Rules of duty thence derived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he stands, man becomes fensible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her univerfal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the leffer, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our choice, we live confiftently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred to those of the body; end what is called private interest must yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the same class, the general law must be observed. We must prefer and reject, according

to the rules of right reason, not according to CHAP. caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of defire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to ftrength, and ftrength to agility; and in the fecendary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleafures, and ward off bodily pains, fuch as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumftances of a fimilar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection 73. In thus appreciating the objects of defire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided. in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which effentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of defire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of fentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are recommended are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, fo the duties of wifdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by

Ff:

<sup>73</sup> The technical terms of the Roical philosophy, like all terms of art, found awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, operations and executors.

CHAP, the original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonifed to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote; this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the fole, and of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and fickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleafure, are finally confidered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of fhaking the stability of our happiness.

The pleafure of obferving them,

It is in vain that men feek felicity in those obiects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they poffefs, they fear to lofe; and which fortune can either give or take away 74. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal fource of our happiness or misery. To a wife man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, fince there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favour, and to be fenfible, that whatever may be

<sup>74</sup> Και τα μεν εφ' ήμινες ι φυσει ελευθερα, ακώλυτα, απαρεμποδιςα: τα δε εχ εφ' ήμυ, ασθενη, δελα, κωλυτα, αλλοτεια. Epictet. Enchir. c. ii.

the confequences of our conduct, it has been go- CHAP. verned by the great rules which the Divinity priscribes, affords a degree of inward fatisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a fingle drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the Ægean, as a fingle step is difregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian fun 75, fo the external conveniencies of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost, in the transcendent excellence and incomparable splendour of virtue.

Those dangers which appear most formidable, Fortitude. and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or deject the man, who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The fage delights in those clouds of adverfity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar luftre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himfelf alone; a confideration fufficient to support him against the number and ftrength of his enemies 76. When the firm probity of Regulus fubmitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the Cartha-

<sup>75</sup> The illustrations given by Cic, de Fin.

<sup>76</sup> Ανικητος ειναι δυνασαι, εαν εις μηδενα αγ ωνα παταβαινης, δυ εκ er: ent ou menous. Enchir. c. xxv.

CHAP. ginians, he well knew that those revengeful Barberians could not torture his tortitude, his patriotifm, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by fuch an affemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every affault. The mind of Reonlys ftill triumphed; and amidft the painful difcerption of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the mon, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside.

Refignations

From the enthufiafm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the ftoics again returned to the fpeculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a conflictution or fyshem, the good of each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, confidered as fomething separate and independent, confisted in preferving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneafiness. But confidered as the part of a system, in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member must often submit to great inconveniencies. For the fake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and fometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when fuch operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refuling to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot;

in the fame manner to you ceafe to be a man, in CHAP. fhrinking from the hardest duties required by the interest of fociety. But that fociety itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger fystem, that harmonious whole, whose admirable order and beauty evince the superintendence of infinite wifdom and goodness. Under such government, no abfolute evil can exift; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wife man will therefore be alike fatisfied with every fituation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, that fituation would, even to himfelf, appear the most proper, that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully fubmits to the wife dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When be prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to after their wife intentions concerning him: he prays that they would show him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed: that by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness, and his perfect refignation to their fovereign will 77.

If

C H-A P. XL. Command over the paffions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to occasion us any uncasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens conrections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive seemings at sight of their diffres: the former alone can be useful to them; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to ourselves.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an abfolute silence on the soft voice of pity 28, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general which were regarded as perturbations and diseases of the mind, that a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred that all duties were alike easy to him. His actions were

The reason is subjoined,

Εαν δε μη εθελω, υχ πίλον έψομαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, fince we mail obey them, whether we are willing or not."

<sup>78</sup> Epictetus, however, flows the appearance of sympathy with objects in distreft, but sternly forbids the reality. Μίχει μος τοι λογό μα σενεί συμπερθημένει συται (viz. the person afflicted) και τογο συππερεικώνει προσοχέ μεν τοι, μα και εσιδεί συνπερεικών. Ερίθει Enchir. c. καί:

continually regulated by propriety, and all of them GHAP. therefore equally laudable; whereas those of a fool, or one who fubstituted pass on and caprice in the stead of reason and principle were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which fo nearly refembles that of many Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathers were but splendid vices," is the fource to which all the other paradoxes of the ftoics may be traced. Both thefe Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the confequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as fuch, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

The ignorant vulgar indeed, and as fuch the Vulgar ftoics confidered all those who were unacquainted of actions with their philosophy, allowed fuch contingent cir- and chacumstances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or entrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the fecond appears a greater monster

CHAP. monfte: than the first. To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm which spends its rage in vacuity; the second a cloud, not more empeftuous, that destroys the fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence. In the fame manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumstances in which he is placed, may refemble a clear stream rolling through a lonesome folitude, while the other, more advantageously situated with respect to external objects, may resemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, fupplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the adjoining country, which it fertilifes and adorns.

Corrected by the Stoics.

The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the fource of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which univerfally characterife the judgments of the vulgar. But a wife man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge against illustrious criminals 79. The civil magistrate, who is intrusted with the interest of fociety, and who has that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and confider them as fufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify

<sup>79</sup> Σημεία προκοπθοντος" εθενά ψεγει, εθενά επάνει, &c. Enchir. c. lxxii.

the hearts, of men. But we may be affured that CHAP. He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate flandard 8°. To avert his anger, fuperstition tells us to repair the bad confequences of our misconduct; and, as this is often impracticable, therefore commands an impossibility: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breafts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects, which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular fins, than folicitous to ftop the fource from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the talk affigned us, we necessarily attain our reward si.

Such is the philosophy of the stoics, which Philosobefide containing feveral contradictions which all phy of Epicurus. the fubtlety of the fect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus is not less artificial in its texture, and, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its conclusions 82. Like the lowly plant,

<sup>30</sup> Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii,

<sup>21</sup> Quod fi ita eft, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, & omnes boni beati fint; quid philosophia magis colendum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. I. iii. ad fin,

<sup>32</sup> Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. & Epicur.

CHAP. which, at first feebly emerging from the ground, gradually rifes to 4 stately tree towering to the sky, the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the primary objects of natural define and aversion to bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands kielf into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the feverest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain are the univerfal objects of defire and averfion is a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the confenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute animals, could they emit articulate founds, would declare and cry out, that pleafure is the fovereign good, and pain the greatest evil 83. That they are, not only the greatest and most universal, but the sole ultimate objects of defire and aversion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analyfing our paffions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleafure, and avoid bodily pain. If we defire power and wealth, it is because power and wealth furnish us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Senfible that the goodwill of the fociety in which we live, is necessary to our fecurity, we strive assiduously to acquire it, cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and practife with diligence and alacrity all those focial virtues effential to the public fafety, in which our own is included. When it is necessary to reject a present pleasure, in order to attain a greater in future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of

<sup>83</sup> Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. & paffim.

defire; and when it is necessary to encounter a C present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must controul the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abkuin from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance, and fortitude are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to confift in the practice of virtue; fo that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-fighted levity and folly.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that His analythough all the modifications of hope and fear ultifies and mately refer to the fenfations of bodily pleasure or pain. pain, yet the pleafures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the fensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our fentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies be disposed; we may defpise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many in-

C P A P, terva; of eafe; hefides, death is always within our reach, and read at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a b irden.

Bold pretensions of his philofophy.

By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus extracted from the groffest materials, the most fublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the paffions; fince no ftate, and therefore as the little republic of man, can be happy in fedition. In this trapquillity of mind, he boafted a felicity which external pleafures might vary, but could not increase; and his security of enjoyment he afferted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, fince the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleafures and pains are confined within a narrow span. Having adopted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he rendered it fubfervient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied might be explained by the figures and motions of the fmall particles of matter; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, those celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither pleafed with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under foot the fuperstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death 84.

84 Lucretius, paffim.

## THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, that whom CHAP. no philosopher was ever more acmired and beloved by his disciples, or more corolally attached to His chathem in affectionate efteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the fame loofe doctrine of eligion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleafure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that difease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus 85, and recommended to him the children of his favourite disciple Metrodorus, affuring him at the fame time, that as to himfelf, he still was happy, fince the fmart of his bodily fufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it

able to the man. Such were the philosophical fystems respecting life Philosoand happiness, by which the more liberal part of phy of mankind long affected to regulate their fentiments and conduct. The excessive scepticism of Pyrrho,

may be deemed with his opinions, highly honour-

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<sup>85</sup> Vid. Diogen, Laert, I, x. fect, ix. & Cic, de Finibus, I. ii. c. xxx. & feqq.

CHAP. with I ne could reduce to practice without meritin charge of manity, feems never, even in

theory, to have he'd much vogue among the fpeculatifts of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence; indeed, a prudent fuspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to fubjects of every kind by his followers Arcefilas and Carneade 36 Thefe philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought fufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus 57, Protagoras 85, and Aristippus 89, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the schoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colours, had no external existence in

<sup>35</sup> Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. I. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the fame tenets with the ancient, only afferting them fill lefs politively.

<sup>87</sup> See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

<sup>85</sup> Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. fect. 216.

<sup>39</sup> Præteria quoniam nequeant fine luce colores Effe, neque in luce existant primordia rerum Scire licet, quam fint nullo velata colore.

Sed ne forte putes folo fpoliata colore Corpora prima manere; etiam fecreta teporis, Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c. Lucretius, li ii.

bodies, and were mere ideas of the mine; in the CHAP. fame manner, beauty and delurmity, virtue and XL. vice, happiness and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, Ike every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, "that all was relative "," Pyrrho eftablished topics for enabling his fect readily to dispute the truth of 11 positions whatever, and which were reduced to ten ", probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boufts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident fimilar to the painter's 92, who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, fatisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the spunge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly fought from art; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful refearches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the fame manner, had difcovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be

<sup>90</sup> Harta moos 74. Sextus Empiric,

<sup>91</sup> Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Perrhon, I. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

<sup>92</sup> Sextus Empiric. l.i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. alcribes this accident to Protogenes, and a fimilar one to Nealces, in painting a horfe.

CHAP four d, a discovery which produced that moderation and indisturbance of the happy indifference, or rather perfect intensibility, which is as naturally attended by happings, as a body is followed by its shadow. \*\*.

Conclu-

In concluding this work with the fcepticifin of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated can have no via a tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken and cherish our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition.

<sup>93</sup> Arapağıa. Sextus Empiric.

<sup>94</sup> Sextus Empiric. ubi fupra, & paffim.

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