

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

Seevayen FROM *Rajah 1808*

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO THE

GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VICAR OF HURLEY-IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO
THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

.....
Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. III.

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AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1802.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREECE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.
VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, CHAPLAIN TO THE
EARL OF DUMFRIES,
AUTHOR OF THE BRITISH NEPOS, &c. &c.

VOL. I.

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1802.

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TO THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM,
THIS FIRST VOLUME
OF
THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE,
IS,
WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT,
INSCRIBED,
BY
HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBLIGED,
AND VERY FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE EDITOR.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Chap. I.— <i>From the earliest Accounts of Greece, to the general Abolition of Royalty in that Country.</i> - - -	1
Chap. II.— <i>The Government of Sparta, to the Subjugation of the Messenians.</i> -	10
Chap. III.— <i>The Government of Athens, from the Establishment of the Archons to the Expulsion of Hippias.</i> - -	23
Chap. IV.— <i>The Transactions of Greece, from the Expulsion of Hippias to the Death of Darius.</i> - - - -	36
Chap. V.— <i>The Grecian Affairs, from the Accession of Xerxes to the Throne of Persia, to the Return of that Monarch into Asia, after his Expedition against Greece.</i> -	50
Chap. VI.— <i>From the Retreat of Xerxes into Asia, to the final Event of the Persian Invasion.</i> - - - -	72
Chap. VII.— <i>The Affairs of Greece, from the final Overthrow of the Persians, to the thirty Years' Truce.</i> - - -	89
Chap. VIII.— <i>The Affairs of Greece from the Truce for thirty Years, to the Peace of Nicias.</i> - - - -	128

Chap.

- Chap. IX.—*From the Peace of Nicias to the total overthrow of the Expedition against Sicily.* - - - 171
- Chap. X.—*The Affairs of Greece, from the Defeat of the Expedition against Sicily, to the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War.* - 258

PREFATORY MEMOIR

*Relative to the Geography of ancient Greece, and
illustrative of the Map.*

IN order to give a distinct idea of this celebrated country, which was broken into so many rival states, it appears necessary to prefix to its general history a geographical account of its component parts.

Greece, in the early periods of history, comprehended Peloponnesus, Græcia propria, Epirus, Thessalia, and Macedonia; but when subjugated by the Romans, it was divided into two provinces, Achaia and Macedonia; the former containing the first and second of the ancient divisions, and the latter the other three. We shall review the original divisions in order.

PELOPONNESUS*.

This peninsula derived its name from Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, and in its general form resembles the leaf of a palm tree. It is joined to Græcia propria by the isthmus of Corinth, which is only about five miles over. On this spot the inhabitants of Peloponnesus usually intrenched themselves when in dread of an invasion; and here the

* Now called the Morea.

isthmian games were triennially celebrated. Demetrius, Cæsar, and others, attempted to cut through this isthmus, but constantly failed in success.

The subdivisions of Peloponnesus were Achaia, Elis, Messenia, Laconica, Arcadia, and Argolis.

ACHAIA. The chief towns of Achaia were Corinth and Sicyon, the latter the most ancient city in Greece, and once the head of a kingdom.

Corinth was long and justly celebrated. It stood at the foot of a high hill, on which was built the citadel, including which it was about ten miles in circumference. The navigation round the capes of Malea and Tænarus was reckoned so dangerous on account of storms and pirates, that merchants generally transported their goods over the isthmus, whence Corinth became the mart of Europe and Asia. The natives of this city were distinguished for their skill in working in metals. The Corinthian brass, a mixture of copper with some small quantity of gold and silver, formed a composition extremely brilliant and durable. The ornaments on pottery ware were also executed here with inimitable art.

Corinth, after lying long in ruins, was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. In removing the rubbish, an immense quantity of vessels of brass and earthen ware was found, and carried to Rome.

The

The other cities of Achaia were comparatively of little consequence; their names were Phlius, Pallene, Ægira, and Helice.

ELIS. Of this district the chief cities were Elis on the river Peneus, and Olympia on the river Alpheus. Near the latter, the Olympic games*, so famous throughout all Greece, were

* Among the Greeks there were four solemn games, consecrated to religion; the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. Of these the Olympic were reckoned the chief. The contests at each were nearly similar. Running, leaping, wrestling, boxing, and throwing the quoit, were alternately displayed for the exercise of strength and agility. The spot on which these contests were exhibited was called the *STADIUM*. That division of it where the horse and chariot races were run was called *Hippodromus*; where the course began, *Carcer*; and where it terminated, *Meta*. At each of these games the prizes were somewhat different. In general, however, the victors at either were presented with a branch of the palm-tree, which they carried in their hands; but at the Olympic games they wore a crown or wreath of olive; at the Pythian, laurel; at the Isthmian, pine; and at the Nemean, parsley. Those who bore away the palm were called *Hieronica*, and were carried with great pomp and solemnity to their native city, which they entered in a chariot drawn by white horses though a breach in the wall made purposely for their passage, and were for the remainder of their lives maintained at the public expense. Even kings did not consider it derogatory to their honour to contend for the prize: and no person branded with infamy was admitted as a combatant.

The Olympic games derived their origin from Hercules, but falling into neglect, were afterward renewed by Iphitus. These proved an excellent preparative for youth to bear the hardships of war, as well as to improve their bravery and adroitness.

The year in which Corælius of Elis won the chief prize (which was that of the chariot race) was the period when the Greeks first regulated their time by Olympiads. This corresponds with the 776th year before Christ, and is a remarkable æra in ancient history.

celebrated every fourth year; hence a period of four years was called an Olympiad. Near the site of Olympia stood the ancient city of Pisa, which was demolished by the people of Elis.

MESSENIÀ. The chief city in this division was named Messene, by which appellation the whole country was formerly known. It was built by Epaminondas, and stood at a short distance north from the top of the Messenian gulf. Being under the immediate protection of a strong fortress, exclusive of its own peculiar fortifications, it was almost impregnable. The ancient capital was Pylos, the city of Nestor: the epithet Messeniaca was afterward added, in order to distinguish it from two other places of the former name.

Pylos of Messenia was situated on the Ionian sea, near the small island Sphacteria, where a large party of Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war were, after a valiant resistance, compelled to surrender to Demosthenes and Cleon.

There were several other towns in this dis-

The people of Elis generally had the regulation of the games, and occasionally the inhabitants of Pisa, prior to the destruction of that city. Their duration was for five days. The day on which they commenced was the eleventh of the month called Hecatombæon. During their celebration there was a general suspension of hostilities. An immense concourse of people attended, not only from all Greece, but likewise from the neighbouring nations. Here also works of genius were displayed; and it was here that Herodotus read his history, which so affected Thucydides, then a boy, that he shed tears, and on that account he attracted the notice of the author.

trict,

trict, among which Cypanissa, Methone, and Asine were the most important.

LACONICA, or Laconia. No portion of the Peloponnesus was more celebrated than this. It contained the famous city of Lacedæmon* or Sparta, the most powerful in ancient Greece, which stood at the bottom of mount Taygetus on the banks of the river Eurotas. This city was about six miles in circumference, but had no other walls than the bravery of its inhabitants, till it fell under the dominion of tyrants. The prevailing manners were inimical to external splendour, and therefore the houses were small and destitute of ornament.

South of Lacedæmon, on the west bank of the Eurotas, was Amyclæ, abounding in trees, and honoured with a splendid temple of Apollo.

Gythium, the port of Lacedæmon near the mouth of Eurotas, which falls into the Læconic gulf, was a very strong place. Not far from this was the site of the ancient Helos, which the Spartans having taken, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and hence all their slaves were called Helotes.

The promontory of Malea, so dangerous to mariners, bounded the gulph of Laconia on the east, as Tænarus did on the west. This was the most southern point of Europe, and here stood the inviolable temple of Neptune, and near it the cave through which Hercules is

* Now called Misitra.

fabled to have dragged Cerberus from the infernal regions.

The other towns and places of Laconia were Selasia, Delium, Epidaurus, and some others of inferior note.

ARCADIA. The enchanting descriptions of Arcadian scenes in the Greek and Latin poets have rendered this country dear to the lovers of nature and simplicity. There is scarcely a spot within its precincts, that has not been the subject of fabulous invention, or beautiful description.

Arcadia was the country of shepherds, and therefore sacred to Pan, the pastoral god. It abounded in lofty mountains, and was agreeably intermixed with sylvan and champaign scenery. Its chief cities were Tegæa, whence Pan has the epithet of Tegæus; Pallantæum; Mantinea, where Epaminondas fell; Megalopolis, Belbina, and a few others. Arcadia was very populous, and was said to contain three hundred thousand slaves.

When the natives had occasion to confirm any engagement by an inviolable oath, they proceeded to Nonacris, near which issued a deadly stream called Styx, and to swear by its water was reckoned binding both on gods and men. This water corroded every substance, except the hoofs of certain animals; and by means of it Alexander the Great is said to have been poisoned. The fabulous river of Hell took its rise from this source.

ARGOLIS. The principal city in this district

was Argos, supposed to be the favourite residence of Juno. It was situated on the river Inachus, and was defended by two citadels. The inhabitants were denominated Argivi, a name by which the Greeks in general were often designated. Nauplia was the harbour of Argos; and to the south of this was the lake of Lerna, where Hercules slew the monstrous hydra.

To the north of Argos stood Mycenæ, the city of Agamemnon, after whose death it gradually declined, till at last it was destroyed by the Argives. In a neighbouring grove the Nemean games were celebrated every three years.

At the bottom of the Argolic gulf stood Trœzene, so called from its founder Trœzen, the son of Pelops. Opposite to this city lies the island Calauria, to which Demosthenes being pursued by his enemies, he swallowed poison.

West from Trœzene was Epidaurus, and at the distance of five miles from this last-mentioned place stood the famous temple of Æsculapius.

The promontory of Scyllæum on the Saronic gulf was the burial-place of Scylla, the daughter of Nisus. Near Scyllæum was the town of Hermione, from which the passage to the shades below was supposed to be so short, that it was not necessary to put money into the mouth of the dead to pay Charon's fare.

GRÆCIA PROPRIA.

This grand division of Greece was bounded on the north by mounts Othrys and $\text{\text{C}\text{e}\text{t}\text{a}}$, which divided it from Thessaly; on the west, by the river Achelous and Epire; on the south, by the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs, and the isthmus of Corinth, which separated it from Peloponnesus; and on the east, by the $\text{\text{A}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{a}\text{n}}$ sea, the boundary between Europe and Asia.

The subdivisions of Græcia propria were seven; Attica, Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, Doris, and $\text{\text{A}\text{t}\text{o}\text{l}\text{i}\text{a}}$.

ATTICA. No part of Greece was so celebrated as this; and from the interest which will ever be attached to it, in the estimation of every polite scholar, it will be proper to notice some of the principal circumstances connected with it. Athens*; the capital, was long the most illustrious seat of learning, arts, and sciences, and deserves to be described at some length.

In very early times this city consisted of little more than a citadel, built on the top of a rocky eminence about seven miles round. This fortress was surrounded by a strong wall, and had only one entrance, the ascent to which was by stairs. Within its precincts were several magnificent edifices, the chief of which was the temple of Minerva, called Parthenon. After being burnt by the Persians, it was rebuilt of the finest marble by Pericles, and still exhibits one of the most splendid remains of

* Now Setines.

antiquity, being two hundred and twenty-nine feet long, one hundred broad, and seventy high. The colossal statue of Minerva, made by Phidias of gold and ivory, was thirty-nine feet high. In the citadel there were also a number of statues in honour of that goddess; among the rest, that which was believed to have fallen from Heaven: it was, however, merely a shapeless mass of olive wood, though held in the highest veneration.

Adjoining to the Parthenon was the public treasury. The chief of the prytanes, or the president of the senate, who was changed daily, had the charge of the key; but some of the treasurers, having embezzled part of the public money, burnt this edifice to the ground, in order to conceal their peculation.

At first the Athenians attended chiefly to agriculture, particularly to the cultivation of the olive; but afterward following commerce, they built a joint temple to Minerva and Neptune, with a chapel consecrated to each. On one side stood the olive tree, which was said to have sprung out of the earth at the command of Minerva; and on the other was a fountain of salt water, fabled to have been produced by the stroke of Neptune's trident.

As the inhabitants of Athens began to increase, it was necessary to build on the level ground round the citadel; and in process of time the lower city became embellished with many splendid edifices. The temple of Jupiter Olympus, of Theseus, built by Cimon, and

the Pantheon, or temple to all the gods, both which are still standing nearly entire; the temples of Castor and Pollux, and of Apollo and Pan; the Prytaneum, where those who had merited well of the state were supported at the public expense; the Odeum, or musical theatre, and the theatre of Bacchus, were among the most remarkable.

Near the citadel was the fountain Callirrhoe, the water of which was used in nuptial and sacred rites; and on an eminence at a small distance, was the place where the Areopagus assembled.

The Ceramicus, however, or the place where pottery was made, is one of the most famous quarters of Athens. In it was the forum or market-place, surrounded with temples and various other public buildings. Here were the porticoes of Hermæ and Pœcile, in the latter of which Zeno the philosopher used to teach, and from this circumstance his followers were called stoics, stoa signifying a portico in Greek.

Athens had three harbours, the Piræus, Munichia, and Phalerum, all very strong, and united to the city by two walls, called the long walls, which were projected and partly executed by Themistocles.

Independent, however, of the memorable places within the limits of the city, some of which have already been cursorily noticed, the Athenians had several Gymnasias, either in or near the city, the principal of which were the Academia, Lyceum, and Cynosarges. The
Academia

Academia lay about three quarters of a mile north-west of the city, and contained a gymnasium, a garden, and a grove, surrounded with walls, and adorned with delightful covered walks. Here Plato taught his scholars, whence his followers are called academics; and such decorum was observed in the place, that it was forbidden even to laugh in it.

The Lyceum * lay on the opposite side of Athens, on the banks of the Ilissus, and was remarkably salubrious. Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, chose the Lyceum for the place of youthful institution; and because he taught his followers while walking, his sect were called peripatetics.

The Cynosarges was situated on the north of the Lyceum, on an eminence, and contained a gymnasium, a temple of Hercules, and a sacred grove. It is said to have received its name from a white or swift dog, which snatched away part of the sacrifice offered to Hercules. In this place foreigners or citizens of half blood, that is, who were born of an alien mother, performed their exercises; and here Antishenes taught his philosophy, whence, as some say, he was called the cynic; though others imagine, and perhaps with greater probability, that he obtained this epithet from his snarling disposition, which certainly some of his followers deserved.

The inhabitants of Athens were properly

* So called from Lycus, the son of Pandion, who also gave name to Lycia, in Asia.

divided into three orders: citizens, sojourners, and slaves. The number of citizens seldom exceeded 20,000, of sojourners or foreigners 10,000, while the slaves amounted to 400,000. The last two classes had no share in the government; but to enter into the civil and political institutions of this famous republic, would carry us beyond the bounds prescribed.

About ten miles north-east of Athens stood Marathon, illustrious for the defeat of the Persians by Miltiades. In the same direction from Athens was the fortress of Phyle, the first place seized by Thrasybulus with only thirty men, when he emancipated his country from the tyranny of as many usurpers.

West from this lay Acharnæ, the chief borough of Attica, which is frequently mentioned in history; and not far from this stood Eleusis, famous for the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres.

Other memorable places in Attica were Erchia, Gargettus, Decelia, and Oropus.

MEGARIS. This was a small track of land lying at the top of the Saronic gulf, between the territories of Attica and Corinth. The chief city was Megara, situated on a rising ground, and possessing a good harbour called Nisæa. The other towns of Megaris were very inconsiderable.

The people of Megara had twenty gallies at the battle of Salamis, and three hundred men at the battle of Platæa. They even ventured sometimes to enter into hostilities with the Athenians;

Athenians; but their country is more justly entitled to distinction for having produced Euclid, than for all their other advantages combined. This great mathematician had conceived the highest respect for Socrates, and during a war between the Megarensians and the Athenians, he frequently visited that philosopher by night in a female disguise, and returned again before day-break, though the distance was twenty miles.

BÆOTIA. This country stretched along the west of Attica and Megaris, from the Euripus to the Corinthian gulf. The soil was fertile, but the air was gross, and the inhabitants in general reckoned characteristically dull, though there were many splendid exceptions.

The capital was Thebes, built by Cadmus, who first introduced letters into Greece. It was situated on the river Ismenus, and had seven gates, with walls upwards of seven miles in circumference.

The other states of Greece were long indignant against the Thebans, for their perfidy in joining the Persians, and for this they were severely punished. Under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, however, Thebes was the most powerful city in Greece. It was destroyed by Alexander the Great, after a terrible carnage of the inhabitants; but was rebuilt by Cassander.

About nine miles south of Thebes stood Plataea, at the foot of Mount Cithæron, on the banks of the Æsopus. Near this place the

the Persians, under Mardonius, met with a signal defeat from Aristides and Pausanias.

To the westward of Plataea lay Leuctra, the scene where the Lacedæmonians experienced a dreadful overthrow from Epaminondas, in consequence of which, they lost their pre-eminence among the Grecian states.

On the west side of an extensive morassy plain, where the river Melas loses itself, stood Chæronea, the birth-place of Plutarch, and remarkable for the defeat of the allied states of Greece by Philip of Macedon, which they never afterward recovered.

Not far from this was the cave of Trophœnius, where oracles were delivered, and which rendered such as entered it melancholy for the rest of their lives.

Thespia sacred to the muses, Ascra the birth-place of Hesiod, Aulis, whence the Greeks set sail to the siege of Troy, Tangara, infamous for its cock-fighting exhibitions, Delium, where stood a temple of Apollo, and some other places, are memorable in the history of Bœotia.

This country is further illustrious for its connection with the muses. The mountains of Helicon and Pimpla, the fountains of Aganippe, Dirce, and Hippocrene can never be mentioned without exciting poetic imagery.

PHOCIS. This district, or rather its capital Delphi, was conjectured by the ancients, not only to be the centre of Greece, but of the whole earth; but Delphi is still more illustrious

ous for the temple and oracle of Apollo, which stood on an eminence above the town, at the foot of mount Parnassus, and near the Castalian fount. In the middle of this temple was a chasm in the ground, whence issued a subtle vapour, that threw such as breathed it into convulsions. It is said to have been first accidentally discovered by some goat-herds. The priestess or pythia being placed on a tripod over the aperture, and becoming gradually intoxicated with the vapour, proceeded to utter her oracles, generally in hexameter verse, but sometimes in prose. To this oracle not only the Greeks, but many of the neighbouring nations used to resort for advice on any critical emergency.

The revolutions which the temple and oracle at Delphi underwent are too numerous to particularize. In the time of Cicero the pythia and her predictions had fallen into contempt, but she did not wholly give up her very lucrative vocation, till after the period of Nero's reign.

At Delphi, as being most central, was held the meeting of the Amphictyonic council, or deputies from the confederated states of Greece. In its vicinity likewise were celebrated the Pythian games, at first every ninth, and afterward every fifth year.

Cirrho, the port of Delphi, lay in the Corinthian gulf, about eight miles distant; and near this stood Anticyra, famous for the production

of

of hellebore, once reputed specific in maniacal cases.

In latter times Elatia, situated on the river Cephissus, became the principal city of Phocis. Its other towns were inconsiderable.

LOCRIS. The country of Locris was divided into three parts, but no very satisfactory account is given for this. Amphissa, defended by a strong fortress, was the principal town of the first district; Opus of the second, and Naryx, the native place of Ajax, of the third.

Not far distant from the last-mentioned town was the famous pass of Thermopylæ, so called from its hot springs. It was justly reckoned the key of Greece, and is immortalized from the self-devotion of Leonidas. Where narrowest there is only room for a single carriage between Mount Cæta, which here terminates in a precipice, and the Malian gulf.

DORIS, or DORICA. This country was of small extent, it lay along the foot of Mounts Cæta and Parnassus. Its inhabitants were one of the most ancient tribes of Greece, from Dorus the grandson of Deucalion. It contained four cities, Erineon, Boion, Pindus, and Cytinium, none of them remarkable.

ÆTOLIA. This was the country of a very warlike people, and extended from the top of the gulf Naupactus* to the river Achelous.

The towns were few, but of considerable note. Calydon on the river Evenus, was an ancient

* Now Lepanto.

and beautiful city, and the birth-place of Tydeus. At the efflux of the Evenus into the Ionian sea stood Chalcis, not far from a mountain of the same name; and on the north-west extremity of the Corinthian gulf lay Naupactus, so called from the number of ships built there; but its very site is now overflowed by the sea.

When the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had enfeebled themselves by mutual contests, the Ætolians became a very powerful people, and possessed themselves of several cities beyond their original limits. They were esteemed the best cavalry in Greece; but were always turbulent and fickle in their disposition.

EPIRUS.

The principal subdivisions of this country were into Arcania, Thesprosia, Molossis, and Chaonia.

ACARNANIA, extending from the river Achelous to the Ambrocian gulf, was anciently included in Greece proper, but afterward added to Epirus.

Near a promontory of the same name, at the mouth of the Ambrocian gulf, lay the little town of Actium, celebrated for its temple of Apollo, and still more for the decisive naval fight between Augustus, and Anthony and Cleopatra. In commemoration of his victory, Augustus built the town of Nicopolis on the opposite side of the strait, and instituted the Actian games, which were celebrated every five years.

The chief city, however, of Acarnania was Stratus, about twenty-five miles from the efflux of the river Achelous; and in latter times Leucas, built by a colony from Corinth on the isthmus which joined the peninsula of Leucadia to the main land. Near this was the rock of Cephalenia, or the lovers' leap, which Sappho and others tried to cure their hopeless passion.

THESPROTIA. The chief city of this country was Ambrocia, the royal residence of Pyrrhus, situated near the head of the gulf of the same name. It was built by a colony from Corinth.

On the strait which separates Corcyra from the main land, lay Posidium, Buthrotum, Portus Pelodis; and to the south were Chimaerium and Ephyra, near the lake Acherusia, through which ran the river Acheron; and into the latter flows the muddy Cocytus, at no great distance from the lake Avernus.

Indeed it is generally supposed, that Homer copied the names of his infernal lakes and rivers from those of Thesprotia.

MOLOSSIS, the country of the Molossi, lay to the north-east of Thesprotia. The most remarkable town of this district was Dodona, at the foot of Mount Tomarus, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. It was built by the Pelasgi, who justly designated their gods as the rulers of all things.

The other remarkable places in Molossis were Tecmon and Passaron, where the kings of
the

the country at their accession used to swear, that they would govern according to the laws; and the people, that they would defend their native soil.

CHAONIA. The chief towns of this district were Oricum, situated in a champaign, north of the Acroceraunian mountains, so called from their tops being struck with thunder.—Palæste, where Cæsar landed when in pursuit of Pompey, Cassiope and Phalacrum. Among the inland towns were Antigonea and Phænice.

Chaonia is said to have received its name from Chaon, the companion of Helenus, the son of Priam, who was inadvertently killed in hunting. The celebrated mount Pindus, which consists of several ridges, ran partly through Epire.

THESSALIA.

According to Herodotus, this country was wholly enclosed by mountains; on the east by Pelion and Ossa; on the north by Olympus; on the west by Pindus; and on the south by Othrys and Œta. The intervening champaign, constituting Thessaly, was watered by numerous streams; all of which, uniting in the river Peneus, devolved their waters into the Thermaic gulf* by a narrow passage, supposed to have been opened by an earthquake, between Olympus and Ossa.

Along the banks of the Peneus was the delightful vale of Tempe, the subject of every poet's theme. This was about five miles long, but of various breadth.

* Now the gulf of Salonichi.

At the foot of mount Cēta, and north of Thermopylæ, stood Heraclea, so called from Hercules, who is said to have consumed himself in a burning pile on the top of Cēta, near this place. Lamia and Hypata, Larissa the city of Achilles, Pegasæ and the post of Pheræ, the capital of the tyrant Alexander, whom Pelopidas conquered.

About three miles from Pegase stood Iolcos, the city of Pelias and Jason, and not far from the latter, Aphetæ, whence the Argonauts set sail. Near Iolcos likewise was Demetrias, built by Demetrius Poliorcetes, which soon became very populous, on account of its local advantages. North of this lay Melibœa, the city of Philoctetes, famous for the manufacture of purple.

At the bottom of mount Othrys, the abode of the Centaurs, stood Alos, washed by the river Amphrysus, along the banks of which Apollo used to feed the flocks of Admetus; and near the reflux of this stream lay Thebæ, which some have confounded with Thebes in Bœotia.

South from Larissa, already mentioned, lay Pharsalus, near which the ever-memorable battle took place between Cæsar and Pompey, when the latter fled to Larissa.

Towards the confines of Macedonia was mount Pierius, sacred to the muses, and from which they are called Pierides. Many other places in Thessaly are mentioned by the poets and historians, but they do not deserve a particular indication in this memoir.

The

The Thessalian women were said to possess remarkable skill in magic. By their charms or spells they pretended to perform the most wonderful things; to raise or allay tempests, to recall the dead, to destroy the living, and even to arrest the sun in his course.

MACEDONIA.

From the different form of government which for a long period prevailed in this country, it scarcely appears to be a legitimate Grecian state, though usually included within its limits.

Macedonia is made to extend from the mouth of the Peneus to the river Nessus in Thrace; including, on the east, the countries bordering on the *Ægean* sea, and surrounding the Thermaic, Toronæan, Singitic, and Strymonic gulfs; but the precise boundaries on the other sides are not ascertained.

The country lying between the mouth of the Peneus and the Ludias was called Pieria; the towns on this coast were Heracleum, Phila, Dium, and Pydna, near which last Paulus *Æmilius* defeated Perseus.

To the north of Pieria, the country obtained the name of *Pæonia*, or *Emathia-Pella*. The chief town of this district was the birth-place of Philip, and of his son Alexander. It was washed by the Ludias, and was a place of great strength. At some distance lay Edessa, once the residence of the Macedonian kings, and afterward their place of sepulture.

Near the mouth of the Axius and Chidorus

stood Therma, which gave name to the Thermaic gulf, afterward called Thessalonica, and now Salonichi, where the illustrious Cicero spent the time of his exile. The principal towns in early periods of history on the north-east of the Thermaic gulf were, Ainea, Simila, Campsa, and in latter times, Antigonía and Potidæa.

At the head of the Toronean gulf stood Olynthus, a very considerable city, which was long either subject to, or in alliance with Athens. Being treacherously taken by Philip, it was destroyed, and the inhabitants carried into servitude, which gave rise to the fatal war between the Athenians and the Macedonian prince.

Between the Singitic and Strymonic gulfs lies mount Athos, which projects many miles from the plain into the sea. On this vast hill stood several towns, the inhabitants of which received the appellation of Macrobii from their longevity. Towards the west side of Athos the two gulfs approach each other within a mile and a half; and through this isthmus Xerxes dug a navigable canal, so wide and deep that two ships could pass at once. In its vicinity stood Stagira, the birth-place of Aristotle, whence he is called the Stagirite.

Near the place where the Strymon divides into two branches was built Amphipolis. About 30 miles north-east of this city stood Neapolis, and above it Philippi, in the plain adjoining which Brutus and Cassius were overthrown by Antony and Augustus.

The

The interior part of Macedonia, called Macedonia Superior, was possessed by various tribes. This district was rough and mountainous, and consequently cold.

The country south of the Ceraunian mountains along the bottom of the Adriatic sea, being chiefly inhabited by Greeks, was named Illyris Græca. The chief towns were Apollonia, a place where learning was much cultivated, and Dyrrachium, now Durazzo, the common landing-place from Brundisium. Not far from this is Petra, where Pompey pitched his camp, and suffered a circumvallation to be drawn round him for fifteen miles, rather than venture an engagement with Cæsar.

GRECIAN ISLANDS.

To this geographical description of the continent of Greece it appears of manifest utility to subjoin a brief account of its islands.

CORCYRA, now CORFU, &c.

This island lies in the Ionian sea, and is separated by a narrow strait from Thesprotia. Here were the celebrated gardens of Alcinous, which produced fruit twice a year.

Corcyra contained a city of the same name, which was the residence of Alcinous; and near the northern extremity of the island stood Cassiope.

A few small islands called Sybota lie between the south-east part of Corcyra and Epirus; and near Leucadia, which has already been mentioned, are the little islands of Paxæ.

Before the mouth of the river Achelous are scattered

scattered a number of small islands, called the Echinades, the principal of which is Dulichium. It was subject to Ulysses; and to the west of this lies Ithaca, the residence of that hero: it was about 25 miles in circumference, rocky and sterile, and contained a town of the same name, at the foot of mount Neius.

CEPHALENIA.

This island, called also Same or Samos, lies about fifteen miles from Ithaca, and is 93 miles in circumference. The principal town, named Samos, was taken by the Romans, after a siege of four months, and plundered. The other towns were of little note. Between Cephalenia and Ithaca is the small island of Asteria.

ZACYNTHUS, now ZANTE.

South of Cephalenia lies Zacynthus, about 20 miles in circumference, sylvan and fertile, with a town of the same name. South-east from this were the Strophades, fabled to be infested by harpies.

CYTHERA.

This island was sacred to Venus, and its name is frequently used to designate that goddess. It lies about five miles from the promontory of Malea, and contained a city of the same name, and another called Scandea, both excellently fortified, and furnished with commodious harbours. Cythera was alternately under the power of the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians.

ÆGINA, &c.

The island of Ægina, about twenty-two miles

miles in circumference, lies in the Saronic gulf, about ten miles from Attica. On account of its hidden rocks, it was difficult of access on all sides. The inhabitants were anciently rivals of the Athenians by sea; and in the battle of Salamis, the prize of valour was decreed to them. In the event they experienced many revolutions of fortune, and submitted to various masters. They are famed for being the first people that coined money.

West from Ægina is Salamis, containing a town of the same name. It was the island of Telamon, the father of Ajax and Teucer, and is about ten miles long.

Round Salamis and Ægina are several small islands, but none of them of any consequence.

EUBŒA, now NEGROPONT, &c.

This island lies along the north-east coast of Attica and Boeotia, and is about 150 miles in length, and 40 in breadth. It is separated from the continent by the Euripus, remarkable for the irregularity of its tides. Several of the promontories of Eubœa are mentioned by historians, namely, Geræstus, Caphareus, Carystus, and Amarynthus.

Chalcis was the capital of the whole island, then ranked Eretria, and lastly, Artemisium, near which the Greeks first engaged with the fleet of Xerxes.

East from Eubœa lies Scyros, where Achilles lay concealed, and where Theseus died in exile.

The CYCLADES.

These islands received their Greek appellation

tion from lying round Delos, in the form of a circle. Some authors reckon twelve of them, others more: the principal are as follow:

DELOS. This island, called also Ortygia, was the birth-place of Apollo and Diana. It was anciently said to be a floating island, and was fabled to be chained by Apollo, who bound it to Mycone and Gyaros. Delos abounded in brass, and vessels of that metal fabricated here were held in high estimation. To some of the desert islands in this vicinity the Roman emperors used to banish criminals. CEOS, near Sunium in Attica, was a small but fertile island, and deserves to be particularised as being the birth-place of Simonides, the first elegiac writer. This great man being asked by king Hiero what God is, he demanded a day to consider it: when the same question was put to him the next day, he required two days; and so went on, always doubling the time. The king, surprised, asked him why he did so. "Because," said Simonides, "the longer I consider the matter, the more difficult it appears to me."

South of Ceos lies Cythnos, and still farther in the same direction is Seriphus, then Siphnus and Melos. East of Seriphus is PAROS, the birth-place of Phidias and Praxiteles, and farther celebrated for producing the finest marble. To the eastward of PAROS lies NAXOS, fruitful in vines, and therefore sacred to Bacchus, Ios, Thera, now Santorin, and some other small islands lie in the same quarter.

CRETE,

CRETE, now Candia, is by far the largest of the Grecian islands, extending 270 miles in length, and about 50 in breadth. It is extremely mountainous and woody, but has many fertile plains and vallies. In the middle of the island stands mount Ida, and at its eastern extremity is mount Dicte, in a cavern of which Jupiter is said to have been nursed.

The three chief cities of Crete were, Gnosus, Gortina, and Cidonia. The harbour of the first was named Heracleum, and here the present capital of the island, Candia, is built. A number of islets surround Crete, but none of them are remarkable.

The SPORADES.

These islands obtained their original appellation from their scattered form. They lie chiefly on the coast of Asia, to which quarter of the globe they belong.

Carpathus, which gave name to the Carpathian sea, stands eastward of Crete. In the same direction, and near the coast of Lycia, is RHODUS, about 125 miles in circumference, which contained the cities of Lindus, Camirus, and Rhodus; the latter famous for its maritime force, and likewise for the brazen colossus or image of the sun, about 105 feet high. This was the workmanship of Chares, a native of the island, and employed him twelve years. It was overthrown by an earthquake eighty-five years after its erection, and lay on the ground till Rhodes was taken by the Saracens, A. D. 653, when the metal which composed it, being
sold

sold to a Jew, it furnished sufficient to load nine hundred camels.

North of Rhodus lies Cos, now Lango, about 100 miles in circumference; it was the native country of Hippocrates, the physician, of Apelles the painter, and of Philetas the poet.

PATMOS, now Palmossa, lies in this vicinity. Here St. John wrote the book of Revelation.

SAMOS, the favourite island of Juno, and the country of Pythagoras, stands opposite to mount Mycale, on the coast of Ionia. West of this is ICARUS, which gave name to the Icarcan sea; and north of Icarus is CHIOS, famous for its wine and earthen-wares.

About 60 miles north of Chios lies LESBOS, an island of considerable extent, and famous for its wines. The chief city was Mitylene, by which name the island is now known.

To the north of this is LEMNOS, now Stalimene, the island of Vulcan, about 112 miles in circumference. It contained two cities, Hephæstia and Murina. On the forum or market-place of the latter, mount Athos, though distant 87 miles, casts its shadow at certain seasons.

Upwards of 60 miles to the eastward of Lemnos, and five from the coast of Troas, lies TENEDOS, about 10 miles in circuit. It had one town, where stood a temple of Apollo Smintheus.

The other Grecian islands are scarcely worth an enumeration in this rapid survey.



THE
HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER. I.

*From the earliest Accounts of Greece to the general
Abolition of Royalty in that Country.*

THE history of Greece, like that of every other country, has its origin clouded by fiction, and replete with errors and absurdities. The artless song, or the rude and shapeless monument, was the only commemorative which man employed in the infant state of society, to record his martial exploits, or the memorable destinies of his nation. To attempt, therefore, to trace and depict the several monstrous and improbable accounts, which the Grecian poets and historians of antiquity have transmitted to mankind, would be a task not only useless and insipid, but unworthy of the dignity of historical writing. The fictions of those men must not be blended with the palpable demonstrations of truth. In an ignorant and barbarous age, some degree of credit may have been, and certainly was, attached to them; but they have been too long exploded to merit our slightest attention. Many indeed are the writers, who, by the assistance of strong and lively imaginations, have endeavoured to clothe fable in the garb of probability, to separate truth from falsehood, and to describe, in an uninterrupted series, the history of ancient Greece, from the most remote antiquity. But the affairs of the heroic ages pre-

sent to our view such a motley and mythological picture, as explained by ancient authors, that every modern writer has been under the necessity of adding some new conjectures of his own. Unsatisfactory, however, and improbable, after all, are most of the interpretations given of those poetical and allegorical compositions; and the former, no less than the latter, appear to be merely the ebullitions of fancy, varied as to their object.

We shall therefore dwell as little as possible on the fabulous age of Greece, for the reasons already assigned. Facts that are more probable, and which have been better substantiated, can alone demand the historian's attention. Ancient Greece, which, at this time, constitutes the south part of Turkey in Europe, was comprehended within the thirty-sixth and forty-second degrees of latitude; extended about 380 miles from north to south, and 310 from east to west; and was bounded on the east by the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*; on the south, by the *Cretan* sea; on the west, by the *Ionian* sea, or *Adriatic* gulf; and on the north, by *Illyria* and *Thrace*. It contained the following kingdoms; in *Peloponnesus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. In Greece, properly so called, those of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætolia*. In *Epirus*, were the *Molossians*, *Amphilochians*, *Cassiopæans*, *Dræopians*, *Chaonians*, *Threspotians*, *Almenians* and *Acarnanians*. In *Thessaly* it comprehended the countries of the *Thessalians*, the *Estiotees*, the *Pelasgians*, the *Magnesians*, and the *Phthiotes*. But the most considerable kingdoms were *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*.

The

The Greeks are said to have derived their name from Græcus the father of Thessalus; and all those nations are affirmed by the learned Bochart and others, to have been descendants of Javan, the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah.

Greece is in general an excellent country, situated in a temperate climate, in which none of the necessaries of life are wanting, and to which the seas that surround it waft in abundance every superfluity.

The manners of the first inhabitants of Greece were rude and savage; they fed on herbs, fruits, and roots. The time when they first began to lay up a store of acorns for a season of scarcity, to clothe themselves with the skins of beasts, and build huts to dwell in, is pointed out as the era of civilization. Till then they remained in the open air, or lodged in caves. It is observed that the more feeble retired to sterile places, that their enjoyments might not be envied; and thus Attica became peopled. The fabulists have endeavoured to point out the age in which those lived, who first taught agriculture, or attempted to make voyages by sea; and it results from their chronology that the invention of these arts is of a very early date. By their voyages and military expeditions, a number of the Greeks made their way into countries more advanced in the sciences and every kind of knowledge. They brought from Phœnice the art of alphabetic writing; and from Persia and Babylon, geometry, astronomy, and magic.

For want of laws, the Greeks were long governed by oracles. It is the property of every religion, whether true or false, to act as a restraint on the people. The most celebrated oracle was that of Delphi, where Apollo himself rendered

answers through the medium of a priestess named the pythia. It was at first required that she should be a virgin, but in process of time a matron was substituted. She was seated on a tripod, placed over an opening, whence issued a vapour that inspired the priestess with a sacred fury. In this paroxysm she pronounced, with the tone and gestures of a maniac, answers almost always intricate and ambiguous, but the true sense of which was discoverable after the event. It is to be observed, that the heroes, kings, and even sages, appeared to have a firm faith in the oracles, and consulted them with great solemnity. Those who may think that they only affected this credulity, must at least confess, that they apparently considered it as necessary to inculcate it on the people by their example.

B. C. 2764. Sicyon was the most ancient kingdom of Greece, of which we have any account in history; and Egialeus was its first king.

B. C. 1856. Inachus founded the regal government of Argos in Peloponnesus. Acrisius, one of his successors, transferred the seat of government to Mycenæ. After which the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, made themselves masters of it and of the whole peninsula.

B. C. 1556. Athens was formed into a regular government by Cecrops, an Egyptian, who carried thither a colony of people from the mouths of the Nile. He married the daughter of Actæus, king of that country, established a new monarchy, and founded the afterward so much celebrated city of Athens. Cecrops is said to have taught the Greeks the several arts of peace and war, to have instituted the laws and rules of marriage, and to have appointed religious

religious and civil offices. He is also supposed to have been the founder of the Areopagus, a court of justice on the plan of the Egyptian tribunals. The reign of Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, is chiefly remarkable for the establishment of the council of the amphictyons, a deputation from the twelve Grecian states, that assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, to consult the common interest of Greece. Theseus, one who succeeded to the throne of Athens, is said to have founded a more perfect equality among the citizens, in which the state rather resembled a republic, than a monarchy. Notwithstanding his many public and private virtues, he fell a sacrifice to the inconstancy of the people, and suffered banishment by ostracism,* a mode of judgment he had himself instituted. Codrus was the last Athenian king; during his reign the Doræ and Heraclidæ had regained all Peloponnesus, and encroached on the Athenian territory. The Delphic oracle declared, that the Heraclidæ should finally prevail, if they abstained from injuring the person of the king of

* Ostracism, so called from *οστρακον* a shell or tile, was a kind of popular judgment or condemnation among the Athenians, whereby such persons were banished as had power and popularity enough to attempt any thing against the public liberty.

The process in this condemnation was thus: the people being assembled, every man took a tile called *οστρακον*, and carried it to a certain part of the market place, surrounded with wooden rails for that purpose, in which were ten gates for the ten *tribes* to enter distinctly: in this place the tiles were deposited by each person, and numbered in gross by the *archons*. If the tiles did not amount to 6000, the ostracism was void. Then laying every name by itself, the archons pronounced him whose name was written by the major part, banished for ten years, with leave to enjoy his estate.

Athens. This being known to Codrus, he disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, proceeded to the quarters of the enemy, and insulting one of the soldiers, was slain by him in combat. The next day the Athenians sent to demand their king, and the Heraclidæ despairing of success, suspended all farther hostilities. The inimitable merit of Codrus was held in so much veneration by his subjects, that they considered no man worthy of succeeding him, and therefore abolished royalty.

B. C. Cadmus, we are told, founded the king-
1448. dom of Thebes, in which the monarchical form of government was more despotic than in any other of the Grecian states. This prince is supposed to have been of Phœnician extraction. He is universally allowed to have introduced into Greece the knowledge of alphabetic writing. To him are ascribed sixteen letters of the Greek alphabet. But as the order, names, and form of the Greek characters greatly correspond with those of the Phœnician, there can be no doubt, that the Greek letters were formed from the Phœnician, and that Cadmus did not invent, but copy them. He is also said to have taught the people navigation and commerce, the method of cultivating the vine, and the art of forging and working metals. Many of his descendants act no inconsiderable part in the writings of the ancient poets; and the tragical occurrences that befel them are universally known.

B. C. Sisyphus has been generally reckoned
1514. the founder of the kingdom of Corinth. He is said to have been the son of Æolus, and grandfather of the celebrated Ulysses. His successor Glaucus is commonly supposed to have instituted

instituted the Isthmean games. The Corinthian monarchy, however, did not long continue in the lineal succession of Sisyphus. His family became extinct ; or, as others affirm, was driven from the throne ; when the Bacchidæ seized the reigns of government. Subsequent, however, to this, Corinth fell under an aristocracy ; and a supreme magistrate, whom they called prytanis, was annually elected from the body of the nobles. The aristocratic government continued until Cypselus found means to usurp the regal power, who transmitted the same to his son.

B. C. The Spartan, or Lacedæmonian go-
1704. vernment was at first monarchical. Its founder was Lelex. The little that is known of the origin of this monarchy, must be ascribed to the contempt, in which the Lacedæmonians always held literature and learning. Helen, the daughter of Tyndareus, the seventh king of Sparta, is famous in story for the ten years war which her beauty and infidelity occasioned. She was first stolen away by Theseus ; for which reason Tyndareus bound all her suitors by an oath to allow her to make choice of her own husband ; and that if she should be carried off a second time they would join all their forces, and endeavour to restore her. Whereupon Helen married Menelaus, the son of Atreus, and brother of Agamemnon. They had not long enjoyed the sweets of conjugal union, when Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, universally accounted the handsomest man of his age, and adorned with the frivolous accomplishments that usually captivate the female mind, arrived in Sparta. His person, attainments, and address, seduced the affections of Helen ; and she abandoned her country, her husband,

husband, and relations; and was transported with all her treasure to the Trojan land. Menelaus, by the advice of his brother Agamemnon, demanded the performance of the promise made by the princes her admirers, and their assistance in the expedition against Troy. It cost the Greeks, however, much bloodshed, before ample revenge on the perpetrator and abettors of this dishonourable act could be executed by the taking of Troy. The kingdoms of Argos, Mycenæ, and Lacedæmon, were afterward united under Orestes.

B. C. Caranus, an Argive by birth, and a descendant of Hercules, established the regal government in Macedonia. Royalty, 795. in spite of the dangers that had proved fatal to it in most of the Grecian communities, subsisted in this kingdom for the space of six hundred and forty-seven years.

Such are the general outlines of the Grecian nation, after it was first formed into regular administrations. Each particular state, assuming to itself the power of modelling its own form of government, might be properly considered as an independent sovereignty. The regal power, as we have seen, was the first that was established in Greece. In the politics of the heroic ages, superior opulence and extensive property were no marks, or cause, of distinction and pre-eminence. The warlike tribes knew no difference amongst men, but what personal merit and abilities effected. But if we examine minutely the power and authority of each sovereign, in matters appertaining to his own dominions; or if we carefully observe the influence of the chieftain over his people; we shall discover, that the regal jurisdiction was, in general, limited and moderated by

by the wisdom of a mixed government. In each particular kingdom, the will of the prince was fettered by the prudence of his counsellors, or the voice of the people. It is, however, reasonable to infer, that, had the Greeks never known oppression, nor experienced the insolence and tyranny of their kings, their regal power would have still continued. But the republican government, in most of the states of Greece, succeeded monarchy; and on the ruins of royalty was the freedom of man, though not always his happiness, more fully established.

Beside the same language, religion, and interest, which prevailed throughout the Grecian territory, and tended to unite the several small and independent states, and to consolidate them into one body politic, games were instituted in different parts of Greece, and prizes adjudged to the victors. At these sports all the inhabitants of the Grecian communities assembled; and the youth were exercised in feats of activity and strength, and thereby enabled the better to endure the hardships and fatigues of war. The council of the amphictyons was, however, the most indissoluble bond of their union. The amphictyonic institution was at first established in the northern parts of Greece, for the purpose of repelling foreign invasion; and had been found equally useful, in promoting concord and unanimity at home. In process of time, however, the amphictyons became a representative assembly of the whole Grecian nation. The states that sent deputies to this council were twelve. Each independent community deputed two members, one of whom was called the pylagoras, and had charge of all civil concerns; the other was named hieromnemon,

hieromnemon, and to him were committed the interests of religion. After the abolition of royalty, the number of amphictyons was increased to about 2 hundred. The vernal assembly was held at Delphi; and the autumnal meeting at Thermopylæ. After the deputies had met at the place appointed, they took an oath, guarded by the most solemn imprecations, "That they would never subvert any amphictyonic city, or stop the courses of its water; but punish to the utmost of their power all who should dare to commit these outrages, and oppose every attempt to depreciate the reverence of the gods." To this council was committed every thing pertaining to peace and war, to religion, and the interests of the state. The deputies who composed this august body had full powers delegated to them from their constituents, to act and resolve whatever appeared most conducive to the common weal. Nor was their authority limited to the decision of public affairs, as a dernier resort: they could even raise troops, and proclaim war, in the first instance.

CHAP. II.

The Government of Sparta, to the Subjugation of the Messenians.

THE Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules, having expelled Tisamenes, the son of Orestes, from the throne, divided the countries they had subdued, and of which the principal leaders became sovereigns. Temenes had Argos; Chresphontes, Messénia; and Aristodemus, Lacedæmon.

mon. But Aristodemus dying about this time, his two sons Euristhenes and Procles succeeded to the sovereignty of Sparta. These princes neither parted the kingdom between them, nor did they reign alternately. Whether this were owing to the commands of their father, or to some other cause, of which we are ignorant, certain it is, they governed conjointly, and with equal authority ; each of them being styled king of Sparta, and acknowledged in that capacity. What renders this most astonishing is, that these two brothers entertained the strongest aversion for each other ; and their whole lives were spent in continual broils and disagreements. The same misunderstanding likewise prevailed between their successors. And nevertheless this singular and seemingly inconsistent form of government existed for several centuries, until the two families became extinct.

The revolution, which had driven the descendants of Pelops from the throne, had caused all the horrors and miseries of war to be felt in Peloponnesus ; and the inhabitants had been obliged to seek an asylum in some of the neighbouring states. In order, therefore, to repopulate the kingdom, Eurysthenes and Procles bestowed on all strangers, that would fix their abode in Lacedæmon, the rights and privileges of citizens. This decree was afterward reversed by Agis, the son and successor of Eurysthenes, and a tax imposed upon all peasants. The Helotes were the only people that would not submit to this impost ; but waged war against the Spartans. The citizens, however, finally prevailed, and the wretched Helotes and their posterity were doomed to perpetual slavery.

Lycurgus, the tenth in descent from Hercules,

received the Spartan sceptre upon the death of his brother Polydeſtes. But his ſiſter-in-law proving pregnant, he reſigned the crown. The widow of Polydeſtes, however, intimated to Lycurgus, that if he would conſent to marry her, the child ſhould be deſtroyed ; and thus no poſt-humous ſon of his brother would diſappoint his ſucceſſion to the throne. Lycurgus was ſhocked at the propoſal, but feigning to comply with her wiſhes, exhorted her not to procure an abortion, for fear of injuring her own health. He commanded, however, ſome of his confidants to bring the child to him, as ſoon as it was born, if it ſhould be a boy. This was accordingly done, and Lycurgus receiving the infant, whiſt at ſupper, with ſome of the principal perſons of the city, preſented him to them, ſaying, “ My lords of Sparta, here is a king born to us.” Then placing the child upon the chair of ſtate, and perceiving how much the people were overjoyed at this diſinterreſted action, he named him Charilaus. Thus did this great and good man ſacrifice every proud and ambitious view to the performance of his duty ; and laying aſide the regal authority, exerciſed that of protector only. This conduct conciliated the eſteem and admiration of the people ; but extremely irritated the queen and her partisans. Whereupon Lycurgus, that he might ſuppreſs all the calumnies and inſinuations publiſhed againſt him by the faction of the queen, determined upon a voluntary exile.

He firſt viſited Crete, an iſland famous for its laws, and for that polity by which it had been governed in the moſt early ages. From it the Greeks learned navigation, and derived many of their legal inſtitutions. After that, he ſailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious

ligious establishments of that ancient kingdom. Thence he passed over into Asia, and there found the valuable works of Homer. While thus employed, Lacedæmon having become a prey to anarchy and confusion, he was requested by the people and princes of Sparta, to return to his native country, that his presence might quiet faction, and promote harmony.

Upon his arrival in Greece, finding all things in confusion, and the people weary of their present rulers, he determined to execute the plan he had long designed; and to substitute a more popular form of government. Having, first, as a necessary step for insuring the future success of his undertaking, obtained the approbation and assistance of the Delphic oracle, he made his intentions known to a number of his friends, and explained to them the plan he was about to adopt, and the method intended for accomplishing it. Accordingly, when his project was ripe for execution, he commanded thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place, at break of day. Charilaus, fearing a conspiracy against his person, fled to the temple of Minerva; but being informed by Lycurgus of their real design, he became one of the confederates. Thus
 B. C. 705. was a form of government established, that has excited the admiration and applause of the world.

In the political institution established by Lycurgus, the kings were permitted to rule, and had still the shadow of royalty; but their power was greatly weakened and circumscribed. They had no considerable influence in the government, or credit in public deliberations. They were merely the first citizens in the state, and acknowledged the superior authority of the

ephori and the people, to whom they were accountable for their conduct. But they possessed privileges sufficient to distinguish them from the mass of citizens; and their persons were held in the greatest respect and veneration.

The senate, which was intended to serve as a counterpoise between the kings and the people, consisted of twenty-eight members, who sided with the people, when the regal power appeared to preponderate too much; and, on the contrary, espoused the interests of the kings, when turbulence and licentiousness prevailed. By these means the power was equally balanced, and neither the sovereign nor the populace could obtain an undue preponderancy.

The ephori formed a court consisting of five members, annually elected out of the body of the people, with authority to arrest and imprison their kings, if they acted improperly.

The people also had their assemblies and conventions; and possessed a nominal share in the government of Sparta. But, as the senate convened and dismissed them at pleasure, and they never held any offices in the state, it is evident their real power must have been very insignificant.

In order, however, to depress the insolence, pride, and luxury of the great and wealthy, and to banish misery and want from the dwellings of the poor, Lycurgus distributed the lands of Sparta and Laconia in nearly equal portions amongst the inhabitants of each district. The whole territory was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares, of which nine thousand were assigned to the city of Sparta. The principal land-holders, on a supposition that resistance would not only be ineffectual and vain, but
might

might perhaps tend to their utter ruin, were easily persuaded to give up their property. In this manner was effected by Lycurgus that extraordinary division of lands, which banished from Lacedæmon all distinction and pre-eminence, excepting what virtue and merit naturally obtain.

This regulation, however, did not appear to introduce an equality sufficient between man and man. Lycurgus, therefore, withdrew all the silver and gold then in circulation, and permitted nothing but iron money to be given in exchange for every commodity. This coin was made of iron heated in the fire, and quenched in vinegar, in order to render it brittle, and unfit for any other use. From that time all commerce with foreign nations was annihilated, and the ships of another country never entered the ports of Laconia.

The next ordinance which the Spartan legislator established was, that all, even the kings themselves, should eat at public tables only, where moderation and frugality were to be exercised; and that thenceforth no man should be permitted to take his meals at home. This law was intended to destroy every the least desire of wealth, and to stop the progress of luxury. This innovation, however, was opposed by the people with the utmost violence, and a tumult ensued. Lycurgus found himself obliged to quit the assembly, and to flee to a sanctuary for protection. On this, Alcander, a young nobleman of a generous but hasty disposition, pursued him, and struck out one of his eyes. Lycurgus exhibited to the multitude his face covered with blood; at the sight of

which they immediately relented, entreated his forgiveness, and delivered up Alcander to punishment. But, instead of condemning him, Lycurgus, by affability and kindness, made Alcander become his most steady friend and strenuous partizan; and the change thus wrought in his opponent engaged the people to receive as oracles the instructions of this legislator.

Thus undaunted amidst the opposition with which he was encountered, Lycurgus proceeded in the business of reformation. We must, however, attribute it to the ignorance and barbarity of the age, that some of his laws so evidently militate against the feelings of humanity, and the ties of nature. All children, as soon as born, were commanded to be brought by their parents, and examined by persons appointed for that purpose. Those that were well made and vigorous were preserved; but such as were weak or deformed were exposed to perish at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. And, that prejudice and partiality might not impede the progress of reform, the children that were healthy, and deemed worthy of preservation, were committed to the care of nurses provided by the state. As no Lacedæmonian was permitted to have his children educated after his own manner, the boys, at the age of seven years, were sent to the public schools. Letters were taught them for use only, and not for ornament. They appreciated things solely by their utility; rejecting the vain and the specious. And therefore, if they wrote what could be read, or spoke that which might be understood, they judged it quite sufficient, and after more than

than this they did not seek. The masters endeavoured to give their pupils just ideas of men and of things; to avoid all matters of a trivial or abstruse nature; and to confine themselves to points of the highest importance in civil life. Harmless raillery was encouraged amongst the boys; and a quickness of wit and repartee was equally commended. Their bodily exercises were of the most violent nature; and the youths were particularly enjoined a fatiguing and laborious kind of life. Every art seems to have been made use of, to render them patient under the hardships that might happen to them. Theft was encouraged, in order to prepare their minds for the stratagems of war; but if they were caught in the fact, they were punished severely. Plutarch tells us of a boy, who had stolen a fox and hidden it under his coat, and who rather chose to suffer the animal to tear out his bowels, than to discover the theft. At thirty years of age, they were allowed to marry, to enter into the army, and to bear offices in the state.

The discipline enjoined the virgins was equally strict with that of the boys. They were accustomed to running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit and the javelin naked before all the citizens. Nor was this deemed indecent or disgraceful, as it might serve to check every lustful and inordinate desire. An education so manly could scarcely fail of producing manly sentiments. One of the Spartan women, whose son was going to battle, gave the shield to her son with this advice, *Return with it, or upon it*; implying, she had rather see him borne upon it dead, than that he should throw it from him in flight, or resign it to the enemy.

The cryptia, or secret act, was an institution most inhuman and detestable, by which the Lacedæmonians were permitted to kill the Helotes, or slaves, whenever they became too numerous. Plato justly condemns this law. Plutarch denies that it was made by Lycurgus; but Aristotle expressly charges it upon him.

Such was the general purport of the institutions of Lycurgus. If there be some laws among them which we cannot approve, there are others that appear highly meritorious; and they were, no doubt, on the whole calculated to change and meliorate the condition of the Lacedæmonians, and to make them a great and potent people.

When Lycurgus had thus perfected, as he imagined, the form of the commonwealth which he had planned, his thoughts were employed in rendering it fixed and stable. For this purpose he obliged the Lacedæmonians by an oath, that they should strictly adhere to the laws he had promulged, until his return from Delphi, whither he was going to consult the oracle, relative to something of which he would afterward inform them. Being arrived at Delphis, he inquired of the oracle, if the laws he had given the Lacedæmonians were sufficient to make them happy; and was answered, that nothing was wanting to render them perfect. This response he sent to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death. Different accounts are, however, given of the place and manner of his death. Some say he died in Crete, and that he commanded his ashes to be thrown into the sea, lest they should be afterward carried to
Sparta,

Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians thereby consider themselves released from their oath.

The state thus instituted was soon at war with the Messenians, a neighbouring people. The causes of this war are not certainly known; the Messenians accusing the Lacedæmonians of promoting it, and the Lacedæmonians retorting the charge. But as the assigned causes tend to mark the manners of the age, we shall briefly notice them. Some Spartan virgins had repaired to the temple of Diana, situated between Lacedæmonia and Messenia, and to which the inhabitants of both states were wont to resort. These virgins were violated by the Messenians; and Teleclus, one of the kings of Sparta, was slain in attempting their rescue. The Messenians, on the contrary, asserted that the pretended virgins were armed youths in disguise, who, with Teleclus, had come thither to assassinate their chiefs. To this quarrel another provocation was soon after added. Euphænus, a Lacedæmonian, had received some cattle into his pastures, belonging to a Messenian of high birth, named Polychares. Euphænus sold the cattle, and pretended they were lost. Polychares sent his son to receive the money for them; whereupon Euphænus caused him to be assassinated. The Messenian went several times to Sparta, to demand justice and redress, but experienced only insults and derisions. He therefore retaliated his wrongs upon the Lacedæmonians, and slew all of that kingdom, with whom he happened to meet. These private outrages naturally produced national animosity; and occasioned an open rupture between the two states. After expostulations had passed between the two kingdoms,

doms, a public war commenced, which private justice might have prevented. It was carried on for many years with various success, and the issue was doubtful. At length the Messenians, prompted by the desire of freeing themselves from an oppressive state of hostility, sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. The answer returned was, that a virgin of the royal family of Æpytus should be sacrificed to the gods, otherwise the utter ruin of the whole Messenian nation would inevitably follow. Upon this, lots were cast, and the daughter of Lyciscus was the virgin on whom the chance fell. She, however, being considered as suppositious, Aristodemus voluntarily offered his own daughter to be the devoted victim. But her lover, who was present, asserted, that the marriage between them was already consummated, and that she was with child by him. This enraged Aristodemus so much, that he instantly slew her; and, that he might vindicate the honour of his family, by proving the falsehood of his assertion, caused the body to be dissected. Public rejoicings followed the sacrifice of this virgin; and the Messenians concluded they should now be victors. After a war, however, of twenty years continuance, in which the Lacedæmonians and Messenians were by turns conquerors, Aristodemus, finding all things desperate, slew
 B. C. himself on the grave of his daughter;
 724. and the kingdom of Messenia became tributary to Sparta.

Among the events of this war, we must not omit to mention one, which, extraordinary as it may appear, is affirmed by many ancient writers to have been authentic. The absence of the Lacedæmonians

Lacedæmonians from Sparta, in consequence of the oath taken at the commencement of the war, not to return until their designs were accomplished, was for a long time supported by their wives with great fortitude. But after the lapse of several years, and there being no prospect that Messenia would be shortly subdued, the wives sent to represent to them how much they neglected the city. In consequence of this message, the Spartans decreed, that the Lacedæmonian youths who were under age, and had not bound themselves by the oath, should return to Sparta, and, associating themselves promiscuously with the young women, preserve the city from falling into decay. When the war was at length terminated, the offspring of these promiscuous embraces found themselves condemned by the other citizens. They thereupon joined in a revolt with the Helotes, some of whom, dreading the consequences, divulged the conspiracy. They were, therefore, permitted, under the conduct of their leader Phalantus, to sail to Italy, where they settled, and founded the city Tarentum.

After the Messenians had been tributaries to the Spartans for thirty-nine years, they endeavoured to shake off the yoke; and the Argians and Arcadians having promised them their assistance, the war was begun a second time. Aristomenes was commander of the Messénian forces. He defeated the Lacedæmonians in the first engagement, which continued for a long time, and was obstinately contested. The oracle being consulted, the Spartans were advised to seek a leader from Athens. The Athenians, envious of the glory of Lacedæmon,

dæmon, sent them Tyrtæus, a schoolmaster and poet, lame of one foot, and suspected of insanity. As soon as the Spartan kings appeared in the field, they offered the enemy battle; and were a second time routed by Aristomenes. A third defeat followed soon after. And the Spartans growing weary of the war, dissatisfied with their kings, and diffident of their own power, sunk into the greatest dejection and despondency. Now it was, that Tyrtæus became useful to them: he encouraged them by his poems; directed them by his counsels: and recruited their armies by men chosen from among the Helotes. The Messenians suffered a discomfiture soon after, in which their general Aristomenes was taken prisoner. With many others of his countrymen, he was thrown into a deep cavern; and was the only person not killed by the fall. Perceiving a fox gnawing a body near him, Aristomenes seized the animal by the tail and mouth, and followed him until he came to a small crevice, through which he forced himself, and opened a passage to the light. He was received with joy and amazement by the Messenians; and falling upon the Corinthians, at that time the allies of the Spartans, he put them completely to the rout. He was, however, seized again by some Cretans; but they being made drunk, he stabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his troops. He is said to have celebrated three times the hecatomphonia, or sacrifice appointed for those, who had killed a hundred of the enemies with their own hands. But he could not avert the ruin of his B. C. country. The city of Eira was taken, 664. and Messenia annexed to the Spartan territory.

territory. Tyrtæus, the Spartan general, was made free of their city, the highest honour they could confer; and Lacedæmon, by the accession of the Messenian country, became one of the most powerful states of all Greece, and inferior only to Athens.

CHAP. III.

The Government of Athens, from the Establishment of the Archons to the Expulsion of Hippias.

THOUGH the Athenians refused to have any other king but Jupiter, after the death of Codrus, they nevertheless made his son Medon their supreme magistrate, under the humbler title of Archon. This office was at first for life, but was afterward rendered decennial. The extinction of the family of Medon, however, gave the Athenians an opportunity of making the archonship annual. Nor did they commit

B. C. the whole power to one person, but cre-
634. ated nine archons yearly; and by these means made the supreme magistrate de-

pendent on the people. Before the time of

B. C. Draco, who succeeded to the archonship,
623. the Athenians had no written laws. He

therefore undertook to alter the judicature of his country, and to compose a code of laws. Every crime, from the most enormous to the most trifling, was considered as equally heinous, and therefore punished with death.

The severity of such a system defeated its own purposes. Aristotle tells us, Herodotus used to say, "That his institutions seemed rather to have

have come from a dragon than a man;" and Demades rendered himself famous by observing, "that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but with blood."

In this state of things, the character of Solon attracted the attention of all parties. Beloved by all for his private virtues, his wisdom and learning procured him the respect and admiration of the public. He was therefore advanced to the archontic office, with full

B. C. 594. power to reform the laws and constitution of the state. His friends advised him to endeavour to procure the regal power, but this he absolutely refused; alleging that "tyranny resembled a fair garden: it is a beautiful spot while we are within, but it wants a way to get out." Rejecting, therefore, the idea of royalty, he resolved to give the Athenians the best laws, which they were capable of receiving. Wherever he found things tolerable in the constitution, he refused to change them*; and was at considerable pains to explain the reason and necessity of the alterations he made; laying it down as a maxim, that those laws will be best observed, which power and justice equally support.

The first act of this great man, after he was advanced to his high office, was to cancel the laws of Draco, those only excepted which related to murder. He next abolished the debts of the poor, by a law of insolvency. To do this, however, with the least injury, he lowered

* How vastly would it have redounded to the honour of reformers in all ages, and to the happiness of individuals who are the victims of their innovations, had they carried in their minds, and adopted in their practice, the prudent caution of Solon!

the interest, and increased the value of money. In the midst of this transaction, some of his intimate friends, betraying the trust reposed in them by Solon, borrowed large sums of money, with which they purchased estates, before the edict was published. This fraud was, at first, supposed to have been by the connivance of Solon; but the suspicions were soon found to be without foundation, when he himself appeared to be a loser by the law he had passed.

He next proceeded to regulate the offices, employments, and magistracies of the state, all of which he committed to the care of the rich. But as the desire of Solon was to act with moderation and prudence, while he intrusted the execution of the government to the nobles, the supreme power was placed in the people. For this purpose, he distributed the Athenians into four classes: those that were possessed of five hundred measures yearly, whether of corn or liquids, were placed in the first rank, and paid an annual sum of money to the public treasury. The second class consisted of those who were worth three hundred measures. And those that had two hundred measures, and not more, constituted the third rank. The fourth and last class, comprehended all those whose incomes did not amount to two hundred measures; and to them no office or employment in the state was assigned. They had, however, the power of voting in the general assembly of the nation; and though this was at first considered as a matter of little or no importance, it was afterward found to be productive of the greatest advantages to the people. For, as Solon had purposely drawn up his laws in obscure and ambiguous

biguous terms, an appeal from the decisions of the magistrates to the general assembly of the nation was always permitted; and therefore, in process of time, all affairs of importance came before them, and awaited their ultimate decision.

But, in order to guard against the influence of this democracy, he conferred greater power on the court of Areopagus, which had been deprived of much of its authority during the archonship of Draco. Before the time of Solon, the Areopagus was composed of persons conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity. But he passed a law, that none should be created members of this court, unless they had previously filled the office of archon. This had the desired effect; and the reputation of this tribunal was thereby raised to such a height, that, for several ages, the judgment and integrity of its decisions were never called in question. The power of the Areopagus was very great; and it is said to have been the first court that ever sat upon life and death. It was the custom, to hold their sittings in the night only, and without light. The purpose of this singularity is said to have been, that the members might not be prejudiced for, or against, any accused persons, by seeing their gestures and their looks. Truth only was regarded; and no attempt to warp the opinion of the judges was permitted. Solon also formed a senate, to consist of four hundred persons. These had the cognizance of all appeals from the Areopagus, and the examination of all causes, before they could be proposed to the general assembly of the nation.

Such

Such were the general institutions which Solon established for the government of Athens. The particular laws, which this legislator enacted, were more numerous. In the first place, all those who, in an insurrection or schism of the people, should retire from the evils which had fallen upon their country, and observe a blamable and dangerous neutrality, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and their estates and property were confiscated. This law has been highly and justly commended, as tending to bring matters to a speedy and safe conclusion, and deterring the seditious from exciting discord and dissension in the state. For, as honest and good men would naturally espouse the part of those who appeared to act conscientiously and uprightly, the wicked and factious would dread their opposition. And, by making every man considered as an enemy to his country, who should appear indifferent and unconcerned in times of public danger and tumult, he consulted the good of the state, and provided against the most pressing emergencies.

He abolished the custom of giving portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no more with her than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of trifling value. The intent of Solon by this was, to render marriage no longer a traffic; but to promote a union of congenial minds and mutual affection.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to enter into any farther details of the subordinate institutions of this legislator. They have since become the basis of the civil law of Europe; and

we may with reason affirm, that his constitutions are still partly in force.

After his laws had been promulged, persons were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter certain particular parts, according to their own humour or interest. Wearied, therefore, with these importunities, and to afford means to his great work of settling into firmness, Solon determined to travel; and having bound the Athenians by an oath, that his institutions should be changed in no part for the space of ten years, he departed on his journey.

Soon after Solon had left Athens, three different parties appeared among the people: those of the highlands, the lowlands, and the coast. They inflamed the minds of the Athenians against one another, and endeavoured to subvert and usurp the government. Lycurgus was at the head of the country people; Megacles was the chief of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast; and Pisistratus, in order, as he pretended, to protect those in the highlands from tyranny, declared himself their leader.

Pisistratus was of these the most powerful. He was courteous and affable, generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. Two or three slaves constantly attended him, with bags of silver and gold; and when he saw any one out of health, or heard of a person dying insolvent, he was ready to do every thing in his power to relieve him. He appeared to be a lover of equal rights, and of the constitution. Solon, however, saw through his dissimulation, and was wont to say, "Sir, were it
" not

“not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in Athens.” This man was at the eve of success, and upon the very point of attaining the summit of his ambition, when Solon, after an absence of ten years, returned to Athens. All the factions pretended the greatest reverence and respect for their legislator, and requested him to resume his authority, and to compose the differences in the state. He left no means untried to bring the chiefs and their followers to reason, and to moderate the spirit of opposition; but in vain. Solon, now arrived at an advanced age, was not able to quell the factions, and direct the helm of government in the storm: and Pisistratus, by artifice and duplicity, became master of the commonwealth. Having

B.C. purposely wounded himself, he drove his
561. chariot into the market-place, as if pursued by his enemies; and, exhibiting his mangled and bleeding body to the populace, requested their protection. A general assembly was immediately convened, and Ariston, one of his partisans, proposed to decree a guard of fifty men for the security of the friend of the people, and the martyr of their cause. Solon opposed the motion as much as he was able; but finding his efforts were vain and fruitless, he withdrew. And so great was the popularity of Pisistratus, and such the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, that the proposal of Ariston was immediately agreed to. Having obtained the guards, which was all that he aimed at, he seized the citadel, and assumed the sovereignty of Athens.

Pisistratus, however, did not change any thing in the Athenian constitution. On the contrary,

he endeavoured with all his power, to provide for the better execution of the laws. Nor did he lose any of that moderation, for which he had before been so remarkable. And not only the assembly, council, magistracies, and courts of justice, remained with their full constitutional powers, but Pisistratus is said to have shown his respect for the laws, by obeying a citation from the Areopagus on a charge of murder.

Solon did not survive the assumption of the regal power by Pisistratus, above two years. He died at Cyprus, in the eightieth year of his age. After his death, the Athenians paid him the highest honours, and erected in the forum, and at Salamis (of which he was a native), a statue of him in brass, with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he was accustomed to harangue the people. Beside knowledge of legislation, he was a very eloquent speaker, and excellent in poetry.

After the death of Solon, Megacles and Lycurgus, the chiefs of the other factions, who had been disappointed in their designs upon the government, uniting their interests together, drove Pisistratus from Athens. Megacles, however, finding his hopes a second time blasted by the faction of Lycurgus, offered to reinstate Pisistratus in his kingdom, provided he would marry his daughter. To this proposal Pisistratus readily assented; but a majority in the Athenian assembly must be obtained, otherwise this compact would avail little. To effect this, therefore, a very ridiculous project was resolved to be attempted. They found, we are told, a woman, whose name was Phya, the daughter of Socrates, a man of mean family and fortune. This woman,

man, being of a prodigious size and very handsome, they placed in a chariot dressed in armour; and having made her appear to all possible advantage, conducted her towards the city, and sent heralds before to address the people in these words, "Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to Pisistratus, whom Minerva honours so much, that she condescends to bring him back to the citadel." When the heralds had published this intimation in several parts of the city, the multitude believing the woman to be the goddess Minerva, worshipped her, and received Pisistratus, who thus recovered the sovereignty.

After this, however, he was deposed by Megacles, with whom he had quarrelled about domestic affairs. Retiring, therefore, to Eretria, in Eubœa, with his two sons, he consulted the means of recovering the kingdom. Hippias proposed to his father to attempt Athens by force of arms. This was accordingly agreed upon, and some of the other Grecian states affording him their assistance, he defeated the Athenians in an engagement, and a third time possessed himself of the sovereignty.

Some anecdotes are related of Pisistratus, which are creditable to him. Certain young men, that had been drinking at a feast, in their return home met the wife of Pisistratus, and grossly insulted her. The next day, however, reflecting upon what they had done, they went in the most humble manner to entreat forgiveness. Pisistratus heard their apology very graciously, and then said, "Gentlemen, I would advise you to behave more modestly for the future; but as for my wife, she was not abroad yesterday."

“yesterday.” It happened once that Pisistratus, who, as prince of Athens, received the tenth part of every man’s rents, and of the fruits of his ground, perceived an old man gathering something amongst the rocks. He inquired of the man what he was doing, and what were the fruits of his labours. “Troubles and a few plants of wild sage,” replied he, “and of these Pisistratus must have the tenth.” Pisistratus said no more, but when he returned to the city, he exempted him from paying this duty. This prince was eminent also for his love of learning and of the fine arts. He was the first that built a library for public inspection; and by him the poems of Homer were collected and digested into that order, in which we have them at present. Cicero speaks of him as the first model of that eloquence in which Greece so eminently excelled. He adorned the city with the most splendid buildings: and he continued to direct the government of Athens with wisdom and ability, and died at an advanced age in peace.

B.C. Upon the death of Pisistratus, Hippias
527. and Hipparchus, his sons, succeeded to the government. They appeared to inherit all their father’s virtues; and greatly favoured learning, and learned men. Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Cea, were invited to Athens, and maintained there. Hipparchus directed the rhapsodists, or professional bards, to recite the poems of Homer, at the great feast Panathenæa, that the people might be instructed in the sciences, and the moral conduct of life. And so assiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the Athenians, that he caused statues of Mercury to be set up in different

rent places, on which were inscribed short moral sentences. Hipparchus was slain by a B.C. conspiracy. The circumstances that oc-
512. casioned his death, are wrapt in inexplicable mystery. Certain however it is, that the motives which impelled to this act were of a private, not a public nature. Aristogiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, determined the death of the two brothers. They resolved to put their design in execution at the feast Panathenæa, when, as all the citizens were wont to go armed, their arms would not excite suspicion. Hippias was to have been slain first, but seeing him engaged in discourse with one of the conspirators, they dreaded that all was discovered. Taking courage, therefore, from the supposed desperateness of their condition, they attacked Hipparchus, and dispatched him. Harmodius was killed by the guard of Hipparchus; and Aristogiton, being taken by the people, was delivered into the power of Hippias.

All those whom he suspected of being privy to this design, Hippias caused to be apprehended; and as the supreme power was now lodged in his own hands, he treated the people with a severity unknown before. The effects of this change in his temper naturally fell, in the first place, on those concerned in the conspiracy. He commanded Aristogiton to be put to the torture, that he might extort from him the names of the other conspirators. This man, as soon as he felt the torments prepared for him, mentioned some of Hippias's best friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the same fate; and when

when Hippias asked him, if there were not still others, he replied smiling, "I know of no one now, but yourself, that deserves to suffer death." Leæna also, a woman that lived with him, behaved with no less intrepidity. Hippias having directed her to be tortured, she bore the pain very patiently for a considerable time; but when she could endure it no longer, she bit off her tongue, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing injurious to the man she loved. The Athenians, who always honoured virtue, would not permit the memory of this action to be forgotten. They erected a statue, on which was represented a lioness without a tongue.

This conspiracy being, as Hippias conceived, completely terminated, he endeavoured to secure himself in the possession of his dignity, by all the measures which human policy and invention could possibly suggest. He contracted friendship and alliances with foreign princes, and married his daughter to the son of the tyrant of Lampsachus. After having thus strengthened his power, he increased his revenues by various methods, and obliged the Athenians to bring in their silver and gold at a certain price. These violent and oppressive modes of proceeding rendered Hippias and his government odious and detested.

In the mean time the Alcmaeonids, ejected by Pisistratus, had become numerous and wealthy, and resided at Lipsydrium. This family and their partisans were always contriving means for recovering Athens, and expelling the tyrants from that state. It happened that the temple at Delphi was burnt. They agreed with the amphictyonic

phictyonic council, to rebuild it; and being possessed of great riches, they executed their undertaking with more munificence than the contract required, and fronted the temple with Parian marble. This liberality had the desired effect: the pythia was corrupted, and engaged in all her oracles, to conclude her answers to the supplicants from Lacedæmon, with an admonition to the Spartans to procure the liberty of Athens. The Lacedæmonians finding this advice incessantly inculcated, and though the family of Pisistratus was at that time their friends and allies, Athens was invaded. Their first attempt was unsuccessful: but the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedæmonians, irritated by their defeat, prepared in earnest for revenge. They sent a larger army, which, being joined by the Alcæmonids, laid siege to Athens. The Athenians attempted to send their children out of the garrison to a place of safety; but the Lacedæmonians made them prisoners. Hippias and his partisans not being able by any other means to procure them their liberty, consented to surrender Athens, and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium

B.C. on the Hellespont, which had been conquered by his father Pisistratus, and was
509. under the government of Hegistratus; and Athens once more recovered its liberty. The Alcæmonids were chiefly instrumental in this change; but the Athenians considered themselves under greater obligations to the two friends, who had first conspired against the tyrants. The names of Aristogiton and Harmodius were held in the highest reverence, in all succeeding ages; and statues to their memory were erected
in

in the market-place, an honour never granted to any before ; and from them the people caught that innate love of freedom, that deep hatred of tyranny, which neither time nor terrors could ever after efface.

CHAP. IV.

The Transactions of Greece, from the Expulsion of Hippias, to the Death of Darius.

THE Lacedæmonians were, at this time, at the head of the Grecian states. Obligated by the constitution of their government to submit to a singular kind of monkish poverty, their ambition knew no bounds. The conquest of Messenia, their ancient alliance with Corinth, and their superiority in power over the rest of the neighbouring communities, enabled them, in a great measure, to command the whole of Peloponnesus. Still, however, they permitted no opportunity to pass, which might serve to extend their influence, and increase their dominion. Whenever the Grecian states had war with one another, or internal sedition agitated any of them, the Lacedæmonians were always ready to offer themselves as mediators between the contending parties. The business of their interference was generally conducted with wisdom, and an appearance of moderation. But they never lost sight of the great end for which their services were offered ; and always endeavoured to extend their authority, or the influence of their state. To every community, in which their assistance was

was for any purpose requested, they attempted to give an oligarchical form of government ; for in almost every one of the Grecian states, an aristocratical and a democratical faction existed ; and the Lacedæmonians were sensible, that a few chiefs, indebted to them for their situation, and which they should be unable to retain without their assistance, would be the most likely to oblige that state to become subject to Sparta, under the more honourable name of alliance.

The same policy it was proposed to pursue with respect to Athens, and the factions that arose there appeared to give a sufficient opportunity for effecting it. By the late revolution in affairs, Clisthenes son of Megacles, and the most eminent of the Alcæonids, became, of course, the first personage in the commonwealth. Isagoras, however, a man of birth and fortune, and respected by the nobility of Athens, opposed Clisthenes. But the latter, being a favourite of the people, contrived to divide the establishment into ten tribes, instead of four, of which it formerly consisted ; and also increased the number of the senate to five hundred persons. Isagoras perceiving the intent of this change in the constitution, applied to Lacedæmon for assistance. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, immediately commanded the Athenians to banish all the Alcæonids, otherwise war should be declared against Athens. Clisthenes obeyed the decree. Encouraged therefore by this proof of respect, Cleomenes marched an army to Athens, and banished at once seven hundred families. He then proceeded to dissolve the council appointed by Clisthenes, and to commit the commonwealth to the care of three hun-

dred persons, all of them partizans of Isagoras. But the Athenians, being sensible they must either submit to slavery, or resist the Lacedæmonians, flew to arms, and obliged Cleomenes and Isagoras to retire to the citadel, where they were besieged two days, and then surrendered. After Cleomenes and Isagoras had departed from the city, Clisthenes and the banished families were immediately recalled.

The Lacedæmonians repenting the services they had rendered Athens, and perceiving the sinister designs of the Delphic oracle, were desirous of restoring Hippias again to the sovereignty. He was accordingly sent for from Sigæum, and after a long voyage arrived at Lacedæmon, where the Spartan kings, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, held a consultation. Sosicles, the Corinthian, however, harangued most eloquently against the proposition for restoring Hippias; and influenced the deputies of the other states so much, that the Lacedæmonians were constrained to abandon Hippias and his cause for ever.

The Ionians being at war with the Persians, they sent to Athens to request assistance; whereupon Melanthius, an Athenian nobleman, was dispatched with a fleet of ships to Ionia. By the help of these, great exploits were performed, and the Ionians sacked Sardis. When the Persian king heard of this, he declared himself the enemy of Athens, and earnestly desired he might at some time have it in his power to revenge the injury. The Ionians were soon after reduced to the subjection of Darius.

Hippias therefore, being disappointed of the hope held out to him by the Lacedæmonians,
went

went over into Asia ; and applying to Artaphernes, governor of the adjacent provinces belonging to the Persian king, promised him, if he would restore him to his former authority at Athens, that he would thenceforth be obedient and tributary to Darius. The Athenians, in the meanwhile, not ignorant of the journey or proposals of Hippias, sent ambassadors to Artaphernes, entreating him to give no attention to Hippias, but to suffer the people of Athens to remain free and undisturbed in their present situation. This nobleman, however, conceiving that it would be more advantageous to Darius if Athens should be under a regal, than a democratical government, answered the ambassadors, that if the Athenians would be safe, they must receive Hippias as their king. The return of these ambassadors occasioned a ferment in Athens. Universal indignation, not unaccompanied with a fear for the safety and liberty of their country, was immediately excited.

When the news arrived, that the Persian had in view the conquest of Greece, the Athenians and inhabitants of Egina, with others of the Grecian states, wisely compromised some differences that had arisen amongst them, and which had produced some inconsiderable engagements, that they might exert all their force against the common enemy.

In the mean time, Darius desisted not from his design of undertaking an expedition against Greece, that he might gratify his revenge for the insults and injuries received from the Athenians. Mardonius was accordingly appointed commander of a fleet and army destined to attack Greece ; but being unskilful, he lost many

of his ships in a violent tempest, as they were sailing round a point of land, formed by Mount Athos; and his troops, in passing through Thrace, were attacked by the inhabitants of that country in the night, and great numbers of them slain. This expedition having failed by means of these two disasters, Mardonius was compelled to relinquish the enterprise, and to return home.

Darius now, wishing to know which of the Grecian states he might consider as friends or foes, dispatched heralds to the several communities of Greece, to demand of them "earth and water,"* as tokens of their submission to his government. To this haughty claim of the Persian monarch, many towns on the continent, and most of the islands, acceded. But at Sparta and Athens, a determined refusal was not only given, but the public indignation was vented against the Persian heralds, one of whom was thrown into a pit, the other into a well, and they were told to take their "earth and water there."

Darius finding that this limited undertaking would have great obstacles to contend with, before Greece could be conquered, increased his armament to five hundred ships, and five hundred thousand men; and gave the command to

B. C. Datis and Artaphernes. This expedition
496. accordingly set sail; and Hippias, now an old man, served as guide and conductor. The conquest of Greece being the only and the avowed object, it was resolved to avoid the circuitous rout, which Mardonius pursued. They therefore drew their forces into the plains of Cilicia, and thence passed through the Cyclades

* An ancient mode of claiming superiority on one side, and acknowledging subjection on the other.

des to Eubœa. As soon however as the Persian fleet was descried by the inhabitants of Eretria, they sent to demand the assistance of Athens. That state immediately ordered four thousand men to their aid. But the Eretrians were divided amongst themselves ; and after resisting the enemy six days, the place was betrayed to the Persians, who pillaged and burnt the city, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, according to the command of Darius. Previously to this, Æschines, the son of Nothon, seeing all hopes of defending Eretria useless, advised the commanders of the Athenian troops to return home, and reserve themselves for the defence of their native country. In consequence of this advice, they crossed to Oropus, and arrived safe in Attica.

The Persian generals allowed very little respite to their troops, before they advanced against Athens. In this alarming situation, no measures had been concerted for general security ; and the enemy passed into Greece before any common defence had been proposed. The Athenians mustered all their forces, which, when joined by one thousand Platæans, did not amount to more than ten thousand men. These troops were commanded by ten general officers, possessing equal power ; amongst whom were Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, men of distinguished valour and abilities. But conceiving that it would be utterly impossible for this small number of forces to withstand the Persian army, they sent to Sparta, to request the immediate assistance of that state. The Lacedæmonians on this emergency readily agreed to the proposal ; and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the same time declared, that, on account

of a law, prohibiting the commencement of an expedition, except at the full of the moon, they could not depart within five days. In the meantime, Hippias having informed the Persians, that Marathon was an extensive plain, where their horse might be able to act with the greatest advantage, they marched thither. And the Athenians, being apprised of the enemy's motions, commanded their troops to the same place.

As soon as the Greeks came within sight of the Persian army, and the plains of Marathon, Miltiades determined on an immediate attack. In this he was joined by Callimachus, the polemarch; who, according to the laws of the Athenians, had the supreme power over the forces and generals. Each of the generals commanded by turns; but Aristides permitting Miltiades to command in his place, the rest followed his example. Miltiades accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but would not engage till it was his proper turn to take the command. When that day arrived, without waiting for more assistance, he disposed his troops in order of battle, and placed his forces principally in the wings. Finding the Athenians extremely animated, he commanded them to lay aside their missile weapons, to advance down the hill with great rapidity, and to engage the enemy in close fight. This order was instantly and cheerfully obeyed. The Persians, who had not been accustomed to receive the onset of the enemy, imputed this attack to the folly of the Athenians, and their ignorance of military discipline; and what served to corroborate this opinion was, that neither horse nor pikemen appeared amongst them. The effect of the shock, however, proved the wisdom of the plan.

plan. For, though the Asiatic horse was reckoned formidable in champaign countries, yet in this confined plain, and encumbered with a numerous infantry, it was unable to act with advantage. The battle was a long time contested; but at length the Persians perceiving the centre of the Athenian army weak, attacked it with great force, and broke through the line. This disaster those on the right and left were sensible of, but did not attempt to remedy, until they had put the enemies to flight. Then joining their divided forces, they met the conquering centre of the Persian army, defeated it, and following to the shore the fleeing enemy, made a very dreadful slaughter. The Persians hurried on board their fleet; but the Athenians took seven galleys, and destroyed several others. The Persians lost, according to Herodotus, six thousand three hundred men, and the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two; but amongst the latter were some of the most eminent men in the commonwealth. Every one indeed seemed emulous to save their country, and to share the glory of the battle; and the highest praise is due to the valour of the Athenian troops. "The Athenians who fought at Marathon," says the Greek historian, "were the first among the Greeks known to have used running, for the purpose of coming at once to close fight; and they were the first who withstood (in the field) even the sight of the Median dress, and of the men who wore it; for hitherto the very name of the Medes and Persians had been a terror to the Greeks." Justin says, that Cynegyrus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, having performed prodigies of valour in the battle, pursued the Persians to the shore,

shore, and laid hold of a ship which was ready to sail with his right hand. Some of the enemy seeing this, cut it off, on which he seized it with his left; and being deprived of that also, he fastened his teeth in it, and thus expired. The same author tells us, that Hippias, who expected to have been restored to the kingdom of Athens by the power of the Persians, perished in this engagement; but others relate that he escaped, and died miserably at Lemnos.

The collective accounts that are given of this battle seem sufficiently consistent, to engage us to confide in the general veracity of the historians. The greatest inconsistency would seem in the small number of the Athenians, that are reported to have been slain, contrasted with the slaughter of the Persians. But this is not improbable; and in authentic accounts of battles in different ages, as great a disparity of numbers has appeared.

After the battle of Marathon, however, the Persian armament was still formidable; nor was Athens, by the effects of this glorious victory, immediately delivered from the danger with which it was menaced. The Persian commander, in hopes of carrying the city by a sudden assault, doubled cape Sunium, and bore away for Athens. But Miltiades, seeing the danger of his countrymen, and leaving Aristides with a thousand troops to guard the prisoners and spoils, marched, in all haste, the rest of the forces, and arrived at a small distance from the city before the enemy was in a condition to attack it. As soon as the Persian admiral had notice that Miltiades and the Athenians were so near, he weighed anchor from Phalerum, and steered

steered for Asia, without attempting any thing farther. The Eretrians, who had been made prisoners, Darius settled on an estate, about twenty-four miles from his capital.

No sooner was Athens delivered by the victory of Marathon from impending destruction, than the Athenians meditated revenge on those islands, which had exerted themselves in the cause of Persia. For this purpose, they fitted out a fleet of seventy ships, to exact fines from them for their delinquency, or to punish them in a different manner according to circumstances. Of this fleet Miltiades was appointed commander. He first sailed to the island of Paros, demanded a hundred talents to be paid him; and in case of refusal, threatened to besiege and plunder the city. The Parians, however, were not to be terrified. They even refused to deliberate on what he proposed, and prepared for an obstinate and vigorous defence. Miltiades accordingly invested the city; but after encamping before it for twenty-six days, he accidentally received a wound, and was obliged to raise the siege.

On his return, the whole city began to murmur. Xanthippus, one of the principal men in Athens, and father of the famous Pericles, accused him of having deceived the Athenians; and demanded that the general assembly of the people should pass sentence of death upon him. Miltiades could not appear in the assembly on account of his wound; and, therefore, his brother pleaded for him. He was acquitted of any capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty thousand talents, the expence of the Parian expedition. Not able immediately to discharge so large a sum, he was cast into prison; and his wound

wound mortifying, he died there. The glory of Miltiades, however, survived the life of that hero; and though the Athenians were unjust to his person, they were not unmindful of his fame. At the distance of half a century, the battle of Marathon was painted by order of the state, and the figure of Miltiades was placed in the foreground, animating the troops to victory.

After the Athenians were freed from all apprehensions of foreign invasion, they became, as is too frequently seen in the annals of nations, disunited amongst themselves; and were divided in opinion, whether Athens should be under an aristocratical or democratical form of government. Aristides espoused the sentiments of the one party, and Themistocles those of the opposite faction. They were nearly of the same age, and equally noble; and though not of royal descent, were in the first rank of citizens. They had likewise both been named among the generals that commanded at the battle of Marathon. The disinterestedness of Aristides, on this memorable occasion, has been already noticed; and it afforded a promise of his future fame. Formed in the celebrated schools of moral and political knowledge, which at that time existed in Athens, he had been taught to prefer glory to pleasure; the interest of his country to his own personal safety and reputation; and the dictates of justice and humanity to every other consideration. His ambition seemed more desirous of deserving, than acquiring, the esteem and applause of his fellow citizens; and while he enjoyed the inward satisfaction of a pure and upright intention, he was little solicitous to obtain the external rewards of virtuous exertions. The character of Themistocles

Themistocles was more dubious. The glory and fame, which Miltiades acquired in the battle of Marathon, disturbed his quiet, and excited his jealousy. He was inflamed with ambitious designs; and was desirous of performing great and martial exploits. He was eloquent, active, and enterprising, and had strengthened his natural endowments by the acquisition of science. The laws, government, revenue, and military discipline of his country, were the great objects of his study. In defending his friends, or accusing his enemies, the courts of justice afforded him opportunities of displaying his abilities, and he was generally successful. Whatever matter came before the public assembly, he was the first to discuss and deliberate upon it: and his advice, founded on a just knowledge of men and of things, and assisted by all the arts of eloquence, commonly prevailed. Nevertheless, with all these great and shining qualities, his mind was less smitten with the native charms of virtue, than captivated with her splendid and external attractions. Glory was the idol of his heart; the divinity to which he paid unceasing homage.

Such were the two men, who were then at the head of affairs in the Athenian commonwealth. Aristides saw the danger of allowing to Themistocles, whose virtue was equivocal, the sole management of the republic. He therefore opposed every measure that could contribute to the elevation of a man, who, by means of his abilities and thirst of glory, might possibly subvert the government of his country. But the interest of Themistocles prevailed over that of his rival; and he had the address to procure a nomination to the command of a fleet, destined to act against those islands in the *Ægean* sea, that had put themselves

themselves under the protection of Persia, and to chastise which Miltiades had before attempted, but was unsuccessful. Whilst Themistocles gained honour and fortune abroad, Aristides increased his popularity at home. The splendid eloquence and engaging manners of his rival were not now opposed against the stern but inflexible integrity of Aristides, and he therefore became the chief leader of the people. His conduct was so exemplary and upright, that he acquired the surname of *Just*, and was considered by the Athenians, as the most worthy and virtuous citizen in the state.

Such was the situation of Aristides, when Themistocles returned triumphant from his naval expedition. Fully sensible of the caprice and inconstancy of the people, he conceived it would be no difficult task to destroy a rival, who had attained so great a reputation as Aristides now possessed. Insinuating therefore, that Aristides had acquired an undue influence in the state, which was inconsistent with the liberty of the Athenians; and that by assuming to himself the arbitration of all differences and disputes, he had silently and imperceptibly established a monarchy, without pomp or guards, Themistocles irritated the people against his rival. Suddenly, and when it was least expected, the multitude flocked to the forum, and demanded the ostracism. Aristides, trusting to the innocence and integrity of his heart, disdained to employ any unworthy means for gaining the favour, or averting the resentment of his fellow-citizens. One of the countrymen, who could neither read nor write, brought his shell to Aristides, and said, "Write me Aristides upon this." Aristides, astonished at the request of the man, asked him

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him if he knew any injustice done by that Athenian ; or, if he had ever received any injury from him. " No," replied the countryman, " I do not even know him ; but I am grieved to hear him so much praised." Aristides, without saying any thing more, took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it. He gave however a still stronger proof than this of the firmness of his mind. When he was informed by the magistrates, that the ostracism had fallen upon him, he modestly retired from the forum ; and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said, " I beseech the gods, that the Athenians may never be obliged to remember Aristides."

After the banishment of Aristides, the Athenians were still more exposed to the danger, which this severe measure was intended to remove. Themistocles, however, was called to the task of fighting the enemies of his country, which in all probability tended to preserve the liberty of the state. *Ægina*, an island in the *Ægean*, which was in alliance with Persia, covered the sea with her fleets, and bid defiance to Athens. Themistocles, therefore, advised his countrymen to augment their navy, and endeavour to destroy the fleet of *Ægina*. The proposal was approved, and adopted immediately ; a hundred galleys were equipped ; and the naval strength of *Ægina* was broken. Success animating the Athenians, they engaged the Corcyreans in a naval battle, and proving victorious obtained the empire of the seas. Thus, by the prudence of her commanders and the valour of her troops, Athens obtained a superiority over her foes on both elements, notwithstanding her intestine broils.

CHAP. V.

The Grecian Affairs, from the Accession of Xerxes to the Throne of Persia, to the Return of that Monarch into Asia, after his Expedition against Greece.

THE Spartans had now for a long time maintained an unrivalled superiority in Peloponnesus; and the unequal and unfortunate opposition of the Archives had no other effect, but to confirm the pre-eminence of the Lacedæmonians, and to depress themselves. The Corinthians and Achæans, the inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia, had occasional hostilities with the Spartan state, and with one another; but their contests were not attended with any considerable or permanent effects. Cleomenes and Demaratus, kings of Sparta, had disagreed, and, by the intrigues of the former, the latter was unjustly deposed from the royal dignity. Leotychidas, his kinsman and successor, insulted his misfortunes, and Demaratus, unable to endure contempt in a country where he had possessed a crown, sought for that protection, which the Greeks denied him, from the power and resentment of the Persian monarch. Of the republics beyond the isthmus, the Phocians had no other aim than to enjoy in tranquillity the splendor and riches derived to them from the celebrated temple at Delphos. The Thessalians, however, a numerous and warlike people, frequently invaded their territory. The Thebans maintained and extended their usurpations over the smaller cities of Bœotia; and seemed to rejoice that the
command

command of the sea, and the recovery of distant islands, engrossed the attention of the Athenians so much, that they had not time minutely to consider the affairs of the continent. The smaller and more inconsiderable republics followed the fortunes of their powerful neighbours. Persia had reduced the Asiatic Greeks, and Macedon paid tribute to Xerxes. But the African colonies maintained their independence.

Themistocles, who, according to Thucydides, was not less sagacious in foreseeing the future, than skilful in managing the present, declared it to be his opinion, that the battle of Marathon was not the end of the war, but only the prelude to new and more glorious contests. This was subsequently verified. The Persian arms, after the expedition against Greece, had been employed in reducing the revolted colonies. The three last years of Darius were spent in making preparations for a new and formidable expedition against Greece. For the Persians, we are told, had not often experienced such insults as the burning of Sardis, or such defeats as the battle of Marathon. Nine years had elapsed since this famous battle, and Xerxes, the successor of Darius, was in the fourth year of his reign, when he found himself complete master of the east, and possessed of a fleet and army that flattered him with universal empire. After his accession to the throne, inheriting with the sceptre his father's thirst of revenge against Greece, he had dedicated the early years of his reign to the purpose of continuing and augmenting the preparations against that country; and, amidst his various wars and pleasures, he employed all the artisans he could procure, in fitting

out an armament adequate to the extent of his ambition. Twelve hundred ships of war, and three thousand ships of burden, were at length completed. The former were stronger and larger than any before seen in the ancient world. They carried, on board, at a medium, two hundred seamen, and thirty Persians, who served as marines. The ships of burden contained eighty men. And the whole, amounting to four thousand two hundred ships, and about five hundred thousand men, were ordered to rendezvous in

B. C. the most secure roads and harbours of
481. Ionia, whither they proceeded. We are not informed of the exact number of the land forces; but it is certain, that they were extremely numerous, and probably increased on the march between Susa and Sardis, by the confluence of tributary nations to the imperial standard of Xerxes.

It is said, indeed, that, when the army had attained its full complement of men, it consisted of seventeen hundred thousand infantry, and four hundred thousand cavalry, which, with the fleet, made the whole forces amount to near two millions of fighting men. Besides these, an immense crowd of women and eunuchs followed the camp of this effeminate people, which, with the slaves, equalled, perhaps exceeded, the number of the soldiers; and therefore, according to the universal opinion of ancient historians, the army of Xerxes was the greatest ever collected.

B. C. Xerxes having wintered his forces at
480. Sardis, sent messengers early in the spring, with a Greek interpreter, to the several republics of Greece, to demand "earth and water," as tokens of their submission.
The

The Athenians seized the interpreter, and caused him to be put to death, for presuming to publish the decrees of the Persian king in the Greek language. Arthemius also, having received large sums of money from Xerxes, and endeavouring to corrupt some of the principal persons of Athens, was banished from the republic by sound of trumpet, and his family degraded. When it was evident, however, that the king of Persia was about to enter Greece in person, with a prodigious army, a general assembly of the Grecian states was held at the isthmus, and the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to: "That the states of Greece would unite to defend their liberty against the Persians; that all quarrels among themselves should at present be suspended; and that of those, who deserted the common cause, a tenth part should suffer death without mercy."

When the news arrived at Athens, that the Persians were about to invade Greece by the straits of Thermopylæ; and that, for this purpose, they were transporting their forces by sea; Themistocles advised his countrymen to leave their city, embark on board the gallies, and meet the enemies at a distance from the Grecian coast. To this expedient the Athenians would not consent. He therefore put himself at the head of the Athenian forces, and joining the army of the Lacedæmonians, marched toward Tempe. In the mean while, the Thessalians, who would first be encountered by the forces of Xerxes, had sent to request the assistance of the Greeks, and to beg of them to hasten their preparations. This they accordingly did; but Thessaly being a plain country, there could be

no hopes of opposing such multitudes of men with a handful of troops, especially as the princes of Thessaly were not to be depended on, and many of the passes into that country were in the hands of the king of Macedon. But, as the allied states were acquainted with only one pass, by which the Persians could penetrate into Greece, they were of opinion, that a body of eight thousand pikemen might be equally as capable as a larger proportion of troops, to defend it against every invader. This narrow defile had the appellation of the straits of Thermopylæ, from the warm springs in that neighbourhood, and was considered as the gate or entrance into Greece. It was bounded on the west by high and inaccessible precipices, which join the lofty ridge of mount Oeta; and on the east terminated by an impracticable morass, that was bordered by the sea. Near the plain of Trachis, a Thessalian city, the passage was fifty feet in breadth; but at Alpene, one chariot could not pass another. These passages were defended by walls, formerly built by the Phocians to protect them against their Thessalian enemies: and the Greeks had strengthened them on the present occasion, with as much care as the time and other circumstances would permit. The troops sent to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, not far distant from the Grecian fleet stationed at Artemisium, consisted chiefly of Peloponnesians, under the command of Leonidas, the Spartan king; who, in obedience to the demands of the oracle, was prepared to devote his life for the safety of his country. Leonidas being asked by some of the principal persons, if he had not some secret design, frankly answered, "I pre-
"tend

“tend to defend the straits of Thermopylæ; but
“in truth I go to die for my country.” And
when they still wondered, that he took only three
hundred Spartans with him, he turned to those
to whom he had communicated his secret, and
said, “Considering the design on which we go,
“this number is sufficient.”

Before, however, these vigorous measures of
the Grecian confederates had been adopted and
put in execution, Xerxes had marched his army
from Thrace in three divisions; but did not ar-
rive on the extensive plains of Trachis, which,
stretching along the shore of Thessaly, forty
miles in circumference, were opposite to the
station of the Persian fleet, and adjacent to
Thermopylæ, before the Greeks had reached
these straits. The Persian monarch, under-
standing that an army of Greeks, headed by the
king of Sparta, had taken post at these straits,
in order to dispute his passage, assembled his
troops, and encamped on the plains of Trachis.
But as Xerxes had no particular quarrel with the
Spartans, whose opposition, though it could not
prevent, might probably retard, the punishment
of the Athenians, he sent messengers in his
name to desire them to lay down their arms; to
which the Lacedæmonians boldly replied, “Let
“Xerxes come, and take them.” The messen-
gers then, according to the directions they had
received, offered them lands, on condition that
they would become allies to the Persian mo-
narch. This proposal they treated with con-
tempt; and answered, “that the custom of their
“republic was, to conquer lands by valour, not
“to acquire them by treachery.” The messen-
gers returned to Xerxes equally astonished at
what

what they had seen and what they had heard, and declared to him the unexpected event of their commission, and the extraordinary behaviour of the Spartans. Upon which the Persian monarch demanded of Demaratus, their countryman, whom he had obliged to accompany him in this expedition, to explain the intention of the Spartans. He replied, that their whole carriage and demeanour implied a determined resolution to fight to the last extremity.

On the evening of the seventh day after Xerxes had arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ, twenty thousand chosen men, commanded by Hydarnes, and conducted by the traitor Epialtes, who had offered to lead them through another passage in the mountains, left the Persian camp. The next morning, however, they beheld the glittering surfaces of spears and helmets, and soon after perceived a thousand Phocians, whom the foresight and vigilance of Leonidas had sent to defend this important, but generally unknown, pass. The immense shower of darts from the Persians compelled the Phocians to abandon the passage they had been sent to guard; and they retired to the highest part of the mountain. This gave the Persians an opportunity to seize the pass, through which they marched with the greatest expedition.

In the mean time, by means of a deserter from the Persian camp, the Greeks under Leonidas had been informed of the treachery of Epialtes and the march across the mountain. Leonidas, therefore, immediately called an assembly, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued in consequence of this important and alarming information. All the confederates of Peloponnesus, the Spartans

Spartans alone excepted, declared it was necessary to abandon a post, which, on account of the double attack intended against it, could not be maintained with any probable hopes of success. They considered it the most prudent measure they could adopt, in the present crisis of affairs, to return to the isthmus of Corinth, and join their confederates, to defend the Grecian peninsula from the fury of the barbarians. Leonidas explained the sentiments of the Spartans, and said, that as glory was the only voice they had learned to obey, they were determined at the price of their lives to purchase immortal renown to their country. The Thespians declared they would never forsake Leonidas, and the Thebans were obliged to follow their example.

It was now the dead of night, when the Spartans with unanimous consent, headed by Leonidas, and full of resentment and despair, marched in close battalion to surprise the Persian camp. Dreadful was the fury of the Greeks; and on account of the want of discipline, in having no advanced guard, or watch, greatly destructive to the Persians. Numbers fell by the Grecian spears, but far more perished by the mistakes of their own troops; who, in the confusion that now prevailed, could not distinguish friends from foes. Wearied with slaughter, the Greeks penetrated to the royal tent; but Xerxes, with his favourites, had fled to the farther extremity of the encampment.

The dawn of day discovered to the Persians a dreadful scene of carnage, and the handful of Greeks by whom this terrible slaughter had been made. The Spartans now retreated to the straits of Thermopylæ; and the Persians, by menaces, stripes,

stripes, and blows, could scarcely be compelled to advance against them. The Greeks halted where the pass was widest, to receive the charge of the enemy. The shock was dreadful. After the Greeks had blunted or broken their spears, they attacked with sword in hand, and made an incredible havock. Four times they dispelled the thickest ranks of the enemy, in order to obtain the sacred remains of their king Leonidas, who had fallen in the engagement. At this crisis, when their unexampled valour was about to carry off the inestimable prize, the hostile battalions, under the conduct of Epialtes, were seen descending the hill. All hopes were now dispersed; and nothing remained to be attempted, but the last effort of a generous despair. Collecting themselves into a phalanx, with minds resolute and undaunted, the Greeks retired to the narrowest part of the strait; and, on a rising ground, took post behind the Phocian wall. As they made this movement, the Thebans, whom fear had hitherto hindered from defection, revolted to the Persians; declaring that their republic had sent earth and water, in token of their submission to Xerxes; and that they had been reluctantly compelled to resist the progress of his arms. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians and Thespians were assaulted on every side; the wall was beaten down; and the enemy entered the breaches. But instant death befel the Persians that entered. In this last struggle, the most heroic and determined courage was displayed by every Grecian. It being observed to Dionece the Spartan, that the Persian arrows were so numerous as to intercept the light of the sun, he replied, this was a favourable circumstance, because the Greeks thereby

thereby fought in the shade. What, however, the Greeks were able to do, they had already performed, collectively and individually ; and it became impossible for them longer to resist the impetuosity and weight of the darts and other missile weapons, continually poured upon them. They therefore fell, not conquered, not destroyed, but buried under a trophy of Persian arms. In this dreadful conflict, the Persians lost 20000 men.

To the memory of these brave defenders of their country, two monuments were afterward erected, near the spot where they fell. The inscription of the one announced, that four thousand Peloponnesian Greeks had arrested, in that place, the progress of the whole Persian force ; the other, in honour of Leonidas and his three hundred followers, was characteristic of the Spartans, and contained these memorable words, " Go, stranger, and declare to the Lacedæmonians, that we died here in obedience to their " divine laws." This famous action of the Greeks at Thermopylæ contributed not a little, according to the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, to the advantages which the Greeks afterwards obtained. For the Persians, astonished at the desperate valour of the Spartans, concluded it was scarcely possible to subdue a nation of so undaunted a resolution ; nor did it less inspire the minds of the Greeks with courage, who, from that time became sensible, that valour and discipline are capable of vanquishing the greatest tumultuary force.

While the military operations at Thermopylæ were carrying on, the Grecian fleet had united under the command of Eurybiades, a Spartan,
and

and had proceeded to Artemisium, the northern promontory of Eubœa, where it was stationed. The fleets of Persia, too numerous to be contained in any harbour on the Grecian coast, had anchored in the road that extends between Castanœa and Sepias, on the shores of Thessaly. The first lines of their fleet were sheltered by the Thessalian coast; but the others, amounting to seven in number, rode at anchor, with their prows to the sea. The vessels had been thus arranged when the waters were still, the sky serene, and the weather calm and favourable. On the second morning, however, after their arrival on the Thessalian coast, a dreadful storm of thunder and rain commenced; and the Hellespontin, a north-east wind that blows in those seas for several days together, raised the waves to a tremendous height. The nearest vessels were saved by hauling towards the shore; but the more remote, being driven from their anchors, foundered at sea, split upon the promontory of Sepias, or were lost in the shallows of Melibœa; and thus four hundred of the Persian gallies were destroyed. In a few days, therefore, they quitted the dangerous station at Sepias, and with eight hundred ships of war that had escaped the storm, beside innumerable vessels of burden, sailed into the Pagasæan bay, and anchored in the road of Aphetæ, opposite to Artemisium.

As soon as the Greeks perceived the dreadful effects of the storm upon the fleets of their enemies, they poured out libations to "Neptune the deliverer." The near approach, however, of such a superior force, damped the transports of their religious festivity; and they determined immediately to retire southward. But the defence

fence of Eubœa depending entirely on their continuance at Artemisium, they were with much importunity prevailed on to remain there.

In the mean time the Persians, having recovered from the terrors of the storm, prepared to engage the Grecian fleet; and as they doubted not of success, they sent out two hundred of their swift sailing vessels to intercept them. These vessels, shaping their course by the promontories of Cephaneus and Gerestus, escaped the observation of the Greeks. But this stratagem of the Persians was discovered to them by Scyllias, a native of Sycion, who deserted to his countrymen. The Greeks, therefore, determined to continue in the harbour until midnight, and then sail in quest of the fleet, sent out to prevent their escape. This project, however, was not put in execution; for the boats that had been immediately dispatched to observe the progress of the Persians, returned before evening, without having seen any of the enemy.

The strength of the adverse parties being thus reduced nearer to an equality, the weaker seized this opportunity to display their courage in battle, and their superior knowledge of naval affairs. About sunset, the Greeks approached the Persian fleet that remained in the Pagasæan bay, and offered them battle; and as their numbers were, in their own opinion, very sufficient for still enclosing and conquering the Grecian fleet, the Persians did not decline the engagement. The Greeks formed their ships into a circle, as they expected the Persians would surround them; and then commenced the action. Though cooped into a very narrow compass, and hemmed in on all sides by the enemy,

the Greeks in a little time routed the Persians, took thirty of their ships, and sunk many more; and had not the night come on, few would have escaped. Immediately after, a storm of thunder and rain succeeded; and the Greeks entered the harbour of Artemisium; but the Persians were driven to the coast of Thessaly. The dead bodies and wrecks were driven against the sides of their vessels; and the barbarians were struck with consternation and dismay. The greatest part of their fleet, however, again reached the Pagasæan bay. The ships that had been sent round the island of Eubœa, to intercept the Grecian fleet, encountered the storm, and after having been driven they knew not whither, either by the force of the winds, or the impetuosity of the currents, perished miserably amidst the shoals and rocks of an unknown coast.

The morning arose with different hopes and different prospects to the contending parties. The Persians became sensible of the extent of their misfortunes; and the Greeks received a reinforcement of fifty-three ships from Athens. They determined, therefore, to attack the enemy again at sunset. They sailed at the appointed time, and having separated the squadron of the Cilicians from the rest, totally destroyed it, and returned again to Artemisium.

These several disasters and disgraces, which would in all probability excite the indignation and vengeance of the Persian monarch against the commanders of his fleet, deeply affected them. The advantages gained by the Greeks appeared to have been occasioned by art, stratagem, or favour of the night. They, therefore, resolved to choose a more proper time for engaging.

engaging. They sailed forth on the third day at noon, formed in the shape of a crescent. Animated by their former successes, the Greeks, though they probably would have chosen a more favourable opportunity, determined to hazard an engagement. The battle continued for a longer time, and was more dubious than on any former occasion. The Egyptians particularly signalized themselves, took five Grecian vessels, and many others were destroyed. At length, however, the valour of the Greeks triumphed, and the Persians acknowledging their superiority, left them in possession of the sea. But this victory cost the Greeks very dear. Soon afterward they received an account of the battle of Thermopylæ, and of the glorious death of Leonidas; and by comparing the dates, found that the sea and land engagements had both taken place the same day. Several reasons now conspired to induce the Greeks to sail southward. Having therefore passed along the shore of Attica, they entered the strait of the Saronic gulf, which divides the island of Salamis from the harbours of Athens, where they cast anchor.

Xerxes considered the departure of the Grecian fleet from Artemisium as equivalent to a victory; he therefore commanded his naval forces to ravage the coasts of Eubœa, and afterward possess themselves of the harbours of Athens; while, at the head of his numerous and irresistible army, he marched into the Attic territory. Many of the states of Greece now submitted to the authority and power of the Persian king; and the defence of liberty was left chiefly to Athens and Sparta. After ravaging and plun-

dering the cities and countries through which they passed, the united army of Xerxes arrived in the Attic territory, three months after their passage over the Hellespont. They proceeded to lay waste the country, burned the cities, and levelled the temples with the ground.

After all the prodigies of valour which had been achieved, the Athenians found it impossible to oppose the army of Persia, and to defend the coasts of Greece against the ravages of the fleet. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus despairing likewise of being able to contend with the enemy in the open field, had begun to erect a wall across the isthmus of Corinth. Under these difficulties, the Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, embraced a resolution worthy of a generous and free people; they abandoned to the Persian fury their villages, their territory, their walls, their city, their temples, with the revered tombs of their ancestors. Their wives, children, and aged parents were transported to places of security; and all the Athenians, capable of using arms, or that might be in any manner serviceable, embarked on board the fleet stationed at Salamis. The Grecian armament, greatly increased since its engagements with the Persian force, amounted to three hundred and eighty vessels; and the fleet of Xerxes, which now took possession of the Athenian harbours southward of the strait occupied by the Greeks, having also received a powerful reinforcement, was restored to its original complement of twelve hundred sail.

Xerxes, notwithstanding the disasters and disgraces which had hitherto attended his naval armament, was still desirous of making another
trial

trial of his fortune by sea. Against this, however, some of his party advised, but were overruled. When the Grecian commanders perceived, that the enemy were preparing to hazard another naval engagement, they deliberated whether they should remain in their present situation, or proceed further up the gulf, toward the isthmus of Corinth. This latter opinion most of the confederates embraced, as by that means they would be more able to defend, in any emergency, their respective cities. But Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, sensible of the fatal effects that would thence ensue, and how impossible it would be to prevent the dispersion of the Grecian armament, if they sailed from Salamis, opposed this measure with all his might. Eurybiades, however, the Spartan admiral, who was chief in command, dissented from the opinion of Themistocles; and being provoked at an expression which the latter had made use of against him, endeavoured to strike the Athenian with his baton. Upon this, Themistocles cried out, "Ay, strike if you will, but hear what I have to say." Another of the Lacedæmonians observing, that the Athenians, who had no city to defend, ought to have no voice in the council: Themistocles replied, "the Athenians have indeed abandoned all their private estates and possessions for the general safety of Greece; but nevertheless they have two hundred ships of war, which no Grecian state can resist: and should the confederates persist in their present dangerous resolution, the Athenians will seek for themselves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have left." The firmness of this discourse

at once shook the intention of the Greeks, and they resolved to remain at Salamis.

But the Peloponnesians, nevertheless, were still ready to return to their first determination. Themistocles, by a master-stroke of policy, therefore, sent privately to Xerxes to inform him, that the Greeks, seized with consternation and dismay at the approach of danger, had determined to make their escape under cover of the night; and that this was the time for the Persians to achieve the most glorious of their exploits, and by intercepting the flight of their enemies accomplish their destruction at once. Xerxes believed the report, and the several passages were immediately secured. Aristides, who seems not to have availed himself of a general act of indemnity that had passed, was the first that brought intelligence of the blockade made by the Persians. A battle was thereupon instantly resolved.

Confiding in their strength, and under the necessity of using vigorous efforts, the Persians were eager to engage. Accident, however, seems to have made the Greeks the assailants. At daybreak, their order of battle was arranged. The Athenians were placed on the right, opposite the Phenicians; the Lacedæmonians on the left, opposite the Ionians. As soon as the morning arose, sacred hymns and pæans began; the trumpets sounded; and triumphant songs of war were echoed through the fleet. The two armaments moved to engage. A Phenician galley decorated more than the rest, and eager to meet the Grecian fleet, outstripped her companions; but being met by an Athenian galley, at the first shock her sculptured prow was shattered,

tered, and at the second she was buried in the waves. The battle soon became general, and was vigorous on both sides. Xerxes, seated upon a lofty throne, beheld from the shore this bloody and destructive scene. But neither the hope of acquiring the favour, nor the fear of incurring the displeasure of the despot, could impel the Persians to the performance of actions, worthy of those which the love of liberty and of their country excited in the Greeks. The foremost of the Phenician ships were soon dispersed or sunk; and the rest of the enemy's vessels being thrown into confusion, the Athenians surrounded them, compressed them into a narrower space, and increased their disorder. They were at length entangled in each other, rendered incapable of acting, and to use the expression of the poet *Æschylus*, who was present in the battle, "were caught and destroyed like fish in a net." In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, who opposed the Ionians on the left, rendered the victory complete. Many of the Asiatic Greeks deserted the Persians and joined the Lacedæmonians; others declined to engage; and the rest were sunk or put to flight. The sea is said to have been scarcely visible, for the quantity of the wreck and the floating carcasses. Forty Grecian galleys were sunk in this engagement, but the crews were mostly saved aboard other ships, or by swimming to the friendly shores of Salamis. When the rout was become total, *Aristides*, with a body of Athenians, landed on the rocky isle of *Psyttalia*, where the flower of the Persian infantry had been stationed, in order to destroy the shattered remains of the Grecian armament, and

and put all the Persians to the sword. As Xerxes beheld this dreadful havoc, he started from his throne in wild agitation, rent his royal robes, and in the first moments of returning tranquillity, commanded his forces to their respective camps.

An anecdote is related of the queen of Halicarnassus, which is too remarkable and too celebrated to be omitted here. This woman had accompanied Xerxes as an ally in the expedition against Greece, and being pursued in this battle by an Athenian galley, met a Persian vessel commanded by a tributary prince of Calydna in Lycia, with whom she was at variance. She darted the beak of her galley against the Lycian vessel, with great dexterity, and buried it in the waves. The Athenian galley, deceived by this measure, equally artful and audacious, believed the vessel of the queen of Halicarnassus to be one of those that had deserted the Persian interest, and therefore quitted the pursuit. Xerxes, who was a spectator of her conduct, is said to have been so well pleased with it, that he cried out, the soldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like soldiers.

In the mean time, the confederates pursued the Persian fleet on every side; many were sunk, and more taken. Two hundred of the Persian vessels were burnt, and the rest dispersed; and those who had allied themselves to the Persian monarch, fearing the indignation and vengeance of the Greeks, made the best of their way to their own country. To hinder any of the barbarians from escaping, the Greeks, in the first emotions of triumph, determined immediately

mediately to sail northward, to break down the bridge raised over the Hellespont, and to intercept them on their return. This advice was recommended by Themistocles. Upon mature consideration, however, it appeared, that the Persians were still sufficiently numerous to afford just grounds of terror. To the cowardice and inexperience of the Persians, and not to their want of strength, the Greeks were indebted for the several advantages obtained over them. But if the Persians should be driven to despair, and to their former calamities were added the impossibility of a retreat, they might probably exert themselves more than they had hitherto done, and retrieve their past errors and misfortunes. These weighty considerations suggested themselves to Eurybiades the Spartan, and were immediately adopted by Themistocles and the Athenians. When Themistocles perceived that the Grecian chiefs were about to acquiesce in this reasoning, he formed another scheme, which was put in execution. He sent one of his confidants to inform Xerxes, that the Greeks intended to break down the bridge over the Hellespont; and promising to delay, as much as he could, this project of his countrymen, advised the Persian monarch to return into Asia with the utmost speed. Herodotus insinuates, that in acting thus, Themistocles had in view the safety of the Persians, rather than the interest of Greece. But it seems plain from the nature of the action, that this scheme was intended to oblige Xerxes to abandon the war of his own accord.

The situation of the Persian monarch now was such, that the least repulse might be sufficient to make

make him return from the Grecian expedition. Mardonius was too well acquainted with the disposition of his master, to suppose that he would continue much longer in a country, that had been the scene of so many and great calamities, and which might probably be the destruction of himself and all his forces. This artful courtier, therefore, represented to Xerxes, that he had come to fight against the Greeks, not with rafts of timber, but with soldiers and horses; that the Persian valour had surmounted all difficulties, and their invincible sovereign was now master of Athens, the main object of this expedition; that having accomplished the principal design of the enterprise, it was time that the king should return from the fatigues of war to the cares of government; and that with three hundred thousand chosen men, he would undertake to prosecute the designs of Xerxes, and to complete the conquest. An assembly was held the same night, in which the rest of the courtiers coincided with Mardonius, and urged Xerxes to return into Asia. The Persian monarch, therefore, while he followed the dictates of his own pusillanimity, pretended to leave Greece with reluctance, and to obey the anxious solicitude of his subjects.

The remains of the Persian fleet, driven from the coast of Greece, returned to the harbours of Asia minor; and afterward assembled and rendezvoused during the winter at Cumæ. Xerxes and his troops arrived in forty-five days at the Hellespont, whither the transports had been ordered. This journey was performed with extreme hardship and fatigue. The rapidity of
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the march occasioned the deaths of many of his followers; and, to fill up the measure of their calamities, famine and pestilence prevailed amongst them. Excepting, therefore, the three hundred thousand chosen men committed to Mardonius, a detachment of whom guarded the Persian monarch to the coast, a remnant of so many millions scarcely survived. The bridge erected over the Hellespont with so much ostentation, had it remained entire, might have exhibited a mortifying monument of folly, vanity, and lost greatness; but this magnificent and stupendous fabric had been destroyed by a tempest. And such is the obscurity and inquietude with which this mighty monarch quitted the Grecian territory, compared with the grandeur and triumphal entry displayed on his arrival, that it is not certainly known whether he crossed the channel in a Phœnician ship of war, or only in a fishing-boat. Xerxes travelled thence to Sardis, where, in endeavouring to compensate for the disappointments of ambition, he buried himself in pleasures more infamous and degrading, than all the disgraces which he had incurred in Greece, and all the calamities that his subjects inflicted on others, or suffered themselves. It must, however, be observed, that all these relations are of necessity borrowed from the Greek historians, who would doubtless in some respects be partial to their country, and prejudiced against their foes.

CHAP. VI.

*From the Retreat of Xerxes into Asia, to the final
Event of the Persian Invasion.*

THE different affections of Grecian minds after the victory at Salamis, so glorious, so important, and so unexpected, and that occasioned the hasty retreat of such an immense army, to resist which seemed wholly impossible, may in some measure be conceived; but cannot be described. The Greeks, however, soon understood, that notwithstanding the return of Xerxes, Mardonius, with three hundred thousand men, whom he had cantoned in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, for the winter, intended to take the field early in the spring, and try again the fortune of war. This intelligence deterred the Athenians from bringing their wives and children home, as they intended, from Trœzene, Salamis, and Ægina; because their country might probably be again exposed to the fury and resentment of the barbarians. But a few families returned, while the rest remained on board the fleet, or went to reside with their friends in Peloponnesus.

It would naturally be expected that the Greeks, under the apprehensions of another formidable campaign, would have employed themselves during the winter months in raising contributions, levying and disciplining soldiers, and concerting proper and judicious measures for opposing the troops of Mardonius. They, however, did none
of

of these. The winter was spent by them in dividing the spoil; assigning to the different commanders, the prizes of conduct and valour; performing the last offices to those, who had fallen in the defence of their country; celebrating their games and festivals; and in offering to the gods their thanksgivings and presents, for protecting them from the myriads of Xerxes. Their offerings to the gods consisted of vases, statues, and other ornaments of silver and gold. The rewards bestowed on the generals were only wreaths of pine, laurel, or olive; which made Tigranes the Persian exclaim, "Heavens! against whom have we come to fight? insensible to interest, they fight only for glory!" The states of Greece being assembled in the temple of Neptune, in order to confer the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of their leaders had deserved best, each chief was directed to write the name of the man he supposed most worthy, and also of him whom he thought deserving the second reward. Each commander put his own name in the first place, and that of Themistocles in the second, a circumstance which evinced the superior worth and conduct of the Athenian admiral. Thence he went to Lacedæmon, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect. The Spartans, partial as they were to their own leaders, after having decreed the prize of valour to Eurybiades, assigned that of prudence to Themistocles, and crowned him with a wreath of olive. They also presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and when he returned to Athens, he was escorted by five hundred horse, an honour never before paid to any stranger.

As many of the islanders had again become obnoxious for their forwardness and zeal in the cause of Persia, the Athenian commander sailed with a small squadron to the Cyclades, laid them under heavy contributions, and, as it is said, without the participation or knowledge of his colleagues in command, enriched himself with the spoil. The Parians avoided all public payment, by bribing Themistocles. The Andrians alone, of the islanders on the European side of the Ægean, refused to pay any thing. *I come,* said the Athenian, *to you, accompanied by two very powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity. Alas!* replied they, *we also have divinities on our side, Poverty and Impossibility.* In consequence of this reply, siege was laid to their principal town, but without effect; and the fleet was compelled to return.

On the approach of spring, Mardonius prepared to take the field. His army consisted of Medes, Persians, Scythians, and Indians; and though greatly inferior in numbers to the myriads which Xerxes had brought from Persia, it was not, on that account, the less formidable. But before the Persian general left Thessaly, he determined to try what he could effect by negociation. He sent therefore Alexander, king of Macedon, tributary and ally of Xerxes, to treat with those Athenians that had returned to their city, and in the name of the Persian monarch, to offer them proposals of peace. Upon his arrival, the Athenians received him in the most friendly manner, but delayed to call an assembly to hear and answer his discourse, until the Spartans, who had been apprised of the intentions of Mardonius, should send ambassadors to

to assist at the consultations. When the parties were all convened, Alexander opened his commission, and informed the Athenians, that Mardonius had received a message from the Persian monarch, intimating his will to leave them in possession of their territories, their liberties, and laws, provided they would desert the general cause of Greece, and enter into an alliance with him. And to induce them to embrace this flattering though fallacious offer, Mardonius endeavoured to add weight to these considerations by observing, how impossible it would be for the Athenians *ever* to conquer, or *always* to resist, a monarch possessed of so much power and unbounded resources.

The Lacedæmonian ambassadors spoke next. They said that Sparta, having engaged in a bloody and destructive conflict, to avenge the quarrel of her Athenian allies, it would be unjust and dishonourable in the Athenians, to abandon their friends and confederates, when hostilities had been extended over all Greece on their account. They urged the regret which the Spartans felt for the misfortunes of the Athenians, who had been deprived of their houses and their harvests; and as a mark of their regard, would, in conjunction with the allies, maintain their wives and children during the continuance of the war; and afford them every assistance in their power. The Athenians having deliberated on these propositions, answered both parties by the voice of Aristides, who, as archon, or chief magistrate, presided over the assembly. To the Macedonian they said, "That as they were well acquainted with the strength of Xerxes, he might

have omitted to insult them by describing its great superiority ; but that in the defence of liberty, no power was too great to oppose. Return then and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians, as long as the sun and moon endure, will never make peace with Xerxes, desert the cause of Greece, or forget the injuries which the Persians have done them ; but that trusting to the protection and assistance of those gods, whose temples and altars the impious tyrant has polluted and destroyed, we will resist him to the last extremity. And you, Alexander, be not again the bearer of such messages as these, lest we forget the respect we owe you as our friend, and consider not the sacred ties of hospitality, by which we are reciprocally connected." To the Lacedæmonians they replied, " That they were surprised the Spartans should entertain so mean an opinion of them ; that neither the richest possessions on earth, nor all the wealth of the Persian king, should seduce them from the common defence of Greece ; that without being troublesome to the allies, they hoped to provide for their families ; but requested, that the army of the Lacedæmonians might march with all expedition towards Bœotia, and being joined by that of the Athenians, endeavour to stop the progress of Mardonius, who would immediately proceed southward and invade Attica.

Mardonius did not deceive the expectations of the Athenians. According to the orders of his master, he marched directly towards Attica by the same road that Xerxes had before taken. In the mean time, the habitual hesitation and tardiness prevailed in the councils of the Spartans.

Mardonius

Mardonius was advanced into Bœotia, and the Athenians in vain expected the Lacedæmonian army. The Athenians were therefore once more compelled to desert their country, and to retire with their effects to Salamis. This measure, however, was probably not so grievous on the present, as on the former occasion. The Grecian fleet now commanded the seas. In the island of Salamis, the Persian army could not annoy them. Thither all their families and effects were removed; and Mardonius, in the tenth month after the departure of Xerxes, from the Grecian territory, retook Athens.

The conduct of the Peloponnesians, and especially that of the Lacedæmonians, was mean, ungrateful, and dastardly. They had fortified the isthmus with additional walls and ramparts; and believed themselves secure behind the bulwarks they had raised; and therefore equally disregarded the distresses, or resentment, of their northern allies. But the Athenians exhibited the greatest magnanimity and heroism. Fugitives in the island of Salamis, and deprived of their allies, the Persian general thought the opportunity favourable for attempting another negotiation, and drawing the Athenians from the general confederacy of Greece. The same terms which the Macedonian king had before brought, were again offered. The minister, a Hellespontian Greek, named Murichides, was admitted to an audience by the council of five hundred. Lycidas who promoted the referring of this proposal to the people, was stoned to death with his wife and family, by a tumultuous crowd. Such was the popular zeal against tyranny, and their persevering enmity against Persia.

Persia. The law of nations however, was observed as to the person of Muriichides, and he was permitted to depart, without receiving injury or insult. Mardonius after having laid waste and plundered, a second time, the Athenian territories, cities, villas, and temples, returned into Bœotia.

Ministers had now been sent from Salamis to Sparta, in behalf of Athens, Plataea, and Megara. These ambassadors remonstrated warmly with the Lacedæmonians, on the shameful neglect of their engagements. The Spartans were, at that time, celebrating the solemn feast of Hyacinthia, which furnished them with a pretext for delaying any answer for several days. The Athenian ambassadors, thinking themselves insulted and their country betrayed, determined to depart the next day. But having expressed to the Spartans their sense of such treatment, declared that the Athenians would join the Persians, and then the Peloponnesians must become sensible, when it was too late, that the wall across the isthmus would only afford a partial and feeble defence; and that though it might secure them on the side of the land, could not protect their coasts from the Persian armament, reinforced by the Athenian fleet.

This threat, or the returning sense of public utility, urged the Lacedæmonians, at length, to take the field. Five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven Helotes, and composing an army of forty thousand fighting men, left the city silently in the evening, under the command of Pausanias, the guardian and kinsman of Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas. Having marched beyond the isthmus, they joined the army of the Athenians

nians and their allies; and the whole heavy armed troops amounted to nearly forty thousand; while the light armed were the thirty-five thousand Helotes attendants on the Spartans, and about as many more, one to each soldier, attended the other divisions.

The Greeks having marched into Bœotia, took post at the foot of mount Cithæron, directly opposite to the enemy. Here the hostile armies remained eleven days encamped, before they attempted any thing of moment against each other. Mardonius had judiciously left the passage of the mountains open to the Grecian troops, to draw them, if possible, into the champaign country; where the Asiatic horse would be able to act with most advantage, and make the victory more easy. But Pausanias would not quit his situation, and the Persian general durst not attempt to force his position. He therefore gave orders to Masistius, the commander of the Persian cavalry, to advance with all the horse, to harass the Greeks, and endeavour to make some impression upon them. The Persian cavalry used missile weapons, darts or arrows, or both. They generally attacked or harassed by small bodies in succession. They were vehement in onset, never continued the contest long; but if the enemy remained firm and impregnable, retreated to prepare for another charge.

On the side most exposed to the enemy's cavalry, were three thousand soldiers from the rocky district of Megara. These Masistius attacked; and having wearied them by the succession of fresh troops, who approached sufficiently near to throw their darts and use opprobrious language, and then retired, the Magarians were compelled to send to Pausanias for succour.

The Spartan general addressed the whole army, to know if any of the troops would exchange situations with the Megarians. The Athenians alone offered their service. They had not long occupied the post, before they were attacked by the enemy's cavalry, whom they repelled, and killed Masistius. Hereupon a terrible conflict took place for the dead body; but in the end, the Persian cavalry were obliged to retire.

The Greeks finding themselves in want of fresh water, determined to decamp. They proceeded, therefore, in arms along the foot of mount Cithæron, until they came to a plain, in the vicinity of the village of Hysia, in Plataea. Near this place were many gentle eminences, and the copious fountain Gargaphia. This was a necessary resource to the Greeks, as the enemy, by the great superiority of their cavalry, commanded both sides of the Æsopus.

It might have been expected, that men ready to hazard every thing in the defence of their country would have preserved in the field perfect agreement and unanimity amongst themselves. The Lacedæmonians, as the most considerable people of Greece, were universally allowed to take the right wing of the army. The Athenians, unquestionably the next in consequence, thought themselves entitled to the left wing; but the Tegeans, who were acknowledged to be excellent soldiers, and had always obtained the second honours of the field, disputed this point of honour with them. This quarrel, ridiculous as it may appear in the eye of reason, might have been attended with serious and ruinous consequences to the general safety of Greece, had not the Athenian commanders acted
with

with wisdom and dignity. The Tegeans in a studied oration, vindicated their claim to precedence ; and supported it by a long detail of the great and honourable actions of their ancestors. Upon which Aristides, the Athenian commander replied, " We understand that the Greeks are here assembled to fight against the enemies of their country, not to dispute about precedence. But were we inclined to boast of the glorious deeds of our ancestors, we might perhaps make mention of actions equally honourable with those the Tegeans have related, Let the battle of Marathon efface any suspicions that we are inferior to them. In a moment like the present, however, we consider all contests about precedence as unbecoming and unseasonable. Place us, therefore, O Spartans ! wheresoever, and with whomsoever you think proper ; and wherever our station shall be, rest assured, that the Athenians will defend the cause of Greece, like brave men and lovers of their country. Command, therefore, and depend upon our obedience." These words were scarcely ended, when the whole Lacedæmonian army cried out, that the Athenians were worthy of the post of honour, in preference to the Arcadians ; and accordingly they assumed it without opposition.

The army was then marshalled in the following order : Five thousand Spartans of the city, attended by thirty-five thousand light armed Helotes, held the first place ; next to these, were five thousand Lacedæmonians of the other towns of Laconia, accompanied by five thousand Helotes. The Tegeans, in number fifteen hundred, held the next place : then five thousand Corinthians,

thians, fourteen thousand two hundred from the inferior states of Greece, and eight thousand Athenians. The whole number of fighting men amounted to one hundred and eight thousand two hundred.

As soon as Mardonius was informed that the Greeks had filed off towards Platæa, he moved and encamped over against them; still keeping the *Æsopus* in his front. Having summoned the principal officers of his army, he informed them of his intention to attack the Greeks the next day; and directed them to prepare accordingly. This news was brought to the camp of the confederates by Alexander, king of Macedon; and the Greeks thereupon held a consultation, in what manner they should resist the attack of the Persian general. Pausanias proposed a change in the order of the Grecian army, and that the Athenians, who alone had experienced the onset of the Persians, should take the right wing, and the Lacedæmonians the left. Aristides and his countrymen embraced the offer with joy and exultation. Day broke; when Mardonius perceiving the confederates in motion, deferred the intended attack. Changes were also made in the order of the Persian army. This day passed in evolutions; and the enemy's infantry never came into action against the Greeks. Their cavalry, however, harassed the more accessible parts of the Grecian line without ceasing. They only approached to discharge their arrows, and then hastily retired: but they thereby maintained a constant alarm; and while they inflicted many wounds afforded little opportunity for revenge. The cavalry, however, made a more serious attack

tack upon that part of the Lacedæmonian line, which guarded the Gargaphian fountain, and made themselves masters of the place.

The Grecian army, therefore, being deprived of water, and provision also beginning to fail them, a decampment was rendered indispensable. It was determined to occupy a narrow slip of ground towards the source of the Æsopus, and confined between that river and mount Cithæron. The obscurity of midnight was chosen as the most convenient time for effecting this purpose; but the Greeks were by no means unanimous in this measure. Anompharetus the Spartan, and next in command to Pausanias, declared, that neither he, nor the division which he commanded, should never flee from the enemy. The confederate army was, therefore, dispersed in so many different directions, that the next morning it presented the appearance rather of a flight, or a rout, than of a regular march.

Mardonius having received intelligence of the departure of the Greeks, doubted not but they had abandoned their camp and made this precipitate retreat, through fear of the Persian arms. He gave orders, therefore, to his soldiers to pursue the fleeing foe, and to complete the conquest.

- The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were still within his reach, the former at the foot of mount Cithæron, the latter on the plain. Having sent his Grecian auxiliaries against the Athenians, he advanced at the head of the Persian troops to attack the Lacedæmonians. No contrast could be greater, than the two hostile armies afforded.
- The barbarians, hurried on with all the haste and confusion of an ill disciplined multitude, eager to share in certain victory: the Lacedæmonians,

monians, carefully covered with their shields, silently observed the sacrifices. As soon as Pausanias perceived that the admonitions of the gods were favourable and propitious to the Grecian interest, the Lacedæmonians proceeded with intrepidity to close combat. The Persians, who had been reinforced with the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, sustained the shock with great courage. The Greeks slew immense numbers; but fresh troops still succeeded to the fight, and made a most hideous noise. Mardonius, mounted upon a white steed of great strength and swiftness, signalized himself by his valour and determined bravery. A thousand horsemen, consisting of the flower of the Persian nobility, ambitious of imitating the example of Mardonius, and of emulating his fame, constantly attended him. Had the skill of the Persians been equal to their courage, or had the troops been regularly and properly disciplined, the victory would either have been against the Greeks, or, at least, it must have been obtained with more difficulty, and a greater loss of men. But the Persians acted without union or concert; and, attacking the Lacedæmonians by parties only, were easily defeated. The Athenians, endeavouring to join the Spartan army, engaged the Bœotians and other Greeks, whom Mardonius had sent against them. The number and courage of the Persian troops, however, kept the battle doubtful until Mardonius was slain. The death of the general was immediately followed by the defeat of the Persians, and by the flight of the barbarian army. The Athenians also routed the Greeks, who were allied with, and fought under the Persian banners. Artabazus, the

the next in command to Mardonius, and against whose advice these measures were pursued, deeming all lost, retired with forty thousand men, marched with great expedition to Thrace; and arriving at the Hellespont passed over into Asia.

The rest of the Persian army withdrew into their camp, strengthened the works before thrown up, and defended themselves with great bravery against the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians, however, coming up, vigorous efforts were used on both sides; but an assault at length succeeded. A horrid slaughter ensued. Of three hundred thousand men, whom Mardonius brought into the field, scarcely three thousand escaped, exclusively of those who retreated under Artabazus. The number of the Greeks that fell in this engagement is uncertain, but must have been considerable.

The events of this battle not only completely freed the Grecians from the terrors of servitude, but made them masters of greater wealth than they could ever have hoped to possess. When Xerxes left the army for Asia, he gave most of his riches and valuable furniture to Mardonius his general and brother in law. The rest he divided among his inferior favourites. Couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and silver; golden bowls and goblets; stalls and mangers of brass; chains, bracelets, scymitars, some of solid gold, others set with precious stones; and many chests of Persian money, which began after that time, and continued several years, to be current in Greece; all came into the possession of the conquerors. The tenth of the whole spoil was consecrated to the gods. Peculiar

presents were offered to Jupiter at Olympia, to Neptune at the isthmus, and to Apollo at Delphi. A tenth of the remainder was divided amongst the generals. After which, prizes were distributed among the bravest survivors, according to their respective achievements.

Having buried their dead with all the circumstances of funereal pomp, and raised trophies to commemorate their success, the confederates, as had been customary after a victory, determined to punish those who had deserted the cause of Greece, and allied themselves with the Persian monarch. With this view Pausanias marched immediately to Thebes, and laid waste the country. The Thebans at first attempted to make a defence; but after mature deliberation, capitulated, and surrendered the leaders of the Median faction. These thought to have purchased their ransom with money; but were disappointed: for Pausanias disdaining their proposals, carried them to Corinth, and caused them to be put to death.

The battle of Plataea, it is said, happened on the twenty-second of September. The same day, another battle, neither less glorious nor less decisive, was fought between the same nations at the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, opposite to the isle of Samos. After the shattered remains of the Persian armament had been driven from the Grecian coast, and obliged to seek protection in the ports of Asia minor, the confederates were encouraged to send their fleet into those parts by the Ionians, who informed them, that all the Asiatic Greeks would thereupon revolt from the Persian interest, and espouse the cause of Greece. The Grecian fleet, therefore, steered

steered eastward, under the command of Leotychides the Spartan king, and Xantippus the Athenian admiral. The commanders of the Persian armament, as soon as they were informed of the arrival of the Grecian fleet in those seas, wishing to avoid another naval engagement, stood in for the shore; and sought the protection of an army of sixty thousand men, which had been left for the defence of Ionia. The Greeks perceiving their intent, resolved to attack them on shore; while Leotychides, sailing towards the coast, made a proclamation, and endeavoured to occasion a revolt amongst the Ionians. After this, the Greeks disembarked their whole force capable of acting by land, which consisted of the greatest part of their crew. The Persians having received information, that the Samians had been intriguing with the Greeks, disarmed them; but confiding very much in the Milesians, they intrusted to them the guarding of the passes through the mountains, by which on an emergency they could retreat. These dispositions being made, they prepared to defend their fortifications. The Grecian forces marched in two columns: the one, consisting of the Athenian, Corinthian, Sicyonian, and Træzenian troops, held the plain along the shore; the other, composed of the Lacedæmonians and their allies, fetched a compass over the hills. The former arrived first, and after an obstinate and bloody conflict, forced the Persian camp; about the same time that the Lacedæmonians attacked them in the rear. The Samians, though unarmed, exerted themselves against the Persians; and the Milesians, who were to have guarded the passes, attacked the

Persians as soon as they fled, and killed them, or made them prisoners. Tigranes, the general of the Persian troops, and two of the principal naval commanders, were amongst the slain. When the slaughter had ceased, the Persian ships and camp, and all the valuable treasures contained in them, became the prize of the victors. Ionia regained its freedom, and the Asiatic coast was abandoned by the Persian monarch. When the Greeks had taken every thing of value out of the enemy's camp and fleet, they burned the ships and all their contents.

After this signal blow, which not only completed the ruin of the Persian expedition against Europe, but restored liberty to the fairest portion of Asia, the Grecian fleet returned to Samos. Here they deliberated, whether the Ionians should be transported into Greece, and have those countries bestowed upon them, which had sided with the Persians. But the Athenians dissuaded from this measure; and insisted that, as they were Athenian colonies, no other Grecian state had a right to interfere in their disposal. The Greeks then determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridges; but they found them already broken down by the weather and the current. Winter approaching, Leotychides, the Spartan commander, with all the Peloponnesians, returned to Greece; but the Athenians, under the command of Xantippus, determined to make other attempts before they returned home. This resolution being agreed on, they sailed to the Chersonese, and besieged Sestos, where the Persians had collected all their force. This siege continued a long time; but a famine prevailing among the garrison, they endeavoured

voured to make their escape, and the place was given up.

The Persian expedition against Greece was thus concluded, after two campaigns which covered the Greeks with glory, and which will ever be recorded among the most memorable in the annals of war.

CHAP. VII.

The Affairs of Greece, from the final Overthrow of the Persians, to the Thirty Years' Truce.

THE common fears, which, notwithstanding innumerable sources of dissension, had formed and upheld a partial confederacy of the Grecian states, were dispelled by the decisive victories obtained at Platæa and Mycale. The symptoms of jealousy and discord between the two principal communities of Greece, which had already appeared in the separation of the Athenian and Spartan fleets, broke out with more virulence after they returned home. The Athenians brought back their families to Athens; and, upon retaking possession of the site of their city, found the walls destroyed, and only a few houses remaining, which had been reserved for the residence of the principal Persian officers. They therefore determined to rebuild the city with the greatest expedition, and with some degree of magnificence. The events of the late invasion would no doubt impress the Athenians with the propriety and necessity of providing for the future security of their country. What

others therefore considered as the means of promoting tranquillity and ease, Themistocles viewed as the certain presage of the political greatness of Athens, to which he probably looked for the foundation of his own pre-eminence. According to his suggestions, every thing else was postponed, until the fortifications, which were put under his direction, should be completed. A larger space was marked out for the new walls, and the work was prosecuted with diligence and vigour.

While the Athenians were thus employed in repairing the ravages of war, and fortifying their city against all future attacks, the Lacedæmonians sent an embassy, to remonstrate against a design peculiarly dangerous and alarming to the other Grecian states. The ostensible reason, alledged against this undertaking of the Athenians, was, that if the Greeks had possessed any town of impregnable strength, they must have found it impossible to drive Xerxes from

B. B. their country. As it was the avowed policy, not of the Lacedæmonians only, but
477. of all the Peloponnesians, to deter the Athenians from executing their purpose, they might have appealed to arms, after finding arguments ineffectual, and Athens was not in a situation at present to resist them. It was therefore judged more advisable to temporize; and the conduct of Themistocles on this occasion has been considered as a master-piece of policy. To the Spartan ministers, who brought the remonstrance, it was replied, that the Athenians would send ambassadors to Lacedæmon, who would satisfy the Spartans on the subject of their message. With this answer the Lacedæmonians

monians were dismissed, and apparently satisfied.

Themistocles and some other Athenians being accordingly appointed ambassadors to Sparta, the former hastened his journey to that city; but intimated to the senate, it would be proper to detain one or both of his colleagues, until the walls of Athens were raised to the height required. When he arrived at Lacedæmon, he delayed to open the business of his embassy, alleging, that he waited for his colleagues, whom he expected daily. In the mean time, the Athenians prosecuted the work with the most diligent application: citizens toiled with slaves; women and children assisted all that they were able; neither night nor day was the business intermitted; and materials were procured from sepulchres and public buildings. The Lacedæmonians being informed that the building of the wall was still carried on, and that the colleagues of Themistocles were at length arrived, summoned the ambassadors before them. Themistocles argued, that it did not become a great state, to regard vague and idle rumours; that his colleagues had assured him of the contrary to what the Lacedæmonians affirmed; and that the Spartans might send deputies with the Athenian ambassadors, to take cognisance of the real state of things, whilst he himself would remain as a hostage, and be answerable for the event. The Spartans, therefore, agreed to dispatch a second embassy to Athens, to consist of some of their most respectable citizens. These men had no sooner arrived at their destination, than they were taken into custody as pledges for the safe return of Themistocles,

toeles, who by this time was informed that the walls were completed. Throwing off the mask, therefore, which he had hitherto used, Themistocles appeared in the Lacedæmonian assembly, avowed the whole transaction, and declared that the Athenians were most competent to decide what their own interest, and the general welfare of Greece demanded. Athens was now in a condition to repel any foreign or domestic foe, and if the Spartans entertained any resentment of this measure, which, whilst it conduced to the public interest, was not less calculated to displease private ambition, their anger would be equally unjust and useless; and concluded with intimating, that the Athenians would not dismiss their ambassadors until he was set free.

Whatever secret indignation the Lacedæmonians might feel on this occasion, they deemed it more prudent to suppress their animosity, than to vent reproaches. The ambassadors of each state, were then permitted to return home; but the conduct of Themistocles, in thus delivering his country from the imminent danger of falling under the Spartan yoke, laid the foundation of that unrelenting hatred, with which he was afterward persecuted by the Lacedæmonians.

The next concern of Themistocles was to enlarge the Athenian harbours. He observed that the port of Phalericum was small, narrow, and inconvenient; and advised his fellow-citizens to render Piræus the largest and most capacious haven in Greece, and to unite the city to it by long walls. His address, eloquence, and bribes, were seasonably applied in diverting the resentment of the Spartans, who, though less jealous

lous of naval than military power, was scarcely hindered from entering Attica with an armed force. But the Athenians persuaded the Lacedæmonians and their allies, the common interest of the Grecian confederacy required, that a large and capacious harbour should be formed, in which the combined fleets of Greece might rendezvous, and observe the designs of the enemy. In the mean time the work was carried on with great spirit and activity, and

B. C. in less than twelve months the Pi-
476. ræus, under the care and direction of

Themistocles, became the best and most complete naval arsenal, that the world had hitherto seen. The new walls were sufficiently broad to admit two carriages abreast; and formed of large blocks of marble, squared, and exactly fitted without cement; and the outer stones were firmly connected by cramps of iron fixed with lead. The Athenians also determined by the advice of Themistocles, to increase their fleet yearly, by the addition of twenty ships.

This great politician was not, however, very scrupulous with regard to the means employed for augmenting the power of Athens, and lessening that of Lacedæmon and the other Grecian states. He declared on a certain day, he had a design to communicate which was of the greatest importance; but that, as it would require secrecy and dispatch to carry it into execution, he could not reveal it to the people. He desired, therefore, that a proper person should be chosen, to whom his proposal might be made known, and who might direct by his advice, and confirm by his authority, what he intended.

Aristides,

Aristides, as the best and wisest man, was unanimously appointed to decide, how far the proposal of Themistocles was useful and just. Themistocles informed him, his design was to set fire to the fleet of the other Grecian states, which was at that time in a neighbouring port, and thus procure to Athens the unrivalled sovereignty of the seas. This project Aristides disdained; and returning to the Athenian people, acquainted them that the proposal of Themistocles was highly useful to Athens, but at the same time that nothing could be more unjust or dishonourable. The Athenians, therefore, prohibited Themistocles from putting it into execution.

About this time, the Lacedæmonians proposed in the council of the amphictyons, that every city and state of Greece, which had not fought against the Persians, should lose the right of sending deputies to that assembly. This motion was particularly intended against the Argians and Thebans, in hopes that two of the most powerful states being removed, who were greatly inimical to the Spartan interest, the Lacedæmonian influence might thenceforward govern the assembly. Themistocles perceiving the intentions of the Spartans in making this motion, opposed it as much as possible, and obtained a decree, that it would be impolitic and unjust to deprive a Grecian state of its inherent rights, on account of the crimes and misconduct of those, who, at any particular time, directed its councils.

Aristides having nothing more at heart than the honour and advantage of his country, endeavoured to quell faction, and to quiet the minds
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of the Athenians. He proposed that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen from the body of the people, without preference or distinction. This measure was agreeable to all parties. The states of Greece, finding it requisite to be always upon their guard against the Persian monarch, proposed a general taxation, proportioned to the maintenance of a regular and adequate force, and levied according to the abilities of each community. Aristides was entrusted with this commission, which he executed with so much fidelity and activity, that all the Greeks were satisfied with his conduct, and his taxation was universally styled, "The happy lot of Greece." When this business was finished, he obliged all the Grecian states to swear, that they would observe the articles of their grand alliance.

As many Grecian towns, not only in Asia minor, but also in Europe, were still under the dominion of Persia, a fleet was assembled to the principal command of which Pausanias, the Spartan admiral, was appointed. Aristides and Cimon, the son of the late Miltiades, commanded the Athenian squadron. This was the first time that Cimon, who was yet very young, was placed in a situation in which he could exhibit the virtues and courage of which he was possessed. He had formerly suffered himself to be imprisoned, until he could pay the fine imposed upon his father; and by this filial act of duty gave presages and promises of his future greatness of mind, and goodness of heart. After he was liberated from prison, he was opposed to Themistocles, and seems to have supplanted him.

him. The fleet sailed first to Cyprus ; and the garrison being cut off from all support and assistance from the Persians, by the great superiority which the Greeks had at sea, were more solicitous to obtain for themselves favourable terms of capitulation, than to defend the place for their king. Most of the Grecian cities were also rescued from the Persians, with very little effort. The fleet then proceeded to the Hellespont and the Propontis, and took Byzantium, the key of communication between Europe and Asia, and the grand depôt of the Persian arms. The siege of this place was obstinate ; but at length the walls were stormed, and an immense booty, with several persons of the royal blood, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The haughty disposition of the Spartan admiral had been elated with his victory at Platæa ; and his late success against Byzantium still farther augmented it. The tenth of the spoil, which had been allotted him as general, raised him above the equality required by the institutions of his country ; and the wealth and riches found in Byzantium not a little contributed to occasion his ruin. Conceiving himself to be too great to continue a subject, he aimed at the regal power, through the assistance of the Persian monarch, the enemy of his country. An Eretrian of the name of Gongylus, well acquainted with the Persian language and customs, became his principal confidant. To him he entrusted the Persian nobles taken in Byzantium. This man, with his prisoners, escaped across the Bosphorus, and carried a letter to Xerxes, in which Pausanias, after mentioning his restoration of the captive princes as an indubitable

dubitable mark of his sincerity, offered to Xerxes to assist him in conquering Greece, provided he would give him his daughter in marriage, and allow him to hold that country as a dependent province. As the subjugation of Greece was a great object with the Persian monarch, he is said to have been greatly pleased with these proposals, and to have sent Artabazus, a nobleman of consequence, and in whom he could confide, to treat and co-operate with the traitor Pausanias.

The Spartan admiral, however, acted with the inconsistency and precipitancy of a man under the delusion of ambition, or guided by evil counsels. He was difficult of access to his colleagues in office; disdained to concert measures with them, which they were to execute; the conquered barbarians were his guards; and he punished the slightest offence in the allied army with a rigour hitherto unknown, and therefore insupportable to Grecian troops. He kept the fierce spirits of the Spartans indeed in subjection, but without any degree of moderation; for the distinctions exacted for them served only to exasperate and inflame the minds of the confederates, whom he would not permit to forage, to draw water, or cut straw for their beds, until his countrymen had been supplied with these articles.

The intolerable pride and insolence of Pausanias disgusted and provoked all the Greeks, but more especially the Ionians, who complained, that they had no sooner been delivered from the yoke of Persia, than they were made to suffer under the more galling tyranny of Sparta. On

the contrary, the justice of Aristides, and the candour and generosity of Cimon, won the affections both of officers and men. The allies saw that the Athenians were far more powerful at sea than the Lacedæmonians; and therefore applied themselves to the Athenian commanders for redress and protection, and promised for the future, to acknowledge Athens as the first city of Greece. Upon this, Aristides told them that he was convinced not only of the reasonableness but the necessity of their proposal; yet, as he wished not to hazard the safety or honour of his country, by attempting to perform what might not succeed, he would not comply with their request, until by some public action they had proved their sincerity, and fixed the concurrence of all the troops beyond the power of retracting. After this declaration, Uliades and Antagoras, the commanders of the fleets of Samos and Chios, the bravest of all the maritime allies, insulted the galley of Pausanias, at the head of the Grecian fleet; and when the Spartan admiral reproached and threatened them, they desired him to thank Fortune for her favours at Plataea, the memory of which victory alone restrained the Greeks from punishing his arrogance and cruelty. These words re-echoed through the fleet, and were the signal of general revolt. The different squadrons of Asia and the Hellespont sailed from their stations, joined the ships of Uliades and Antagoras, abjured the tyranny of Sparta, and the insolence of Pausanias; and ranged themselves under the banners of Athens. Thus by the domineering conduct of Pausanias did the Lacedæmonians lose that pre-eminence
they

they had hitherto maintained, while Athens obtained the supremacy by the prudence and virtue of Aristides.

Apprised of the conduct and treachery of Pausanias, the Spartans recalled him to be tried for his life; but his immense wealth corrupted the judges of his country, and the ephori pretending there was not sufficient evidence against him, he was only degraded from his office. This censure, however, did not deter him from the treacherous designs in which he was engaged. He still continued to negotiate and correspond with Artabazus; and at length began to tamper with the Helotes and Messenians, those oppressed slaves, who were ever ready to rebel against the caprice and tyranny of their unrelenting masters. But as it exceeded even the opulence and effrontery of Pausanias, to corrupt and influence the whole republic, he was again impeached of treason to Greece, and his accusers, in consequence of an event that took place, had it in their power to make good their charge against him. An unhappy youth, named Argilius, who lived with Pausanias as the minister of his pleasures, was intended to be the victim of that monster's ambition. Pausanias appointed this man to be the messenger of a letter to Artabazus, in which, as usual, after having explained the state of his affairs, he hinted to him to put the bearer to death. The youth having observed, that none of the messengers of Pausanias ever returned, determined to open the letter. Finding by the contents the fate he was to have met with, he was fired with resentment, and carried the letter directly to the enemies of Pausanias, who prudently advised him to take refuge

fuge in the temple of Neptune, expecting that his master would soon follow him. In the mean time, a double tent was set up, in one part of which certain Spartans were concealed, and in the other Argilius received his master, who came to expostulate with him. By their mutual reproaches, the Spartans, who heard them, became direct witnesses against Pausanias, so that when he returned to Sparta, the ephori resolved to imprison him; but some of his friends giving him intelligence of their design, he fled for protection to the temple of Minerva. It being unlawful to take a person from that asylum, the Lacedæmonians were at a loss how to act. The mother of Pausanias, however, taking a tile in her hand, came to the temple, and placed it at the door. The Spartans considering her conduct, followed the example, and blocked up the entrance; and in this manner starved him to death.

The fate of Pausanias, in a little time, involved that of Themistocles. He was fast advancing to the attainment of the same authority at home, which the integrity and merit of Aristides had procured abroad for his country and himself; when complaints arrived from Sparta, that he had conspired with Pausanias against the liberties of Greece. The known resentment of the Lacedæmonians against Themistocles sufficiently explains the reason, why they who had been so dilatory in convicting Pausanias, should be ready to bring to justice his supposed accomplice. But when we reflect upon the abilities and courage displayed by Themistocles in the decisive victory at Salamis; his counsels and address in fortifying the city
with

with impregnable strength; his foresight and activity in procuring the Athenians a fleet against which no nation could contend; and his patriotism and merit in saving Athens from the most formidable invasion recorded in history; we cannot conceive how his countrymen could admit an accusation of this nature against him. He had not the integrity and virtue of Aristides, but he was not perhaps the guilty person that the Lacedæmonians represented him. In fact, Pausanias had communicated his designs to Themistocles; but the Athenian rejected his proposals with the utmost indignation. Themistocles, however, concealed the design, either because he considered it base and dishonourable to divulge the secrets of his friends, or because he imagined it was impossible for such ill-concerted schemes to produce any effect. Be that as it may, the Athenians, upon the accusation of the Spartans, banished Themistocles by the ostracism. He retired to Argos; and it is not improbable but he might have been recalled to Athens before the expiration of the time, had the Lacedæmonians given his countrymen leisure to reconsider what they had done.

Pausanias having suffered, the Spartans informed the Athenians, that from the papers found in the possession of that traitor, the guilt of Themistocles was fully authenticated; that it was not sufficient, therefore, to have driven him from Athens, by a decree which might at any time be repealed; that crimes against the general confederacy of Greece ought to be brought before the amphictyonic council; and that the punishment should be death, or perpetual banishment. The Athenians shamefully complied

with this demand of the Spartans; and Themistocles being informed of his condemnation, sailed to Corcyra. His enemies still continuing to pursue him, he fled to the opposite coast of Epirus, and took refuge amongst the barbarous Molossians. Admetus, king of that country, had, on a former occasion, sought the assistance of the Athenians, when Themistocles was in the plenitude of his power, but had been rejected. Admetus was from home, at the time that Themistocles came to implore his protection; and on his arrival, was surprised to see his adversary a suppliant to him for an asylum. When the king appeared, Themistocles took the young son of the monarch in his arms, sat down among the household gods, and besought the clemency and protection of Admetus. The king, moved with sorrow and compassion, to see the greatest man of Greece in this humiliating condition, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to afford him everything in his power. When the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, therefore, sent to demand Themistocles, he refused to deliver him up, because he had made his palace an asylum, in the confidence that it would afford him safety and protection. Thus did the Athenian exile continue to spend the close of life in indolence and retirement; and having learned to pardon and despise the ingratitude of his country, he expected that he should have been forgotten and forgiven. But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not permit him to remain in quiet; and still required Admetus to surrender him, under pain of their highest displeasure. This prince informing him of the dilemma to which he was reduced, Themistocles resolved,

resolved, without hesitation, to retire to a still greater distance from his cruel and ungrateful countrymen. He accordingly went on board a vessel for Ionia, and with the utmost precaution concealed his rank. But a storm arising, the ship was driven near the island of Naxos, at that time besieged by the Athenians. The imminent danger he was in of falling into the hands of his enemies, obliged him to make himself known to the pilot, who was prevailed on to steer for Asia. The Persian monarch, having heard that the Greeks had proscribed him their country, set a price upon his head ; and commanded that every person, who should arrive in any part of the coast of his dominions, should be strictly examined. Themistocles, however, found means to reach Cuma in *Æolia* undiscovered ; and by the assistance and friendship of his host, a man of considerable property, he was conducted in a covered waggon to Suza. The ladies in Persia being kept always from public view, the conductor of the waggon reported, that Themistocles was an Ionian lady, whom he was carrying to a nobleman at the Persian court. He was therefore permitted to pass without farther inquiry.

When the unfortunate exile arrived at the voluptuous palace of Artaxerxes, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom, he informed the guards that he was a Grecian stranger, and requested an audience of the monarch. The officers informed him of a ceremony, that they knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which it would be impossible to have an interview with Artaxerxes : this was no less than to fall prostrate before the Persian monarch, and to worship him as the living image of the gods
on

on earth. Themistocles being admitted into the royal presence, prostrated himself accordingly, made a most moving speech, and informed the king of his name, his country, and misfortunes. "You see at your feet," says he, "Themistocles, a man that has indeed injured the Persians much, but who has it in his power to render them very important services. My life is at your disposal. If you save it, you will eternally oblige a man that begs it at your hands; if you take it away, you will destroy the greatest enemy the Greeks have." The king was struck at his intrepidity and eloquence; but made him no answer. He soon, however, gave a loose to his joy, and told his courtiers, that he considered the arrival of Themistocles as the happiest of incidents, and wished his enemies would always pursue the same destructive methods, and banish from among them all that were good and wise. Plutarch says, that Artaxerxes was so well pleased with him, that in the night after the audience, he cried out three times in his sleep, "I have got Themistocles, the Athenian." The next morning the king sent for him; and as soon as the first compliments were over, said, "I am two hundred talents in your debt, for so much I promised to him that should bring Themistocles." Artaxerxes bestowed upon him three cities for his support, and he lived in all the splendor and magnificence of a Persian grandee. It is said, that such was the favour he possessed at court, and so great the consideration in which he was held by all ranks and degrees of people, that he cried out to his wife and children one day at table, "Children, we should have been certainly ruined, had we not been formerly undone."

In

In this manner he lived in affluence and contented dependence, until the Persian monarch pressed him to undertake an expedition against Greece. Although Themistocles professed himself an enemy to his country, yet he was not so void of patriotic feelings, but that he nourished a latent spark of affection for Athens, which no resentment nor injuries could wholly efface. He felt inexpressible pain at the thoughts of being instrumental in the ruin and destruction of a city, which had flourished by his counsels and exertions. He found himself unable to perform that duty and gratitude he owed to the king, or to erase from his heart the love of his country. The only means left to ease him of this perplexity, was death. Having therefore made a solemn sacrifice, at which he entertained all his friends, he swallowed poison, and thus put an end to his life. He died at Magnesia, aged threescore and six years, and was honoured with a stately tomb; but his ashes, according to his particular request, were privately carried into Attica, and buried there. Themistocles united in himself all the great and prominent features of the Greek character. He was sagacious, eloquent, and brave; but unprincipled, artful, and mercenary. The means employed to attain his object gave him little or no concern, provided he thereby obtained what he sought. It was a usual saying with him, that every thing, which contributes to the advantage or glory of the commonwealth, is lawful and laudable. In short, he was possessed of too many virtues, to be considered as a despicable character, and too many defects ever to be regarded as a good one.

It is worthy of observation, that the three
great

B.C. great commanders of Greece, who had resisted and disgraced the arms of 471. Xerxes, quitted the scene almost at the same time. While Pausanias and Themistocles suffered punishment for their real or pretended crimes, the good Aristides died of old age, universally regretted and lamented by his affectionate fellow-citizens. He who had for a long time managed the treasury of all Greece, left not a sum sufficient to defray his own funeral expenses. The public gave his son three hundred pounds, to enable him to pursue and finish his education; and his daughters were maintained and portioned by the state. This honourable poverty well corresponded with the manly and dignified gravity of his character, whose pure and unsullied splendour far outshines the doubtful fame of his great and daring, but unfortunate rival.

Upon the death of Aristides, Cimon, who is said to have united in his own person the courage of Miltiades, and the prudence of Themistocles, with more integrity than both, was left without an equal in favour and authority with the Athenian people, and the conduct of the Persian war immediately devolved on him. He first led the Grecian armament against the coasts of Thrace, and attacked the towns of Amphipolis and Eion, situated on the river Strymon. The former was soon taken; but the latter opposed an obstinate and vigorous resistance. Cimon having reduced the garrison to extremities, offered terms of capitulation. But Butes, the Persian governor, with a ferocious heroism, refused to surrender the place; and, when hunger pressed upon them, throwing the gold and silver,

silver, and other things of value, into the river Strymon, caused a large pile of wood to be raised, killed his wife, concubines, children, and slaves, and, setting fire to the pile, precipitated himself into the midst of the flames, and thus perished. His companions and attendants, equally desperate, followed the example of their intrepid leader. Cimon having punished the Thracians, who had assisted the Persians in Ionia with provision, settled colonies in that neighbourhood.

The inhabitants of the little isle of Scyros, a Thessalian tribe, had been guilty of many enormities and depredations in the *Ægean* sea. The amphictyonic council now interfering, commanded Cimon to put an end to those piracies, and to free the Greeks from domestic, as well as foreign enemies. Cimon immediately obeyed, and reduced the place; and the inhabitants being sold for slaves, the island was repopled from Athens.

Those great reasons and urgent necessities, which had given birth to the Grecian confederacy against Persia, now ceased to exist. In Europe, the only place which was under the government of the Persian monarch was Doriscus. Every other garrison in Thrace, and on the Hellespont, a name under which the early Greek writers often included the whole tract of water from the *Ægean* to the Euxine sea, had yielded to the Grecian arms. It could not therefore be supposed, that Greece was any longer in imminent danger from the ambition and resentment of the Persian monarch; but it was nevertheless highly necessary, that a navy should be maintained, sufficiently powerful to deter,

deter, or repel, any future attacks of an enemy still formidable if put in motion. Many, however, of the inferior states of Greece, when danger no longer pressed, first became lukewarm in the cause, and then averse to the continuance of a war which burdened them with expenses. The citizens grew weary of serving in the fleet, under what they considered, in some measure, a foreign command; and which seemed to promote in no shape the interest and advantage of their own commonwealths. The several administrations, accustomed always to a perfect independency, would still determine, each for itself, when it could not exert the irksome and invidious office of taxing the people, for the support of the navy, or enforce the still more invidious office of compelling personal service. The Athenian government, on the other hand, at first modest, and, under the administration of Aristides, scrupulously just in the exercise of supremacy, grew afterward rigid and imperious. Some of the subordinate commonwealths, influenced by views of a public or private nature, concurred in the measures of Athens, became jealous of the defection of others, and ready to join in compelling adherence to the confederacy.

The inhabitants of Naxos, a rich and populous island, and one of the Cyclades, were the first to venture opposition against the grand alliance. Confiding in that strength with which they had formerly baffled the force of the Persians under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, they sustained the war for a considerable time against the arms of the confederates. But, being at length compelled to capitulate, they
surrendered

surrendered upon terms that deprived them of their liberty and independency. Thus was Naxos, contrary to the express articles of the covenant agreed on by the Grecian states, reduced to the subjection of Athens. This example being made of the Naxians, it became necessary to exert themselves against the common enemy, that clamour and faction might cease, and vigour and courage once more animate the confederates. In the Grecian communities that bordered on the Persian empire, all who aspired to be tyrants, whom faction had banished, or who were discontented with the government under which they lived, still looked to Persia for patronage and protection. The prospect of revived vigour in the councils of the new king gave hope and encouragement to such views; and most of the Cyprian towns had already deserted the cause of Greece. Some Grecian cities also in Asia minor were still under the subjection of the Persian government; and in Caria the arms of the confederates had never yet been seen; while the people of Phaselis, a Grecian settlement in the adjoining province of Pamphylia, made no scruple of professing their preference of the Persian to the Grecian alliance.

With the formidable and numerous armament which Cimon had now under his command, he stretched towards the coast of Caria; and such was the terror which the fame of his troops inspired, that many of the Greek cities in that valuable province were deserted by their garrisons, before any enemy appeared. Seconded by the ardour of the natives, Cimon successively besieged and reduced all the walled towns and

fortresses, in many of which were numerous and powerful garrisons; and the Persians were expelled from Caria. He then entered Pamphylia, the whole coast of which submitted to him. Phaselis alone refused to admit the Grecian fleet, or to desert the Persian monarch. The place was immediately besieged; but such had been their ancient connection with the Chians, who served under Cimon, that a treacherous correspondence was held with the enemy. After other means of intercourse had been cut off, the Chians shot arrows into the place, and informed the besieged of every measure adopted by the assailants. Wherever the confederates made an attack, the garrison and townsmen, having previous notice, were prepared to resist. At length, however, by the perseverance of Cimon, Phaselis was compelled to capitulate. The vigorous resistance of the garrison was not followed by any particular punishment. The Chians, who were universally allowed to be the best sailors in the Athenian fleet, prevailed on the lenity of Cimon to allow them a capitulation, provided they paid ten talents, and added the whole of their naval strength to the Grecian armament.

The distracted state of Persia at this time hindered Artaxerxes from making any vigorous efforts to resist the European invasion. But as soon as that prince had crushed the ambition of his competitors, and quieted domestic faction, he assembled an army on the banks of the Euxine in Pamphylia, and sent a fleet to co-operate with it. A reinforcement of eighty triremes from Phœnicia was also expected, upon the arrival of which he proposed to begin his operations.

Cimon,

Cimon, having notice of these circumstances, resolved to quit the objects he had in view on the continent, and to attack the hostile fleet before the expected squadron should arrive. Among the ancients, naval operations were almost always connected with those by land. Cimon, therefore, embarked a considerable part of his forces, and sailed for the Eurymedon. On his arrival, the Persian fleet, already much more numerous than that of the Greeks, advanced to meet him. An engagement immediately ensued; but, after an obstinate and bloody battle, many of the Persian ships were sunk; a hundred were taken; and the rest fled in disorder toward the shores of Cyprus. A powerful detachment of the Grecian fleet pursued the Persian vessels, which the terror of their crews abandoned to the victors. Thus did the mighty preparations of Artaxerxes, instead of weakening, strengthen in one day the hostile navy of Greece with three hundred sail.

Far from being intoxicated with this flow of prosperity, the great and vigorous mind of Cimon considered only how the advantages already obtained might be improved. As the soldiers encamped on the Eurymedon were entirely ignorant of the battle, Cimon resolved to put in execution a plan for surprising the Persian camp. On the evening, therefore, of the same glorious day, he stripped the prisoners, amounting to twenty thousand men, of their Persian habiliments, with which he dressed his own soldiers. The bravest of the Greeks condescended to assume the tiara and the scymitar, and thus disguised sailed up the river Eurymedon. As

soon as the Persians beheld the Greeks in this attire, supposing them to be their expected companions, they received them with open arms into their camp. But the confederates were no sooner admitted, than, on a signal being given, they drew their swords, and attacked, with the concert of disciplined valour, their defenceless and astonished adversaries. Consternation and dismay seized this numerous and unwarlike host; nor did they recover from their surprise, until Cimon had advanced to the camp of their general. The few that had more presence of mind betook themselves to flight; but the rest remained without power, and fell an easy prey to the conquerors. Thus did Cimon erect in one day two trophies for two victories, gained on different elements by the same armament. After this, receiving intelligence that the Phœnician galleys, which had been intended to reinforce the fleet, lay in the port of Hydrus in Cyprus, he sent a squadron of his best ships thither, and every trireme was destroyed or taken.

By these great successes, the naval strength of Persia was so broken, the land-forces so much disheartened, and the spirit of enterprise, which had formerly animated its councils, and excited its commanders, was so weakened and depressed, that offensive operations against Greece were immediately intermitted. It became the boast of the Greeks, that no Persian ship of war appeared westward of the Chelidonian isles on the coast of Pamphylia, or of the Cyanean rocks at the entrance of the Euxine; and that no Persian troops approached within three days journey of the Grecian seas.

Cimon

B.C. 468. Cimon returned in triumph to his country, with such trophies as Greece had never before won, in a field so distant. Of the wealth that was the fruit of these victories, and which had been taken from the Persians, part was deposited in the public treasury, part rewarded the individuals who had accompanied Cimon, and a large proportion became the property of the commander. In order to obtain and ensure the affections of the people, Cimon spent with liberality and profusion what he had acquired. He threw down the fences of his gardens and orchards, and permitted all to partake of their produce; a table was daily spread at his house for the poorer citizens; and he assisted with his wealth, not only his own particular friends, but the greatest part of the Athenians. In going about the city, he was generally accompanied by a large retinue, handsomely dressed; and when he met an elderly citizen ill clad, he directed one of his attendants to change clothes with him. In his youth, Cimon had affected a roughness of manners, and a contempt for the elegancies of life; but in his riper age he discovered, that no natural connection subsisted between grossness and virtue. He raised the first of the Athenian porticoes, where the people were wont to assemble, and to hold promiscuous discourse. He founded the fame of the celebrated groves of Academus, by forming commodious and elegant walks in the wood, and adorning them with running water. He planted palm-trees in the forum, which afforded an agreeable and salutary shade to those who exposed their wares there, and to those who came to purchase them.

The stores, with which his victories enriched the treasury, furnished the sums employed upon the works executed under his direction, and especially the completion of the fortifications of the citadel. The riches which these conquests had produced to Athens brought with them their constant attendant, corruption ; but, though venality prevailed much, Aristides, in the midst of a voluntary poverty, and Cimon, who lived with the greatest splendour and magnificence, escaped it, and were never charged with partiality or avarice.

While Cimon, by a splendid and princely liberality, endeavoured to confirm his interest with the people, he was not unmindful of the general welfare. The citizens of the Grecian confederacy grew still more impatient of the requisitions made upon them for public service, and longed to return home, that they might enjoy peace and domestic happiness. But that the maintenance of a navy was necessary, so long as the Persian empire existed, or the Grecian seas offered a temptation for piracy, could not be denied. Most of the allies, therefore, agreed to compound for the personal service of their citizens, by furnishing ships, and paying a sum of money to the common treasury ; and the Athenians were to man the fleet. While, by the consequences of this agreement, Athens greatly strengthened herself, and reduced to impotence many of the allied states, she became less scrupulous of using force against those who disputed her sovereign authority.

The reduction of Eion by the confederate arms under Cimon had made her better acquainted with the value of the adjacent country.

It

It abounded with mines of silver and gold, and a lucrative commerce was carried on with the Thracian hordes. These excited the avidity of the conquerors; but the inhabitants of the neighbouring island of Thasus had anciently possessed the mines and commerce of that country. When, therefore, the Persians were overcome by the arms of Greece, the Thasians asserted their rights, and insisted that they should again revert to them entire. The Athenians, on the contrary, claimed the principal share in right of conquest. The Thacians, irritated at

B.C. 465. the conduct of their allies, renounced the confederacy; and Cimon was ordered by the Athenian government to proceed against them. The Thasians, venturing a naval engagement, were defeated; and Cimon, debarking his forces, reduced all but the principal town, to which he laid siege. In the mean time, the Athenian government sent a colony of ten thousand men to inhabit the country around Eion. But the Thracian tribes attacking the Greeks, overpowered, and cut them in pieces, and annihilated the colony.

During these transactions, Cimon carried on the siege of Thasus with great vigour, but met with an obstinate resistance from the besieged. The Thasians, however, not depending upon their own strength for success, requested the assistance of the Lacedæmonians. The Spartans, sensible of the necessity of interfering in this dispute, and thereby giving a check to the growing, and already formidable power of Athens, determined to send troops to invade Attica. But a sudden and destructive earthquake overturning the city of Sparta at this crisis,

crisis, and in its consequences threatening ruin to the state, the Lacedæmonians were compelled to abandon the enterprise. The Thasians, therefore, having withstood the confederate arms for three years, were obliged to capitulate, upon terms, indeed, sufficiently severe, but by which they avoided the wretched condition of slavery.

B. C. Cimon, thus successful, did not meet,
462. on his return home, with that reception which his merits and victories entitled him to expect. Like other great men, his predecessors, his glory excited envy. Through the prevalence of faction, he was prosecuted for having received bribes from Alexander, king of Macedonia, to stop the progress of the Grecian arms against that country. Cimon, indignant at the ungrateful return for the services he had performed, only told the people, that he had never sought any connection with the Macedonians, but confessed he considered them as a brave and virtuous nation; nor would he ever prefer wealth to those qualities, though he had enriched Athens with the spoils of its enemies. The popularity of Cimon was yet great; and this defence procured him an honourable acquittal.

In the mean time, Lacedæmon had been in the greatest consternation, and on the brink of ruin. The earthquake came suddenly at mid-day. Twenty thousand persons lost their lives; and only five houses remained standing in Sparta. The Helotes assembled from all parts, with intent to destroy their severe masters that survived, and to seize the country; but the prudence and foresight of Archidamus saved Lacedæmon. In the midst of the general confusion,
while

while some were endeavouring to preserve their most valuable effects, and others fleeing different ways to avoid destruction, he caused the trumpet to sound to arms, as if an enemy had been at hand. The Lacedæmonians immediately obeyed the signal, and armed themselves; and the Helotes seeing a regular army, instead of a confused and scattered multitude, desisted from their meditated attempt. But quitting the city, the Helotes spread themselves over the country, and excited their comrades to rebellion.

They seized Ithome, and made it their principal post. But they so far outnumbered the Lacedæmonians, that though deficiently armed, they were formidable even in the field. Application was therefore made to the neighbouring allies for succour; and the Æginetans and Platæans immediately went to their assistance. Thus reinforced, the Spartans obliged the insurgents to retire within the walls of Ithome. But that place being naturally strong, and the Lacedæmonians inexpert in sieges, the assistance of the Athenians was requested, who were esteemed skilful and experienced, beyond the other Greeks, in this kind of warfare.

This measure seems to have been, on many accounts, very imprudent and unseasonable, and led, not indeed immediately, but in its direct issue, to the Peloponnesian war. Cimon, thinking it ungenerous to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival city, persuaded the Atheni-

B.C. 461. ans to send assistance to Sparta; and a considerable body of troops, under his command, marched into Peloponnesus. Being arrived at the camp of the besiegers, they made an attack upon Ithome, but without success,

cess. The Spartans, suspecting that the Athenians favoured the interest of the insurgents, dismissed them, on pretence that their help was no longer necessary. But, as they still retained the troops of the other allies, the Athenians were justly incensed against them; and disposed more than ever to endeavour to humble the Spartan greatness. As soon as the Athenians had returned home, they passed a decree, renouncing the confederacy with Lacedæmon, and made an alliance with Argos, the inveterate enemy of Sparta; to which also the Thessalians acceded.

In Athens, as in every free government, there would always be a faction adverse to the party that governed: matters had been for some time ripening to a change; and the renunciation of the alliance with Sparta was the triumph of opposition. Cimon had always professed himself a friend to the Lacedæmonians, and an admirer of their institutions; and he had always acted in the capacity he professed. His eldest son he named Lacedæmonius, as a proof of his partiality to that state. And the more completely to demonstrate his disesteem for the Athenian character, his two other sons were called Thesalus and Eleius. He had also been the chief promoter of sending succours to Sparta, when that city desired the assistance of the Athenian people. All these circumstances were now turned to his disadvantage, with all the violence and acrimony of the spirit of party. The epithet *Philolacones*, or friends to the Lacedæmonians, was bandied about as the mark and opprobrium of the existing government. Whilst the public mind was thus in a ferment, a favourable

able opportunity was seized ; the ostracism was proposed and carried ; and by the banishment of Cimon, the party in opposition became possessed of the reins of government.

The ostensible head of this party was Ephialtes ; but Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, had of late obtained an ascendancy in the popular favour. Pericles possessed many advantages, derived both from nature and fortune. His father, a man of one of the first families in Athens, and of large property, had been instrumental in the prosecution of Miltiades ; but had chiefly distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct in the battle of Mycale. He married Agariste, the niece of Cleosthenes, who was principally concerned in expelling the Pisistratids from Athens. Their son, born with uncommon abilities, had studied under the most celebrated masters of Greece. Damon had taught him the policy of his country ; and Anaxagoras instructed him in natural philosophy and eloquence. In person, manner, and voice, he remarkably resembled Pisistratus. This circumstance for a long time obliged him to conceal the shining qualifications of which he was possessed. In his youth, therefore, he employed his active hours in arms, and his leisure in studies. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles in banishment, and Cimon absent in foreign service, Pericles applied himself very diligently to public business. His eloquence is said to have been so nervous and elevated, that it procured him the surname of Olympus. His family interest and party connections led him to court the popular favour, and to oppose the aristocratical side ; though his natural disposition and private inclinations

nations would have inclined him to pursue a different conduct.

The disposition of the Athenians appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the populace more than to the nobility, Ephialtes proposed to contract the powers, and reduce the dignity, of the court of Areopagus. The proposition, which the people passed into a decree, was, that most of the causes cognizable by that court should be transferred to the assembly of the people; and this assembly was to direct, without control, issues from the public treasury.

During the confusion in which the Persian government was involved after the death of Xerxes, Inarus, an African chieftain on the western borders of Egypt, had caused the greatest part of that country to rebel: but fearing the power of Artaxerxes, he requested the assistance of the Greeks. The Athenians accordingly sent a fleet, which, having performed great exploits, enabled the Egyptians to defeat the Persians in the field, and to subdue two districts of the great city of Memphis. The third, which was called the White-wall, could not be reduced, and the Persians who retired thither, having carried great quantities of provision and ammunition with them, sustained a vigorous siege. In the mean time, an ancient dispute between Megara and Corinth, respecting the limits of their territories, had led to hostilities. Both

B.C. states were allied to Sparta; but the Me-
458. garians, hopeless of procuring aid from Lacedæmon, put themselves under the protection of the Athenians, and requested assistance from them. The Athenian administration

tion immediately complied, and sent troops to garrison some of their principal towns. In the descent on the Argolic coast, the Corinthians and Epidaurians defeated the forces of Athens; but the Athenian fleet soon after obtained a victory over the Peloponnesians. The Æginetans then joined their fleet with that of Corinth; and the Athenians having assembled all the naval force of their confederacy, a battle was fought, seventy ships of the Peloponnesians and their allies were taken, and siege was laid to the capital of Ægina. The Athenians were finally victorious, and Corinth was so weakened by this war, as to be incapable of any considerable exertions for some time.

Lacedæmon, enfeebled by misfortunes and internal discord, had not been induced by the revolt of Megara, or the sufferings of so near an ally as Corinth, to come to a rupture with Athens; though this republic had evinced great enmity towards Sparta, and styled itself the *protector of Greece*. Doris however, the mother-country of the Peloponnesians, having been attacked by the Phocians, and several of its towns taken, the Spartans dispatched an army, under the command of Nicomedes, to its assistance. The Phocians, unable to resist this force, surrendered the Dorian towns, and submitted to the conditions imposed by the Lacedæmonians. But when Nicomedes should have returned to Sparta, the Athenians, joining the Argives and Thessalians, shut up the passes into Peloponnesus. Nicomedes was much at a loss what to do; but having well considered the matter, he resolved to wait an opportunity, and therefore wintered in Bœotia.

The Athenians and their allies, having expected that the severe season of the year, and the impatience of the troops, would have compelled Nicomedes to attempt the passage of the mountains, resolved in the spring to attack him in the plain. Collecting, therefore, all the auxiliary troops they could, they formed a body of fourteen thousand heavy armed foot. These, with the cavalry, and the attending slaves, would make an army of scarcely less than thirty thousand men, with which they marched into Bœotia. Nicomedes met them at Tanagra, and a severe

B. C. action ensued, in which neither of the con-
456. tending parties could claim the victory.

The next day it was again renewed, and the Thessalian horse treacherously deserting their allies, the Athenians were compelled to leave the Peloponnesians masters of the field, after a terrible slaughter on both sides. Previous to this battle, Cimon met the troops of Athens before they quitted the Attic border; and, as the law of his exile did not absolutely forbid it, requested to fight as a volunteer amongst them. His request, however, was denied, and he was commanded to leave the army. But before he retired, he addressed himself to Euthippus, and the rest of his friends, who had been considered as accessaries with him in the conspiracy against the state, and desired them to act in such a manner, as to wipe off all aspersion, and convince the Athenians, that they had not amongst them either more brave or more honest men, than Cimon and his friends. They made him no other answer, than by requesting him to leave his armour with them, since their generals would not allow him to fight at their head. Accordingly, when the
army

army was routed, the friends of Cimon continued to combat around his panoply, until they were killed to a man.

Neither the force nor the spirit of Athens, however, were broken by the defeat at Tanagra. Myronides was appointed general of the Athenians. On the sixty-second day after the former unfortunate battle, he met the Thebans and their allies, composing a numerous and well-disciplined army. After a long and obstinate engagement with these troops, Myronides prevailed, and obtained a glorious and complete victory. The Athenian general then marched to Tanagra, stormed the town, and, to make even the defeats of his country terrible to its enemies, razed it to the ground. He then plundered all Bœotia; and vanquished an army, which had been drawn together, in order to compel him to retreat. He afterward fell upon the Locrians, entered Thessaly, and, having chastised the inhabitants of that country for their treacherous conduct to the Athenians, returned home laden with riches and glory. This campaign of Myronides, though no detail of it existed in the time of Diodorus Siculus, was esteemed equal to, if not surpassing, the most brilliant achievements of the Athenian arms.

About this time also the little barren island of Ægina surrendered to the Athenians. Cut off from all relief by the powerful armaments which Athens possessed, the Æginetans were obliged at length to capitulate: their ships of war were given up; their fortifications demolished; and they bound themselves to the payment of an annual tribute. In the same summer, the great work of the long walls, which

connected the city with the Piræus, was completed.

B. C. Tolmides, the Athenian admiral, sailing round Peloponnesus with a strong
455. squadron, attacked and burnt Gythium, a naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians. He then proceeded into the Corinthian gulf, disembarked his forces, and, having obtained a victory over the Sicyonians by land, took Chalcis in Ætolia. In the tenth year of the war, the Lacedæmonians were obliged to turn the siege of Ithome into a blockade, and at last to hearken to terms of accommodation; by which it was agreed, that the Helotes should depart from Peloponnesus, never to return. The Athenians collected these fugitives, and settled them at Naupactus, on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf. Having resumed the name of Messenians, which indeed they had never entirely lost, they became a free republic, under the protection of Athens, and were once more reckoned a Grecian people.

While success attended the Athenian forces in Greece, the troops of the republic engaged in the distant operations in Egypt, experienced various turns of fortune. Grecian valour and Grecian discipline at first triumphed over all opposition, and the Persian government was driven almost to despair. Megabazus was sent with large sums of money to Lacedæmon, to endeavour, by bribes, to obtain the alliance of that state, and to procure the invasion of Attica by a Spartan army. An Athenian writer, however, almost contemporary, informs us, that the Lacedæmonians refused to accede to a proposal, to which resentment, ambition, and political intrigue, it might have been supposed, would have contributed so powerfully to incite them.

At length, therefore, the Persians assembled a numerous and powerful army on the confines of Cicilia and Syria; and a fleet was prepared in Phœnicia and other maritime provinces. Me-

B. C. gabazus led his troops into the field early
456. in the spring; and the Egyptians, venturing a battle, were defeated. The little army of Greeks, compelled to raise the siege, retired into an island of the Nile, where their fleet joined them. The Persians could not act against them here. Megabazus, having formed dikes and cut water-courses, drained the channel in which lay the Athenian galleys. The fleet being by these means rendered unserviceable, the Grecian army was left open to attack; and
B. C. after a siege of eighteen months, the
454. island was taken: part of the Grecian troops forcing their way escaped, but the greater part perished.

Fifty trireme galleys also, sailing to Egypt, to relieve an equal number there, entered the mouth of the Nile, ignorant of what had happened. The Phœnician squadron instantly attacked them, and, being assisted by the army on shore, very few were saved.

A reconciliation between the aristocratical and democratical parties in Athens appears to have taken place about this time. Pericles proposed in an assembly of the people to recall Cimon from banishment, after the expiration of only five years of his exile. A cessation of hostilities between the Athenians and the other states of Greece was an immediate consequence of his restoration. Where, however, there were so many jarring interests, a reconciliation could not be easily effected. Before any treaty of

peace with the Peloponnesian confederacy could be brought to a conclusion, three years of intermitted war elapsed ; and then only a truce for five years was agreed on.

Such was become the constitution of the Athenian commonwealth, and so great the effects which the continuance of war had produced on the minds of the people, that, in order to preserve quiet at home, Cimon saw the necessity of turning the spirit of enterprise towards foreign conquest, and against the common enemy of Greece. He, therefore, determined to make an attack upon Cyprus, that his countrymen might desist from making war upon the Lacedæmonians, or oppressing their allies. Two hundred gallies were equipped, of which he took the command. Sixty of them were detached to Egypt, to distract the attention of the Persian government. With his remaining force he attacked Citium and Malum, of which he made himself master. After this success, he defeated the Phœnician fleet, obtained a victory over the Persian army encamped in Cicilia, and, re-embarking his troops, returned to Cyprus, and laid siege to the principal city. In the camp, however, before that place, Cimon died in the arms of victory. It is not known whether his death were occasioned by sickness, or by a wound he had received. His remains were carried to Athens, and buried there ; and a magnificent monument was erected to his memory.

The death of this great man was not less honourable than had been his life. When he found that he was about to expire, he gave suitable directions to the principal commanders ; ordered them to conceal his decease, and to embark immediately for Athens. Great as was the military

tary character of Cimon, his wisdom, integrity, moderation, and conciliatory conduct, were virtues for which his loss was most severely felt and deplored. Others might command fleets and armies, and obtain victories; but they could not, or did not, free Greece from civil feuds, and domestic wars.

After the death of Cimon, Pericles became the principal person in the state. But the aristocratical party never ceased to molest and oppose him. Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon, was the chief leader of the party in opposition. He was a man of very respectable character, not without reputation for military talents; but more known as an experienced statesman, and able speaker. Pericles, however, obtained the ascendancy in directing the affairs of government.

- Pericles conceived an idea of improving the constitution of the Athenian empire, or rather of that of all Greece. For this purpose, he proposed to form of the several little republics one great commonwealth, of which Athens should be the head. But the pride of the Peloponnesians, and particularly of the Lacedæmonians, who opposed the measure with all their power, compelled him
- to abandon the project; and he was reduced to
- the necessity of adhering to the former policy of the Grecian states.

The Megarians having revolted from the Athenians, and entered into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians, occasioned a war between Athens and Sparta. The Eubœans also having revolted, Pericles marched an army into Eubœa, and quickly reduced the whole of that island. The Hestiæans were ejected from their city, and an Athenian colony was settled

settled in it. A negotiation between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians was soon after proposed, and a cessation of hostilities was concluded for thirty years.

CHAP. VIII.

The Affairs of Greece from the Truce for thirty Years to the Peace of Nicias.

SCARCELY had six years of the truce expired, when Athens, by the dissensions of the Samians and Milesians, was led into another war. The inhabitants of Miletus applied to Athens for redress against the Samians; and the Athenian government, in consequence, required the inhabitants of Samos to appear and answer to the charges of which they were accused. This they refusing to do, the Athenians sent a fleet of forty gallies, which brought them to submission; and their government was changed into a democracy. Pericles, it is reported, engaged the Athenians in this war, in order to gratify his mistress Aspasia, a Milesian, the handsomest woman of her age, who had such an ascendancy over him, that for her sake he weakly and wickedly sacrificed his family and his peace. The democratical form of government, however, being soon overturned after the return of Pericles, a second expedition was fitted out; and after besieging Samos for nine months, the place surrendered. Pericles razed the fortifications, bound the inhabitants to the payment of a certain sum for the expenses of the war, and received hostages

as

as pledges of their fidelity to Athens. Flushed with his success, he returned home, buried the dead with great solemnity, and pronounced their funeral oration with so much elegance and pathos, that when he descended the rostrum, the women crowned him with chaplets.

From a spark excited in a remote corner of the country arose that general conflagration in Greece, distinguished by the name of the Peloponnesian war. The island of Corcyra, originally occupied by a colony of Corinthians, had become independent, and a rival and enemy of its parent state in maritime commerce. The Corcyreans, however, intending to settle some of their people on the Illyrian coast, requested for this purpose a leader from the Corinthians, who was granted them. In process of time, Epidamnus (for this was the name of the colony) grew populous and wealthy, asserted its independence, and maintained the claim. An intestine war breaking out amongst the citizens of Epidamnus, one party requested the assistance of the Illyrians, whilst the other made application to Corcyra. The Corcyreans, however, refusing to intermeddle in the dispute, the Epidamnians sent to desire succours from Corinth, and acknowledged that city as the foundress of their colony. The Corinthians, more actuated by hatred to Corcyra, than good will to Epidamnus, sent a numerous and powerful fleet to the assistance of those that had applied, and reinstated them in possession of the island. As soon as the Corcyreans were made acquainted with the proceedings of Corinth, they equipped a still larger and more powerful fleet, and expelled the party which had sought the aid of the Corinthians.

Corinth

Corinth not being possessed of so great a naval force as Corcyra, application was made to the republics her allies. When the Corcyreans received advice of these proceedings, they immediately dispatched messengers to Athens, to request the interference of that state, while the Corinthians also did the same. The Athenians entered into a defensive alliance with the Corcyreans, and sent them assistance; but an engagement ensuing, the Corinthians were victorious.

The Corcyrean war was followed by the revolt of Potidæa, a town in Macedonia, founded by the Corinthians, but joined in alliance with Athens. The Athenians had sent orders to the inhabitants of Potidæa to raze the fortifications, to send back the magistrates they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their future good conduct and fidelity. The Potidæans, very averse to obey, yet afraid to dispute these commands, attempted to impose upon the Athenians by duplicity; but being detected, a battle followed, in which the Potidæans were discomfited. In this engagement Alcibiades, who was but a very young man, and Socrates his master, chiefly distinguished themselves. That philosopher was observed to endure the fatigues of war with an ease, that must have been a consequence of the sober and temperate life to which he had inured himself; and he acted with a courage and resolution that would have done honour to a veteran in arms. Wishing to inspire his pupil with a love of glory, he obtained the prize of valour to be adjudged to Alcibiades, though Socrates himself was much more deserving of that reward. After this victory, the Athenians besieged Potidæa.

The

The Corinthians now applied to Sparta, and accompanied by the deputies of the several republics, who had experienced the arrogance of Athens, pleaded their cause before the Lacedæmonian assembly. They urged the several wrongs they had received, and inveighed against the cruelty and injustice of that state. The Spartans having heard all the complaints that the several communities of Greece had to make against the Athenians, ambassadors were dispatched to Athens to demand reparation of injuries; or, in case of refusal, to denounce war against that republic. The Lacedæmonian embassy required the Athenians to raise the siege of Potidæa; to repeal a prohibitory decree against Megara; to withdraw their garrison from Ægina; and, in fine, to declare the independence of their colonies.

These demands were heard at Athens with mingled indignation and terror. The inconstant multitude, who had hitherto approved and admired the views and actions of Pericles, now trembled on the brink of the precipice to which he had conducted them. The factions, adverse to the governing party, embraced the opportunity which these discontented murmurs afforded to traduce the character and administration of that statesman. His most valuable friends were impeached in the courts of justice; and the accusation of them was only preparatory to that of himself. Unshaken and undismayed, however, amidst the storm, Pericles pleaded the cause of his friends; and vindicated his conduct in a very eloquent and famous, but fatal, discourse, which unalterably decided the war of Peloponnesus.

He

He informed the Athenians, that whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, with respect to the complaints of the allies, the true reason of their resentment was the prosperity of Athens, a state they had always hated, and to destroy which they now sought an opportunity; but as, from reasons accurately and judiciously stated by him, it appeared the Athenians were more able than the Peloponnesians to support an expensive and protracted war, he urged, that it would be scarcely in the power of fortune to rob his countrymen of victory. He, therefore, advised, as the most just and equitable satisfaction which could be given, to answer the Peloponnesians, that the Athenians would not forbid the Megareans their ports and markets, if the Spartans, and other Grecian states, abolished their exclusive and inhospitable laws; that they would restore independence to the cities and communities, provided the Lacedæmonians would engage to do the same; that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration; and that, though these condescending overtures should be rejected, they would not commence hostilities, but would repel them with vigour. This reply, moderate as it seemed to the Athenian statesman, was considered by the Spartans and their allies little short of a declaration of war.

Matters being in this situation, the Thebans, who were the most powerful and the most daring of the Spartan allies, undertook a military enterprise against the small but magnanimous republic of Plataea. This state had been always remarkable for its fidelity to Athens, whose toils and triumphs the Plataeans had shared in the Persian war. The Thebans, conceiving that this
republic

republic would, in the event of the commencement of hostilities, be a troublesome and dangerous neighbour, sent Eurymachus with three hundred men to surprise the place. The town was betrayed to the Thebans by a factious party of the people; but the Platæans, perceiving the small number of the conspirators, attacked them, killed many, and obliged the rest to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. In the mean time, a considerable body of Thebans advanced to co-operate with their fellow-citizens. The Platæans, foreseeing the injury the Thebans would do to their country, sent a herald to command them to leave the territory; and to denounce, in case of refusal, the cruel death that should be inflicted on their comrades. This stratagem, not less audacious than artful, induced the enemy to repass the *Æsopus*. The Platæans, however, lost not a moment to assemble within their walls their scattered inhabitants; and braving the Theban resentment, massacred the prisoners to the number of one hundred and eighty. The Athenians being informed of the attempt of the Thebans, caused all the *Bœotians* to be arrested. They afterward supplied the Platæans with provision and a considerable reinforcement of troops; transported their wives and children to the islands of Athens; and greatly strengthened the works of the place.

The league being now broken on both sides, each party prepared for war. Both the Spartans and Athenians solicited the assistance of Persia; and both summoned their confederates to arms. Most of the Grecian states were inclined to the Lacedæmonians, because they professed, on this occasion, to be the deliverers of Greece. All

the Peloponnesians joined the Spartans, the Argives and part of the Achæans only excepted; and north of the isthmus, the Megaræans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambracotes, Leucadians, and Anactorians, declared themselves on the same side. On the other hand, the Athenians numbered among their allies the Chians, Lesbians, Platæans, Messenians, Acarnanians, Corcyrians, Zacynthians, Carians, Dorians, Thracians, most of the islands, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melus and Thera, with Eubœa and Samos. Such was the ardor of preparation, that, only a few weeks after the surprise of Platæa, the Lacedæmonians and their confederates assembled an army of sixty thousand men at the isthmus of Corinth. The several states appointed a leader for their own troops; but the general conduct of the war was intrusted to Archidamus, the Spartan king.

In a council of the chiefs, this prince warmly
B. C. approved the alacrity and readiness of
431. the troops in taking the field, extolled the
greatness and formidable appearance of
an army, the most numerous and best provided
that had ever followed a Grecian standard. But
however great their exertions and preparations,
they were not more than proportionable to the
difficult and dangerous enterprise in which they
were about to engage. The people with whom
they had to wage war were powerful, active, and
daring. They had discernment to perceive, and
ability to improve, every opportunity of advantage. Their pride would be wounded, and their
resentment inflamed, by the approach of hostility
and invasion. The Athenians were little likely
to suffer their lands and property to be wasted
and

and destroyed, without endeavouring to defend them. It was, therefore, necessary that the confederates should be always prepared and on their guard; and that their discipline should be strict, regular, and uniform, if they hoped to elude the skill, and oppose the strength and vigour of Athens.

Pericles, in the mean time, having engaged his countrymen in the war, found it absolutely requisite to use his utmost exertions against an enemy far superior in numbers, and with whom he feared to contend in the field; he therefore advised, that, leaving their villas and gardens, and transporting themselves, their cattle, furniture, and valuable effects to Athens, they should employ themselves in equipping a fleet, and in fortifying and defending the city. This singular plan of defence, so ably and boldly traced by the lofty genius of Pericles, obtained universal approbation, and was immediately put into execution. The numerous inhabitants of the country towns and villages, where the more wealthy Athenians were wont to spend their time, flocked to the capital. Athens, however, though furnished with the means of subsistence, could but ill afford accommodation for such an influx and increase of families, servants, and slaves. The public halls, the groves and temples, with the walls and battlements, were occupied by many people of the lower rank in life. The dwellings of persons of distinction were mean and confined. Yet such was the resentment against the common enemy, and so great the public spirit of the people, that not a single murmur was heard amongst them.

Archidamus, at the head of his numerous
N 2 army,

army, marched into Attica ; and penetrated within a few miles of Athens. Being still desirous to avoid the war, if possible, he dispatched a messenger to that city ; but the Athenians commanded him to return, without hearing his proposals. The enemies of Archidamus insinuating, that, on account of his friendship and respect for the Athenians, he was injuring and betraying the cause of the confederates, the Spartan king immediately ravaged and laid waste the Eleusinian and Thriasian plains. Having desolated these fruitful and valuable districts with fire and sword, the army advanced to Acharnæ. The people of that borough formed no fewer than three thousand heavy armed foot ; and as they could not but have great influence in the Athenian assembly, Archidamus thought the impending destruction of their property and estates would make them eager to leave the city, and to give battle to the confederates. His judgment in this respect was accurate and just. No sooner did the Peloponnesian army appear in sight of Athens, and the rich Acharnian plain be known to be the next object of its devastation, than the city was filled with tumult and uproar. Some were vehement for marching out and defending their property. Others warmly contended against a measure which would endanger the commonwealth. But all condemned Pericles as the author of their misfortunes.

Amidst this popular commotion, the Athenian general and statesman remained firm and immovable, bravely resisting the storm, or eluding its force. Though determined to risk no general engagement with the confederate troops, he omitted no opportunity of beating up their quarters,

quarters, intercepting their convoys, or surprising their advanced parties. The Athenian and Thessalian cavalry generally formed these detachments. A fleet of one hundred gallies, with a number of land forces on board, ravaged the defenceless coast of Peloponnesus. Another squadron invaded Locris. The inhabitants of Ægina were driven from their possessions, and the island was repeopled from Athens. These several enterprises tended to amuse and divert the public mind, and to appease faction.

Intelligence of the proceedings of the Athenians in Peloponnesus, but still more a scarcity of provision, that prevailed in the army, induced the confederates to disperse and return to their respective republics. Having entered Attica on the east, they retired along the western frontier, and spread desolation over the whole Athenian territory. After the Peloponnesian army had retreated, Pericles led out the Athenians, who ravaged and despoiled the neighbouring and hostile province of Megara. The fleet returning from the coast of Peloponnesus, perceived the invading army, and the sailors hastened to share the danger and the plunder of the place. The whole Athenian force amounted now to near twenty thousand men. Thus in the end of the year, the Athenians repaid the insults and ravages, which, at the commencement of it, the confederates had committed in Attica.

The winter was not distinguished by any important expedition on either side. During the inactivity of this season, the two hostile parties employed themselves in celebrating the memory of the dead, with much funeral pomp, and high encomiums on their valour and martial exploits.

They also distributed prizes and rewards among the survivors, who had distinguished themselves in battle; cemented the alliances and friendships they had formed with other states; and fortified those places in the frontiers of their country, which seemed most defenceless and open to attack.

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to the Athenians. The Peloponnesian army returned to commit its ravages in the territory about Athens; and a destructive pestilence, imported, as was afterwards supposed, from Egypt, desolated the city. It broke out first in the Piræus, and the inhabitants conjectured, that the enemies had poisoned their wells. It soon spread over the whole adjacent country, and raged with peculiar violence in the populous districts that surrounded the citadel. This disease appeared in various forms, according to the constitution of the person attacked with it, but its specific symptoms were invariably the same. A burning heat in the head was the sure indication of its approach. The eyes then became red and inflamed; and the tongue and mouth assumed the colour of blood. The pain and inflammation descended to the stomach and lower parts of the body; the skin was covered with ulcers; and the external heat not sensible to the touch, but the internal so violent, that the slightest covering could not be endured. The patients were attacked with an insatiable thirst, which, when indulged, increased the disorder. Some existed seven or nine days under this distemper, and then expired with apparent remains of strength. Others, whose bowels were attacked, died in debility. Those, who once recovered, were never dangerously

rously ill afterward. The disorder, which was always accompanied with an extreme dejection of spirits, frequently impaired the judgment and the memory. All remedies human and divine were employed to stop the raging malady, but in vain. The crowds rushed to the temples, and implored the assistance of their gods, but without effect. Near the fountains, whither they had come to quench their thirst, and around the altars of their divinities, were the dead and the dying. At length all medical assistance was despised, and all ceremonies of religion were neglected. Wherever the doctrine of retribution in a life to come is believed, a general calamity strongly tends to check the passions, to inspire serious thoughts, and to direct the attention to a future state of existence; but in Athens, where the deity was considered as a dispenser of temporal good and evil only, it was otherwise. The fear of offending the divine power immediately ceased. For to worship, or not worship the gods; to obey, or not obey the dictates of morality; availed nothing. All died alike; and if there were any difference, the virtuous and the good, who exposed themselves for the sake of others, were the first and the surest victims. A licentiousness of manners succeeded; and the only pursuit was that of pleasure. To beings, whose existence was not thought to be protracted beyond the present moment, the dread of punishment formed no restraint, and the scruples of conscience raised no terrors. The prevailing maxim was, "let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." Athens thus exhibited a spectacle the most distressful and alarming, that can possibly be conceived; for wretchedness and

and vice, disease and unbridled passions, were united. This relaxation, and almost dissolution of morals, was a lasting and lamentable effect of the pestilence at Athens.

While the plague thus raged in the metropolis, the Peloponnesian army was ravaging and desolating the whole Attic territory. The firm mind of Pericles, conscious of its wisdom and rectitude, was scarcely, however, to be depressed by any casualties and calamities that befell either his country or himself. His fortitude was still superior to the public and domestic sufferings, by which he was surrounded. The dreadful and rapacious pestilence snatched away successively his numerous and flourishing family; and he beheld with a decent and magnanimous composure its baneful and unhappy effects. At the funeral, however, of the last of his sons, the manly mind of Pericles appeared dejected, and when he approached to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpse, he dropped a few reluctant tears of paternal tenderness; but ashamed of his weakness, he immediately bent his whole study to the affairs of his country. He took the command of an armament destined to act against Peloponnesus; and making descents successively upon the Epidaurian and Argian coasts, ravaged all the neighbouring countries.

In the mean time, the Peloponnesians being informed of the force that Pericles had carried against their country, and not unacquainted with the terrible havoc which the plague was at that time making in Athens, withdrew their troops from Attica. The Athenian armament, that had returned home, again sailed, to co-operate in the siege of Potidæa with the army of

Phormion, which at that time blockaded the place. This measure seemed to be ill-judged, and was certainly unfortunate. The fresh troops, carrying with them the plague from Athens, not only perished themselves in great numbers, but infected the army of Phormion, which had been hitherto healthy.

Accumulated evils, public and private, irritated beyond sufferance the minds of the Athenian people. Popular discontent always finds some object on which to vent its spleen and resentment, and that object now was Pericles. The bulk of the people desired peace, on whatever terms it could be procured. Ambassadors were sent to Sparta, to endeavour to negotiate with that republic; but in proportion as the Athenians were depressed by the circumstances that surrounded them, the Lacedæmonians and their allies became arrogant, and the ambassadors were not admitted to an audience. Hereupon a popular ferment was raised in Athens, and the orators clamoured, and traduced Pericles. In his capacity of general of the commonwealth, he had full powers to convene the assembly of the people, whenever he deemed it advisable. He, therefore, summoned the people, and, for the last time, mounted the public tribunal.

But the speech of Pericles, though excellently adapted to the circumstances of the occasion, did not produce the effects with which he had flattered himself. It prevailed, however, with the people, to determine to offer again no proposals of peace to Sparta. But the irritation excited by the private sufferings of the Athenians could not be so easily appeased. Many of the
poor

poor were reduced to almost total want; the rich bore not without extreme uneasiness and dissatisfaction the loss and destruction of their estates; and the popular ferment did not subside, until Pericles had been deposed from his military command, and mulcted in a heavy fine.

The people, however, had no sooner vented their spleen and resentment against Pericles, than they repented of what they had done. There was no other person, whose abilities and integrity were equal to the great and important charge of directing the public affairs. As soon, therefore, as the anger of the Athenians against Pericles had evaporated and spent its strength, he was re-elected general, and invested with the same power which he before possessed. He restored, by his manly and incorrupt conduct, the fainting courage of the republic; but though the Athenians rescued the dignity of Pericles, from the popular tumult, they could not preserve his life from the infectious malignity of the pestilence. This disease destroyed him by degrees, and preyed at once on the constitution of his body, and the faculties of his mind. Two years and six months after the commencement of the war, died Pericles. He was inferior to none in wisdom to ascertain, and abilities to explain and enforce, what was useful and advantageous for the state. He was a sincere and ardent lover of the republic, unbiassed by the dictates of selfishness, unseduced by any partial or sinister views, and superior to the temptations and allurements of avarice. When the Peloponnesians first invaded Attica, he declared that he would restore his lands to the public, if, on account

count of the gratitude and kindness of Archidamus, they should be excepted from the general devastation. During his last moments, many of his friends surrounded his death-bed, and supposing him to have lost all knowledge and recollection, dwelt with complacence on the great and illustrious events and exploits of his glorious life. When they recounted the wisdom and incorruption of his administration, and his victories by sea and land, the dying statesman and sage, raising himself on the bed, said to them, "You forget the best and noblest part of my character; no one of my fellow-citizens was ever compelled, on my account, to wear a mourning robe." He expired, teaching an important lesson to the human race, that in the most awful moment, the hour of death, when all other objects fade and disappear, or lose their value, the recollection of those parts of life, which seem to have been most innocent and inoffensive, will be present to his mind. His trophies and victories, his long and prosperous government, the depth of his political wisdom, the perfection of his naval and military knowledge, his unrivalled eloquence, and all the attainments of which he was possessed, could not give or procure to Pericles a consolation, equal to that of the other more valuable, but less dazzling virtues.

By the death of Pericles, the dignity and vigour of the Athenian state seemed for some time also to perish. In the third spring of the war, the Peloponnesians changed their plan of offence. They found, that, by invading and ravaging Attica, though the Athenians were thereby greatly injured and distressed, little advantage had ultimately accrued to themselves. The
plunder

plunder they acquired was not equivalent to the expenses of the war. The enemy could not be compelled to hazard an engagement. It was, therefore, deemed expedient, to make an attempt upon some of the continental dependencies of Athens; and as none appeared so open to attack, and so completely excluded from all naval protection, as Platæa, it was resolved to direct their principal efforts against that place.

Accordingly, Archidamus, with the confederate army, entered the Platæan territory, and began to ravage the country. The Platæans sent ministers to deprecate the hostilities and invasion of the Peloponnesians. They urged their exploits and bravery in the defence of Greece against the Persian monarch; and the privileges granted to them, after the famous battle in their territory. Archidamus, therefore, offered them neutrality. The Platæans professed, that they would most willingly have embraced his offer; but that if they offended the Athenians, they could have no assistance against the Thebans, their declared and inveterate enemies, when the Peloponnesian army was departed. To this objection Archidamus replied, "Take an inventory of all your effects, and transport yourselves whither you think proper, during the continuance of the war; and we will engage that your lands shall be cultivated, yourselves subsisted; and, when hostilities shall finally cease, every thing be restored." The Platæans agreed to accept the conditions, provided the consent of the Athenians could be obtained. But when they applied to Athens for leave to accept these offers of the Peloponnesian general, that republic required