The DEATH of

EPAMINONDAS.

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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. IV.

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After having been expelled for the throne, and reigned two or three more than ten years, he re-ascended it.
GREECE
with the
NORTHERN PROVINCES
near the
DANUBE.
Made for Rollin's History
by McDanielville
1740.
SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about sixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow, are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse, the first of whom governed thirty-eight, and the other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place altogether and by itself; observing only, that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at

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* After having been expelled for the throne, and reigned two or three more than ten years, he re-ascended years.
the same time with instruction. When * on the one side we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice and laws, treading under his feet the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel tortures upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his savage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I say, when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, † That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he appre-

* Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiae, legum exitium—Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levent offensam jubet detruncari. Senec. de confol. ad Marc. c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pacificent; sed ut supplicis omnium actatum crudelitatem infatiabili explet. Id. de Be-
apprehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and function of the * laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristicks of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and the necessary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means he had the address to employ for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the publick; and lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and a right of inheritance.

* Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experimento tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui—Quid interest inter tyrannum & regem, (species enim ipsa fortuneæ ac licentia par est,) nisi quod tyranni in voluptate lubricunt, reges non nisi ex causa & necessitate? Senec. de Clem. lib. i. c. ii.

† Hæc ad Thalassus malum est, de vixi: atque tamen & libidine socii. μὲρας ἐν ὁ κόσμῳ βασιλείᾳ ἐν μαλά, τίς ἐν Βασιλείᾳ σωφρόνεσθαι. Ad PRINT. indilig. p. 782.
THE HISTORY OF

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. Means made use of by Dionysius the elder to possess himself of the tyranny.

(a) Dionysius was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he distinguished himself by his courage, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprise was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publickly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the fight, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere. (b) Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. (c) The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympius, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in their extent and beauty answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as

the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was seven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exenetus, victor in the Olympick games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits were adorned with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred horsemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry cloaths, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * amphorae.

This great and opulent city was besieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who from that time had no other thoughts, but of his grand designs, and was secretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In

* An amphora contained about seven gallons; or eleven bogsbeats, seven seven gallons; an hundred conseq. seven hundred

quently consisted of seven hundred
a publick assembly, held to consider of the present
state of affairs, when nobody dared to open their
mouths for fear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius
rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of trea-
son; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought
to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the
term of their administration should expire. They re-
torted this audacity with treating him as a seditious
person, and a disturber of the public tranquility,
and as such, laid a fine upon him according to the
laws. This was to be paid, before he could be ad-
mitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a con-
dition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest
citizens, (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not
come down to us,) deposited the money, and exhorted
him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state
of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen
zealous for his country.
Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with
more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the
habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with rea-
on as a very necessary talent in a republican govern-
ment; especially in his views of acquiring the peo-
ple's favour, and of reconciling them to his mea-
sures. He began with describing in a lively and pa-
thetick manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbour-
ing city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to
which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting
the place under the cover of the night; the cries and
lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons,
whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and
merciless enemy; and the consequential murder of all
who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous
victor dragged from the temples and altars of the
gods, feeble refuges against the Carthaginian fury and
impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery
of the commanders of the army, who instead of
marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated
with their troops; to the criminal protraction and de-
lay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian
bribes;
DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other, obscure, despised and trod under foot, bearing the same yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from amongst the people devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the publick good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are, which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those, who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them. This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently seen passing and re-passing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them.
at all upon the affairs of the publick. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: But the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence, to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the publick. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: That there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather
rather to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependance of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be re-inforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the publick. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he brought with him to Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him,
him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom; that whilst Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those, who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner destructive to the publick affairs; that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them; that for his part, he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops, and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for so salutary a recourc, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required such a leader; that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which con-
sifted of three hundred thousand men; that as for the accusation, alleged against the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers pay should be doubled; insinuating that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests consequential of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracufans, upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty, they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracufans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracufans would not follow him. He set out however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raised by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected, that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off.
off such of the troops as he most confided in. At
break of day the people assembled in a body, to whom,
expressing still great apprehension, he explained the
danger he had been in, and demanded permission to
chule himself a guard of six hundred men for the se-
curity of his Person. Pisistratus had set him the ex-
ample long before, and had used the same stratagem
when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His de-
mand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly
complied with. He chose out a thousand men for
his guard upon the spot, armed them compleatly,
equipped them magnificently, and made them great
promises for their encouragement. He also attached
the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner
by speaking to them with great freedom and affability.
He made many removals and alterations in the troops,
to secure the officers in his interest, and dismissed
Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide.
At the same time he ordered a great part of the garri-
son, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and as-
sembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and
criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, that
trembled at his approach. The people were no lon-
ger in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to
dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign
soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being at-
tacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself
the more in tyranny, he espoused the daughter of
Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse,
and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the
Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to
Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He af-
terwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid him-
sfelf of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the
most active in opposing his usurpation. In this man-
ner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of
the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant
of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.
DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

Sect. II. Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war. Plato comes to Syracuse. His intimacy and friendship with Dion.

(d) DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with only an hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues (e) with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He let fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The

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(d) Diod. l. xiii. p. 227, 231. (e) 400 stadia.
richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leonines. Imilcar having sent an herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians. (f) By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (g).

It was then he sacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people, to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the publick, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives by attempting upon his.

(h) Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take the advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city, called

called the isle, which was before very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportion amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves, who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subduing several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesles. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity.
manity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least reprieve.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprized and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The
The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependance against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest-work, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the esteem of the people would be a consequence of the grandeur and success of his enterprizes.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some (i) other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very agreeable to his

(i) Ætna. Enna.
his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: Others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegio, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the strait, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great design in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to answer that of an enterprise, to assure the success of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which shews the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpose; conscious that war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of considerable events.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging
gaging the most excellent persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually refounded with the noise of the several artificers. Not only the porches, piazzas, portico's, places of exercise, and publick places, but private houses of any extent were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their presence and direction promoted and compleated the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardour and emulation amongst the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

* Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriae. *Cic. Tusq. Qust. l. i. n. 4.
Dionyfius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building gallies with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his gallies was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse, and part from mount Etna, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir-trees. In a short space a fleet of two hundred gallies was seen in a manner to rise out of the earth; and an hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order; he caused also an hundred and sixty ships to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two gallies, and an hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionyfius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. They consisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, and as many helmets and swords; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionyfius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were compleat. Syracuse and the cities in its dependance supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered
DIONYSIUS THE ELDER. 21

fered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to lift in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprise; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that everything depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an ingratiating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his subjects' affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double
The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a counsel to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not shew themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary magnificence, and shining on all sides with gold and silver. He married, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparicus, the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citizens, and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations from all antiquity that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants of setting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported, that he preferred his own country-woman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time
time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accusing her of hindering Ariftomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Ariftomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treallirers to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. An happy accident had conducted to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which at distance laid the foundations of the Syracusan liberty, that brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: For though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear, and converse with him. Dionysius consented: But the lust of tyrannick
ranick power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was * like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

(\(k\)) Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the same instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to support, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock (l) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praising the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a serious sense, and was so bold to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wife and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. You reign, added he, and have been trusted for Gelon's sake; but for your sake, no man will ever be trusted after you. It was very much, that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

Sect. III. Dionysius declares war against the Carthaginians. Various successes of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and soon after delivered. New commotions against Dionysius. Defeat of Imilcar, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy state of the city of Rhegium.

Dionysius seeing his great preparations were compleat, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publickly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the successes of the enterprize, and told them that it was against

\( (k) \) Plut. p. 560.

\( (l) \) Νεολος signifies laughing-stock.

* Τὸν βασιλέα ἔν αὐτῷ τὴν τυμαίαν τῆς χρήσει εἰσφέρει ητανομίω τοι. Plut. 80, in ξείδους χρήσει διεστόρια τοιούτου. Βασιλείας δἰ ιδίας ἐν ιππ.

in Moral. p. 779.
the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wafted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to re-instate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having so long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing so for some time; since as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimously of the same opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exercised traffick, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and massacres were added, by way of reprisal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they conquered, and to shew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he signified, that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this
this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilcar set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius on his side lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league \( (m) \) from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, \( (n) \) Palermo, Segesta, and Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilcar however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprize in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels, which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands

\( (m) \) Six fadics or furlongs. \( (n) \) Panormus.
hands in making dams and moles, he reinstated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the soldiers discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave
THE HISTORY OF

gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land-army, followed by his fleet, that kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius, apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilst separate from the land-forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first sunk several of the enemy's ships, but upon being surrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land-army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred galleys being either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle, or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting, that Mago
Mago with the victorious fleet, might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

(o) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarce capable of containing them; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land-army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's (p) distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of an hundred galleys. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired contented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all

(p) 12 stadia.  
* The little port and that of Trogillus.
all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Pemmura; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter; for the security of his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five gallies and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the gallies they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour; for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their ancient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when
when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. " We are told," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. " What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberty, or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws: The tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods, robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel, that he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and Barbarians, who insult us with impunity? How long, oh Syracusans, shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against the enemy, shall we always tremble like cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independent, would deem us unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any other sentiments. Let us shew that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: But if he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what
"what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave "
and determinate."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: But he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republic had lent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

(q) It must have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very much for not apprising him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprize or fear, "Have I then appeared so bad a wife to you, "and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my "husband in his flight, and not to have desired to "share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew "nothing of it; or I should have been much happier "in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in "all places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of the ty-"rant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage,
and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the fight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syraculeans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns (s) for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar set out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ships; leaving

(r) Tom. I. p. 147. (s) 300 talents.
leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: But as those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and sent an herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shews, says the historian (t), that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those, who are too much puffed up with power and success, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered at first triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the sad ruins, and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thousand men unburied in the enemy's country, returns to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius,

(t) Diodorus Siculus.
Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium (a). The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal on both sides.

(a) About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians, having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

He attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no inconsiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs. Having by this action of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer, with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting such numerous

(a) Diod. l. xiv. p. 304, 310. (x) Justin. l. xx. c. 5.
numerous an army as that of Dionyfius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put an hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besiegued them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude sallies. In one of them Dionyfius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about five bushels) was sold for two hundred and fifty livres (x). After having consumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource, of which Dionyfius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionyfius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above five thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionyfius

(x) Five minae.

(a) One minae.
Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then "he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, whilst an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was treated "in that manner, for having inspired the people of "Rhegium with rebellion." "Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that "a faithful citizen is so used, for having refused "to sacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an ob-
ject and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satisfied his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.


At an interval which the success against Rhe-
gium had left Dionysius the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Diony-
sius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristicks, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a

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(b) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.
right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon account of her husband's flight, his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusians, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pheræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the taste for polite learning, the esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit and the cultivation of science, than feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? What wise reflection Dionysius the younger made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon being at...

at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions: Dionysius smartly reparteed, The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed them at those hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other diversions.

(d) Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from lessening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general esteem for them.

These unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed in some measure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those, who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatick poems, but piqued himself on his excel-

(d) Suet. in Cæs. c. lvi. in August.
* Nihil est quod credere de se
Non posse, cam laudatur diis æqua potestas. Juvenal.
excellency that way; and what is more, his jealousy in
that point rose so high as to use his authority by way
of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom
the publick, a just and incorruptible judge in the
question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things,
which though estimable in themselves, and which do
honour to private persons, it does not become a prince
to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Phi-
lip of Macedon’s expression to his son upon his having
shewn too much skill in music at a publick entertain-
ment: Are not you ashamed, said he, to sing so well?
It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his
character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote
tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or ex-
cel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a
reproach to them. And the reason is, because a prince
being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to
apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government,
and having an infinitude of various business always re-
curring to him, he can make no other use of the sci-
ences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as
will not admit any great progress in them, and the ex-
celling of those who employ themselves in no other
study. Hence, when the publick sees a prince affect
the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly con-
clude, that he neglects his more important duties, and
what he owes to his people’s happiness, to give him-
selves up to an employment, which wastes his time and
application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own,
that he never was reproachable for letting poetry in-
terfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it
made him less active and diligent on any important
occasion.

(e) I have already said, that this prince, in an in-
terval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to
Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the cha-
riot-race in his name. When he arrived in the assem-

(e) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.
DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

Dionysius, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion * readers with sonorous, musical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and numerosity to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lyfias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympick games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and afferter of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lifts, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to compleat the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty; when the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate

* These readers were called Pauφοιδες.
abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetick vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(f) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an extasy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any comparison: All was great, all noble in his poetry: All was majestic, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambrick poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and an huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantr: "I was enquiring," said he, "into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having press him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who

(f) Diod. l. xv. p. 331.
who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines; the common jail being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and cheerful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces, as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; Carry me back to the mines. * The prince took all the fault and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brats. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon

* Τότε μεῖν δεί τὴν εὐπαθείαν τῶν εὐγενον τῷ γέλασε, τῶν μείζον ἐμπεδεκατας ὡς Διονύσιος, οἴγει τῷ Εὐλογίῳ.
Antiphon said, that was the best of which the statues of * Hermodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (g), if it may called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissimulate, is not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities, which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

Accordingly some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him his sentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for answer (h) one word, which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion: In the other, it expresseth something very mean, defective, pitiful and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for verification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (i), that having sent his

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(g) Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 337. (h) ήξηεμ. (i) Pag. 332.

They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.
DIONYSIUS THE ELDER.

his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends with the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philillus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and re-instituted in all their fortunes and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Dionysius’s daughter.

(k) To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, situate upon the Adriatick sea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes king of the Molossians to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding four millions five hundred thousand livres (l).

He

(k) Diod. l. xv. p. 536, 337. (l) 1500 talents, or about 200,000 l. sterling.
He had occasion for money to support his great expenses at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred gallys, as to enclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(m) At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expenses in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the defolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better success.

(n) Another victory of a very different kind, though not less at his heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to argue the poetry of Dionysius not so mean and pitiful, and that it is very possible, the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympick games. However it was, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city, but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of

(m) See the history of the Carthaginians. (n) Diod. p. 584, 585.
of his table with a gaiety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was seized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

(o) Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrofyne, the other Arete. Sophrofyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius’s distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to discourse him upon his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian’s son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpose: For Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupefied him, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all in raising himself as he did from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding the slenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected with-
out a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his subjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the divinity to insult him.

In his return to Syracuse with a very favourable wind from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, See, said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, bow the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious.

(p) Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such an habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Aesculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard *, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them according to the custom of the Greeks, to the good Gods; he would (he said) take the benefit of their goodness.

As for lesser prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving, them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves.

(p) Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. xv. n. 83, 84.

* Apollo's statues had no beards.
felves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold at the publick sale: And when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, should restore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought necessary to the security of his life, shew to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he converted freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied, that he saw all mankind in arms against him. (r) A word which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissors and razors from them, and taught them to /inge off his beard with nut-shells. (s) He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring it seems to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went

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into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. (f) Neither his brother, nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their cloaths, and being visited by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of distrust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusions, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and fordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved; nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

(u) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time; the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern,

\((f)\) Plut. in Dion. p. 967. \((u)\) Cic. de Offic. 1. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. 1. iv. c. 7.
concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and
confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his
friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the
day and hour agreed. The tyrant struck with admi-
ration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and
softened with the view of so amiable an union, granted
him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third per-
son into their friendship.

(x) He expressed with equal ingenuity on another
occasion what he thought of his condition. One of
his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually ex-
tolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the num-
ber of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the
magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abun-
dance of all good things and enjoyments in his pos-
tession; always repeating that never man was happier
than Dionysius. "Because you are of that opinion,"
said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste, and
"make proof of my felicity in person." The offer
was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a
golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value.
The side-boards were loaded with vessels of gold and
silver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid
habits stood around, watching the least signal to serve
him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had
not been spared. The table was spread with propor-
tionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked
upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when
unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his
head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof
only by a single horse-hair. He was immediately seized
with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an in-
stant; he could see nothing but the sword, nor think
of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear
he desired permission to retire, and declared he would
be happy no longer. A very natural image of the
life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have observed be-
fore, thirty-eight years.

(x) Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. 7. n. 61, 62.
THE HISTORY OF

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. DIONYSIUS the younger succeeds his father.

Dion engages him to invite Plato to his court.

Surprising alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.

DIONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the younger. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. (z) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was surprising to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the fatal consequences of a civil war might

(y) Diod. l. xv. p. 286. (z) Id. l. xvi. p. 412.
might deprive them of all those advantages: And at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

England has seen something of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

(a) Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as shewed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprized and amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terror at the prospect of the storm, forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would furnish and maintain him fifty gallyes of three benches compleatly equipped for service.

Dionysius admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to call

(a) Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.
lumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his vessels to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently insinuated themselves, and got the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting; abandoned to women and all manner of shameful pleasures. (b) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and refounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a four pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the debauch with the rest, they called him a man-hater, a splenetic melancholy wretch, who from the fantastick height of virtue looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour.

(b) Athen. l. x. p. 435.
behaviour, which seemed to argue an haughtiness of nature, very capable not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, and how to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect: “Consider, I beg you, that you are confessed of being deficient in point of good nature and affability; and be entirely assured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to transact. “An* haughty carriage keeps people at a distance, “and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude.” Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(d) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to associate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him: For the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The


* Had audacia insignis foment. Substitut in this version is faulty. Art M. Dacier renders these words; of teaching the Belles Lettres. Pride is always the companion of solitude. I have seen elsewhere,
The sequel will shew that Dionysius the younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with the sciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation and master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to say a good one,) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character before-mentioned, or rather to inspire himself with the desire of having such an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation.
He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, enflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties, made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgust ing him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia major in Italy joined their entreaties with his; and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. 'What more favourable conjuncture could we expect from the divine providence than that which now offers it-"
self? Are you not afraid that your delays will give
the flatterers, who surround the young prince, the
opportunity of drawing him over to themselves,
and of seducing him to change his resolution?
What reproaches would you not make yourself,
and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy,
should it ever be said, that Plato, whose counsels to
Dionysius might have established a wise and equita-
ble government in Sicily, abandoned to all the evils
of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues of a
voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary
difficulties?"

(e) Plato could not resist solicitations of so much
force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own
character, and to obviate the reproach of his being
a philosopher in words only, without having ever shewn
himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of
the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from
his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified
with the resolution he had taken contrary to their re-
monstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, of
which they forefaw the consequences, united together
against him as their common enemy. They rightly
judged, that if, according to the new maxims of go-

vernment, all things were to be measured by the
standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected
from the prince, but for the services done the state,
they had nothing further to expect, and might wait
their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose.
They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voy-
age ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent
it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recall Philistus
from banishment, who was not only an able soldier
but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and
zealous assertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find
a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy.
Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder, on
some personal discontent, he retired into the city of
Adria,

(e) Plut. p. 96c.
Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. (f) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises * him much, and calls him Thucydides the less, pene puellus Thucydides, to signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite care, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, at the

(f) Diod. l. xiii. p. 222. (g) Plut. in Dion. p. 963. * Hunc (Thucydidem) conrectus est Syracusus Philutus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum confumpsit in historia scribenda, maxi\^emeque Thucydidem esset, sicut esset mihi vi-

(Thucydidem) contetur, imitatus. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57. Siculus ille erubet, acerius, brevis, pene puellus Thucydidis. Id. Epist. xiii. ad Ly. frat. l. ii.
same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awakening as from a lethargick sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the farther advantage of abstracting himself from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almost always unanimous in opposing.

They were considerably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and shewed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people.
people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, on which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, That it would please the gods to support the tyrant, and preserve the tyrant: Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, Will you not give over cursing me? Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They begun by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as impertinent censores and imperious pedagogos, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank. It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together,

* Trifites & superciliosus alius
vix censores, publicos pedagogos.
Eph. cxxiii.

† Vix artibus honestis pudor re-
tinetur, sedum inter certamia vi-
tiorum pudicitia, aut modellis,
ut quidquam probi moris evare-
tur. Tact. Loc. l. iv. c. 15.
together, and in publick. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to insti-
nuate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the chil-

dren of Aristomache, and establish them in the sove-

reignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by per-

suading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred gali-

lies, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the aca-

demy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended su-

preme good not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substan-
tial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

Sect. II. Banishment of Dion. Plato quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece. Dion ad-
mired by all the learned. Plato returns to Syracuse.

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually be-
sieged the young prince, and covering their secret mo-
tives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspi-
cions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce re-
sentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them,
that when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making their treaty more firm and lasting. Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take, (b) he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the seaside below the citadel, where he shewed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

(i) So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. (k) Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the publick discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engrossing him entirely to himself, for

reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a tyrannick affection (1). Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. * Sometimes it was all friendship, cares, and fond respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments. * Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring: He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He eat and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of anything out of common conversation, they had not the least notion, that

(1) Ην ηεν ουν τεν λωτες τετελειαικεν.
that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprized at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

(m) The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. * He knew however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expense of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the publick games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expense, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the publick, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as

\[ \text{Vol. IV.} \]

\[ F \]

\[ \text{his} \]

\[ (m) \text{Plut. in Dion. p. 964.} \]

\[ * \text{Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modnm. Tacit. in vit. Agric. n. 4.} \]
his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

(n) After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his own possession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of

of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him, that he might return with all manner of security; and to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several of his friends on board, to intreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every thing in his power.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretences against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wisdom would at length overthrew the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered his access to him at all hours, without being searched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first cares were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmuring, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complacency, to abate his friendship for Dion.
Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that no body penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour, Dionysius was so much surprized and astonished at it, (a proof that he was no great philosopher;) that he made him a present of a talent. Aristippus jesting upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy," said he, "that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was sensible, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person, and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult.

A thousand crowns.
infult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

(o) Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

**Sect. III. Dion sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprise. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparalleled goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.**

(p) WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a

(o) Plut. in Moral. p. 52.  (p) Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.
mediator between them, though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracuseans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person, who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself by the greatness of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving everywhere the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.
DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER. 71

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprizing, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoke to them, and with an assured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops compleatly armed, and in that equipage marched
in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a
great feast to the whole company, at the end of which,
after the libations and solemn prayers had been made,
there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion,
who was well versed in the causes of such appearances,
re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror
upon that account. The next day they embarked on
board, two trading vessels, which were followed by a
third not so large, and by two barks of thirty-oars.

(r) Who could have imagined, says an historian,
that a man with two merchant-vessels should ever dare
to attack a prince, who had four* hundred ships of
war, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand
horle, with magazines of arms, and corn in propor-
tion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them;
who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the
greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with
ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the
additional strength and support of a great number of
potent allies? The event will shew, whether force and
power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in
subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or
if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and
the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and
more dissoluble ties.

(c) Dion having put to sea with his small body of
troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind,
and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Si-
cily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse.
When they came up with that place, the pilot gave
notice that they must land directly, that there was rea-

(r) Diod. i. xvi. p. 413.
Diod. l. xvi. p. 414, 417.

(r) It is not easy to comprehend,
how the Dionysii were capable of
entertaining so great a force by sea
and land, their dominions being only
a part of Sicily, and consequently of
no great extent. It is true, that the
city of Syracuse had been very much
enriched by commerce; and that those
two princes received great contribu-
tions both from the places of Sicily
and Italy in their dependance: But
it is still no easy matter to conceive
how this should suffice to the enor-
mous expenses of Dionysius the elder,
in fitting out great fleets, raising and
maintaining numerous armies, and
erecting magnificent buildings. It
were to be wished, that historians
had given us some better lights upon
this head.
to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land further off, doubled the cape of Pacynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightening, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them a south wind rising suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whose commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have stayed some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy, and Dion, having desired Synalus to send his baggage after him, when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his rout, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for
for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapius, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers, an accursed race of wretches, * the enemies of the gods and men, says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives, to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with staves immediately. Timocrates, not able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After
After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant. And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came before their houses, they threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon an high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipolis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Synalus. These he distributed amongst the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.
Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracuans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracuans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracuans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault, put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms were scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopp'd the flight of the Syracuans, and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle; but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was signal and glorious. The Syracuans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.
Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wife, and son. It was wrote with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius puts him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expressed, for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnessus. He came to Syracuse with seven gallyes of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; for which an open and inflating
nuating behaviour made him very fit, whilst Dion's austerer gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deferency to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Those remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to save him; If, to satisfy them, he continued the
fiege without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philiatus, who came to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected those proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, embarked for Italy with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and
and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat, and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were dismayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

(y) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they sent ambassadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans,
DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER.

The Syracusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion, Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his gally, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their gally, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command them or counseil, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that inclosed the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here, the citizens half asleep, had their throats cut; there, houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries and lamentations.

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There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which said, That it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines. As soon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who with tears of joy and grief made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening. As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly, from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and "implored the foreign troops to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill treatment they had received; and the rather, because that unfortunate people had already paid a severer penalty for it, than the most injured amongst them would desire to impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the assembly was held, continuedsad
fad and silent. Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign soldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion for his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the just subjects of complaint, which you have against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods, the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, when the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the los
of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the sedulous orators new courage, who flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracusans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general-officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journies.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nysius, well apprized of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that inclosed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions, burning, with torches and lighted straw, all places within their power; and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets, and those, who to shun the all-murdering sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to
to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Théodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news, when he was about sixty stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans, who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and publick places were universally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible: For they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under

* Two or three leagues.
under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fires; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke, mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length, Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nysius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broke, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: That it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to shew himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and forgive the
the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other captains generally made the means of conquering their enemies their sole application; that for his part he had passed much time in the academy, in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind: That the sign of having conquered them is not kindness and affability to friends and persons of merit; but treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them: That he did not desire so much to appear superior to Heraclides in power and ability, as in wisdom and justice; for in that, true and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury, than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides, there is no disposition to obdurate and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kind usage and obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to inclose the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go and cut a large stake. In the night, he let his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of
the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy, as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired that it might have the authority of the assembly. But the mariners and artisans, who were sorry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival: But it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans having dismissed their sea-forces who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to surrender the citadel, with all the
the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus:

"The tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence restores us life and joy, her silence itself, and her confusion sufficiently denote the grief she suffers at the sight of an husband, to whom another has been substituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle, shall she embrace you as her husband?" Aristomache having spoke in this manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he gave his son, and sent them home to his house; because he thought proper to leave the citadel to the discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happiness, and the object not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people.
people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote to him, *That the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone;* little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were not judged from the external splendor and noise, with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Aristocratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly affected for his death; but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(2) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous spectre, which he saw in the

the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to discover the truth by a very strict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heracles, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors.
terror his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

After this murder, Callippus was for some time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life: And Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as suffering calmly, and without indignation, the vilest of men, to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes them-
themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine justice evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered: But complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

(b) The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another Hipparinus, Dionyfius the younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionyfius him-

(b) Plat. Ep. viii.
felt, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (c) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusean liberty by Timoleon.

Sect. IV. Character of Dion.

T is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure: I confine myself to the statesman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroick valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his

(c) Diod. l. xvi. p. 436.
DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER. 95

his country and of the publick good carried almost to excess: These are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: In return for such great services, they shamefully expel him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy, the most cruel outrages and indignity: To punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: Master of theirs, as well as his own temper, he stops their impetuosity, and without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his humour, that made him less accessi- ble and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: But notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity, with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them: Whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion; or that from
the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting oneself with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible vigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary to soften, and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

*Which art, an ancient poet called, flexanima, atque omnium Divin. n. 80.
Dionysius the younger re-ascends the throne. Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send Timoleon. That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Nicetas to prevent him. Dionysius surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.

(d) Callippus, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius’s brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

Syracuse and all Sicily, being harrassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nyipæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he re-instated himself in the possession of his dominions.

(e) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken by Iphocrates, who was at that time near (f) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his sacred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

(g) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans than

about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the custom to divide all the prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus, and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences borne by the publick. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides: But the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

* Mos erat civitatis, velit publico latrociniis, partem pradam dividere. Forte eo anno in tummo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanus vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, & deum cui mittetur, & doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, que tempore regenti eihi similis, religionis jusque impedit: aductofoque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum prædicto etiam navium Delphos profectus, Roman inde solvites-reflituit. Hospitium cum etsenatus consulto elf factum, donaque publice data. Tit. Liv.

† Timasitheus signifcns one qui honours the gods.
To return to Dionysius, though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(i) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syraculians, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syraculians were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in publick he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syraculians, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in publick affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants, and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the

maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty, and giving himself up to the cruellest remorse, considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and instances, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all publick affairs; and
and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desart places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy: So true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who presume to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature!

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "that it was not necessary for them to make any farther levies, or to exhaust themselves in great expences to come to Sicily, and expose themselves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprized of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their flowneis in sending their troops, had obliged him to call in the Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten gallys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant
to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the Ile, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the Barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. The governor and magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to
gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas’s army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly, and having re-joined his galleys, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to re-instate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprized and ashamed of being so deceived: But, as somebody told them, being Phoenicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon’s arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the
the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the other with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians left their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of
of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a fight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abyss of distress, into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumer's shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

A. M. 3657.
Ant. J. C. 347.
Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says * Cicero, without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. (n) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same † Dionysius, reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a school-master, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedaemonians some time after gave Philip this admonition. (o) That prince, having wrote to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, but Dionysius at Corinth.

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (p) Whilst he lived a Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness, upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him? Can you believe then, replied he, that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?

(m) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 27.  
(n) Val. Max. l. vi.  
(o) Demet. Phaler. de Eloq. r. l. viii.  

* Dionysii Corinthi pueros de- 
  natu, nequis nimis fortuna cre- 
  cebat, uique adeo imperio carere 
  non poterat.

† Tanta mutatione majores 
  ranno docuit.
Sect. VI. Timoleon, after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.

After the retreat of Dionysius, Ictetas prefixed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Ictetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden furious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called Achradina, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Ictetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Ictetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all Barbarians. That Ictetas had only to join Timoleon,

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leon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that Icetas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion in sparing the forts and publick edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, and at length ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrant; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: for some having perished in the
wars and seditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desart, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy, but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all publick assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy to transport them into their country at its own expense.

Upon this publication Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was everywhere proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse
Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action: The mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble; and every body owned, that never conquest or triumph equaled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them gratis; but sold them the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own: And by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale; but first they were cited, and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preferred; which was Geron, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(r) History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excite a digression. Nicon, a champion of * Thasos, had been crowned fourteen

(r) Suidas in * Pausan. i. vi. p. 364.
* An island in the Egean sea.
DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER.

fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things should be destroyed, which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thasians, conformable to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: For he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But
on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which was of great service in the support of the war.

(s) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Afdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable body of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimæus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians (t). Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst shouts of joy and universal applause.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Icetas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been sent to Syracuse and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion their first deliverer by that decree. For it was the same Icetas, who had caused Arête, Dion's wife, his sister

Aristo-

(t) Plut. in Timol. p. 248, &c. 255. (s) Vol. I.
Aristomache, and his son, an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without envy. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges, and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; which he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied, "That he thanked the "gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at "length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of "laying everything; a liberty absolutely unknown to "them under the tyrants, but which it was just to, "confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-inflating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom in resigning every thing to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He flunned the rock, on which the greatest men, through an infatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles.
troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by chufing rather to fink under, than to lay down, the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of † a noble and glorious leifure, acted in a different manner. He pafted the reft of his life as a private perfon, enjoying the grateful fatisfaction of feeing fo many cities, and fuch a numerous people indebted to him for their happinefs and tranquilliity. But he was always respected and confulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been confulted, and put the laft hand to it.

His age was tried with a very fensible affliction, which he fupported with astonishing patience; it was the losf of fight. That accident, far from lefTening him in the confideration and regard of the people, ferved only to augment them. The Syracufans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all straengers, both in town and coun-

try, to fee their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the af-

sembly of the people, they called him in to their af- 

fistance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which croffed the publick place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the assem-

bly amidft the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously obferved, his domesticks re-

conduted him crofs the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had ftil greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the proceffion, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were shed, and the blef-

fings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were

* Malunt deficere, quam definere. Quintil.
† Otium cum dignitate. Cic.
were the noblest ornaments. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by a publick decree, but flowed from a native source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inexpressible sorrow. A law was also made, that annually for the future, upon the day of his death, the musick and gymnastic games should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general. 

I do not know, that history has any thing more great and accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. There is, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongst the latter, he places the poems of Homer. There is something of this sort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agephilus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an ease and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the publick good, and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services, his extreme remoteness from ambition and
haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When * somebody extolled, in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable a ministration: For he was fully persuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of divine providence. What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysius's. It is the same city, inhabitants and people: But how different is it under the different governments we speak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: And he was remembered amongst them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the wise legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

* Cum suas laudes annisset praedicari, nuncquam alius dixit, quam se in ea re maximis diis gratias agere & habere, quod, cum Sicilianum recreare conlituisset, tum se potissimum ducerem esse volui remotum. Nilh enim rerum humanae sunt, quae decorum numine agi putabant. Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. iv.
THE HISTORY OF THE
Persians and Grecians.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.

(a) THE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

I 3

(a) Xenoph. hist. Græc. i. v. p. 550, 553;
HISTORY OF THE

(b) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Euboea. (c) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and the Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty, to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (d) a day for each foot-soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedaemonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with

(b) Diod. I. xv. p. 341. (c) Ibid. p. 554, 555. (d) Five pence.
with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose; seized upon Potidea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence; and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

(f) Phæbidas began his march soon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls near the Gymnæium or publick place of exercise. Imenius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; because he publickly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, occasions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Imenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should


should think proper, for the reinforcement of Euda-
midas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little con-
duct, and who had no other view than to signalize him-
sel£ by some extraordinary action, without examining
the consequences, suffered himself to be easily per-
suaded. Whilst the Thebans, entirely secured under
the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian
states, celebrated the feasts of Ceres, and expected
nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phæbidas,
conducted by Leontides, took possession of the cita-
del. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to
them, and declared, that there was nothing to be
feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the
citadel; that they were only the enemies of those, who
were for disturbing the publick tranquillity; that as
for himself, by the power his office of Polemarch
gave him, of confining whoever caballed against the
state, he should put Ifmenius into a place of security,
who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He
was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel.
The party of Ifmenius seeing their chief a prisoner,
and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves,
quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to
Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards.
They were soon after banished by a publick decree.
Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas re-
mained at Thebes unmolested; being disregarded as
a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy,
who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also
from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing
from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the
room of Ifmenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas’s enterprise, who at a time
of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by
force, upon which he had no claim or right, had oc-
casioned great murmurings and complaints. Such
especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of
having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose or-
ders Phæbidas had committed so strange a breach of
publick
publick faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, "That the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it were useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but commanded to act upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing. It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; He whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just? A truly noble and admirable maxim, That justice must be the rule of whatever excels and is great! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachma's (g); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this, says Polybius (h) ! what a disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the public

(g) About 2020 pound sterling. (h) Lib. iv. p. 196.
lick authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! But this was not all; commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ifmenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one’s country’s interest, nor one’s own.

(i) Teleutias, Agesilaus’s brother, had been substituted in the place of Phaeibidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing; without any thing decisive. Agesipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas their general pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions, was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

Sect. II. Sparta’s prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.

(k) The fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendor, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that

that of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, founded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have anything to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed his wealth from the first possession of it in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; shewing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Aristotle’s remark repeated by Plutarch, * most men either make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say his joy and delight, consisted. He was born

* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἳ μὲν ὁ κύριος τοῦ πλῆθος ἦν μισελογίας, οἳ δὲ παρέχοντές τις

\(\text{Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.}\)
born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress, and the frugality of his table.

(n) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends ill treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest, or for diversion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

(o) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palestra and the chase, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship, that always subsisted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the publick affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, diffension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first

(u) Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii. (o) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.
first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the publick good, and made them desire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such were the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal share.

(p) Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue, peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a publick decree, contrary to the pro-

(p) Xenoph. hist. Gr. i. v. p. 566--568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280--
284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586--588, & 594--598. Diod. l. xv. 
p. 344--346. Cor, Nep. in Pelop. c. i.--iv.
prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thra- 
ftybulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of 
the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went 
to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon 
was the most considerable. He represented to them, 
"That it was unworthy of honest men, to content 
themselves with having saved their own lives, and 
to look with indifference upon their country, en-
slaved and miserable: That whatever good-will the 
people of Athens might express for them, it was 
not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend 
upon the decrees of a people, which their natural 
inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned 
them any way at will, might soon alter: That it 
was necessary to hazard every thing, after the exam-
ple of Thraftybulus, and to set before them his in-
trepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: 
"That as he set out from Thebes to suppress and de-
stroy the tyrants of Athens, so they might go from 
"Athens to restore Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the ex-
iles that could be expected. They sent privately to 
inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who 
extrremely approved their design. Charon, one of the 
principal persons of the city, offered to receive the 
conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to 
get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip, 
who were then Polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of 
the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time 
diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans 
by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off 
the Spartan yoke. (q) He was ignorant of nothing 
that had been projected, but he believed, that he 
ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, 
he could not resolve to imbrow his hands in the blood 
of his country; foreseeing that his friends would not 
keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, how-
ever lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not 
perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen,
who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with the better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriaeum, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprise. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they set out dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets; that such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination: Much disordered with the prospect of danger, this person retired into his house without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, and having separated from each other, entered
the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the * Boeotarchs, who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had been free with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without shewing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself; but at that time, ter-

* The magistrates and generals, tarchs, that is to say, commanders who were charged with the government or governors of Boeotia.
rified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For you, my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and shew a courage worthy of you and me. You see here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under such masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; or if it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe, that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conspirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report.
report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed aston¬ished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended to interrupt your mirth: However, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediately and make the strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to fell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprize miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. That courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied laughing, *Serious affairs to-morrow, which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under † his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

* Οὐκ θέλω τις τις, ἵνα τὰ συνθέτα.
† The Greeks call lying on beds.
The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and shewing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriaium. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the portico's were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for
for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedaemonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with all their sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Bœotarchs.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: But they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted
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They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slovnefs of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprizes. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death, and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus. Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprize and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of ThraSybulus. Both exiles, deftitute in themselves of all refource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, form the bold design of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obftacles to their enterprize solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to ThraSybulus for that sudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppression they groaned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire both by sea and land, was the work of this single night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, * unloose and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce such an effect.

*Πελοπιδας, ο δει διαφησα το αλητευσα Λακεδαιμονιαν, εκενον, αλητειας, δειδαποτον, επανε, δειδαποτον, επανε, δειδαποτον.
THE Lacedaemonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprise of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agestilus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Boeotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Theopiae, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedaemonians, and were afraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedaemonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Theopiae with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Boeotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, super-
superficial, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him, that one of his merit and reputation ought to form some great enterprize to immortalize his name; he proposed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprize, when the Athenians had no expectation of such an attempt: He added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his sence, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprize therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiae, with the view of surprizing the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriaium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiae with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender
tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tortured him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surprized by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till himself was a father.

(s) The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he, whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him (t): But upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corecyra (u), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corecyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnasippus. The Athenians sent

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Ifent fifty fail against them to the relief of Corea, under Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his

coming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnatippus having made himself odious
to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour and avarice,

was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an en-
gagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death,

when he received advice, that the Syracusan squadron

of ten galleys approached, which he attacked so suc-
cessfully, that not one of them escaped. He demand-
ed, that the orator Callistatus, and Chabrias, one of

the most renowned captains of his time, should be

joined in confinement with him, to have occasion for

his widows and greatnefs of foul upon that account,

being fatified with appearing to have occafion for his vicories with others.

Agefialus had been prevailed upon to take upon

him the command of the troops againft Thebes. He

entered Boeotia, where he did confiderable los on his

own fide. The two armies came every day to blows,

and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal

battes, yet in skirmishes which served to inftrude

the Thebans in the trade of war, and to infire them

with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that

the Spartan Antalcides told Agefialus very juftly upon

this head, when he was brought back from Boeotia

much wounded. My lord Agefialus, you have a fine re-

ward here, for the Syracusans, in one of the three laws which

he calls Rhices, forbid the Lacedemonians to make

war often upon the fame enemy, left they should make

them too good foldiers, by obliging them to the fre-

quent defence of themselves. Several campaigns pafTed in this manner without

any thing decile on either fide. It was prudent in

the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto,

and
and to give their soldiers time to inure and imboden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let themselves loose like generous hounds; and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success and this wise conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedaemonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, somebody run in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, \textit{We are fallen into the enemy's hands.} \textit{Ab!} replied he, \textit{why should we not rather say, that they are fallen into ours!} At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured, that his foot, which were only three hundred, and were called the \textit{sacred battalion}, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two-thirds. The assault began where the generals of each party were posted, and were very rude. The two generals of the Lacedaemonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedaemonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to save themselves if they had thought fit: But Pelopidas, disdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surprized. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy dispersed and defeated.
This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst shew themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now loft that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those, who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

The enterprise of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here. But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

Sect. IV. New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.

WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (z), and afterwards Thebæiæ, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several cities and republicks at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that


that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedaemonians pressed the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Boeotia, to rebuild Plataea and Thebes which they had demolished, and to restore them with their dependances to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedaemonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedaemonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, which they would not submit to themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon a general peace; and, with that view, had sent deputies to Lacedaemon, to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an effect. (b) Amongst those deputies Epeninondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of publick affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the publick good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no
peace could be solid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties should find an equal advantage.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never fails of making impression. Agesilaus plainly distinguished, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Bœotia should be free and independent? that is to say, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn with great vivacity, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independance and liberty? Upon which Agesilaus rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, Whether he would consent that Bœotia should be free? Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free? Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, lest out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

(c) In consequence of this treaty, all the troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republick's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for deliberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, has made the recall of the troops indispensible. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present seemed most favourable.

when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honest, well-meaning dotard, that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contracting the Lacedaemonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedaemonians however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, † There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country. However, to reassure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas

*Aesch. Men. 610-612.*

† Η τελειοτερησα ώρα ε' ανθρωποι δεν θηριαν ζητει: Ε' ανθρωποι δεν θηριαν ζητει, αμαινοντες την χρησιν. Ἡμέρας. Ιλιαδ. Ι. 322.
Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the Sacred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself; That, said he, should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of others should be recommended to them.

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Boeotia, between Platæa and Thespiae. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. The seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve
prove the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedaemonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the sacred battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedaemonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedaemonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The sacred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedaemonian Phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedaemonian horse, the latter were not long before
before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the sacred battalion to prevent the enemy’s design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very rude and obstinate, and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to compleat the victory, and the Lacedaemonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedaemonian phalanx had been broke, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedaemonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of thirty-eight years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be flut in the...
The little island of Sphaeteria. Here they loft four thou-
sand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedáemoni-
ans, and four hundred * Spartans, out of seven hun-
dred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only
three hundred men killed, among whom were few of
their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the
gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom cu-
riosity had brought thither. When the couriers ar-
ried from Leuctra with the terrible news of their de-
feat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the
consequences, and that the Spartan empire had re-
ceived a mortal wound, would not permit the repre-
sentations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any
changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent
to every family the names of their relations, who
were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the
dances and games were continued without interruption
to the end.

The next day in the morning the lofs of each fa-
mily being known, the fathers and relations of those
who had died in the battle, met in the publick place,
and saluted and embraced each other with great joy
and ferenity in their looks; whilst the others kept
themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged
them to go abroad, it was with a fadness and dejection
of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound an-
guish and affliction. That difference was still more re-
markable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, di-
finguished those who expected the return of their
sons; but such as had loft their sons were seen hurrying
to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating
each other upon their glory and good fortune. It can-
not be denied, but fuch sentiments argue great courage
and resolution: But I would not have them entirely
extinguish natural tenderness, and fhould have been
better pleased, had there been lefs of † ferocity in them.

Sparta

* Those were properly called † Mr. Rollin seems to speak here
Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; en Francois. The sentiments of the
the Lacedáemonians were settled in Spartans have no exception, and are
the country.

briefly consistent with true greatness of
Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And, lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitives without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, That for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority. By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequentially useless to the republic.

(e) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

(f) Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution,

(f) Plut. in Agesil. p. 613—615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

of soul. None but slaves will deny, is to die in its defence. Slaves have that the next glory and good fortune no country. That and themselves are to defending their country against its the tyrants.

enemies, when its ruin is at stake,
tion, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined him-
self to attacking some small towns of the Mantinæans,
which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave
Sparta some joy, and they began to take courage from
believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, soon after their victory, sent an ac-
count of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same
time against the common enemy. The senate was
then sitting, which received the courier with great
coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and
dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The
Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage
which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmoni-
ans, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfac-
tion which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a
neighbouring power gave them, which might soon
render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been
elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having assembled
all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose
number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus,
and made abundance of places and people revolt from
the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the
greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the
winter-solstice, and towards the end of the last month
of the year, so that in a few days they were to quit
their offices; the first day of the next month being
assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons
appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if
they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues,
apprehending the badness of the season, and more,
the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were
for marching back the army immediately to Thebes.
Pelopidas was the first, who, entering into the opi-
nion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and en-
gaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's
alarm, and to pursue their enterprise in neglect of a
formality, from the observance of which they might
justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself,
as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without order or publick decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time, they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Ischolas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these devoting himself, after the example of Leonidas, to the publick good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agestilas acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all
the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and fmoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, That no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, Comrades, it is not there I sent you. At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprise had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shews, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought
thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans shewed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, *Wonderful man! in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain, who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republick, and pulling out, as Leptinus says, one of the eyes of Greece, as a proof of his skill (g). He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose Laconick language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their stile, and lengthening their monosyllables. At his return he again wafted the country.

(b) In this expedition the Thebans re-inflated Arcadia.

(g) Arift. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

* οὐ τῷ μεγαλωταγομένῳ ἀδρατί. The Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies, Oh the actor of great deeds!

† The Laconicemonians sometimes answered the most important dis-

patches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, If I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword, they replied, If they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.
cadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it \* very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messene. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from immemorial time an irreconcilable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(i) Polybius reflects upon an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great solicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them; the others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcilable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe

(i) Polyb. 1. iv. p. 299, 300.

* The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.
observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedaemonians, having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have reflected, says Polybius, * that as there is nothing more desirable or advantageous than peace, when founded in justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

Sect. V. The two Theban generals, at their return, are accused, and absolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Credit of Pelopidas at the court of Persia.

It might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with the general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is surprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation: But such a conduct had a very plausible foundation.
The zealous assertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were so severe, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty, and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyrick upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. (k)

His

(k) Plut. de sui laude, p. 540; (l) Plut. de præcept. réip. ger.
His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected Telearch; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * the office did not only show the man, but the man the office. He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care, that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common-fewers in good order.

(m) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spake, began with describing in the most pathetick terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment, which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta carried

(m) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613.
* Οὐ μίαν ἀεὶ τοιαύτη τείνοντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶν ἀνήσ.
carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. (n) Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually made instances for its execution.

(o) A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called the battle without tears (p), because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory: But when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rose so high.

(q) Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that

(n) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 615—616.  

(o) Plut. in Agesil. p. 614.  
(p) Diod. l. xv. p. 383.
that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedaemonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persians fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negociation. The battle of Leuctra had spread its fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, This is he, who deprived the Lacedaemonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana.

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedaemonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his pre-

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preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, that had lately coft it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas, to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That Messene should continue free and exempt "from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gal-"lies, which were failed to infest the coast of Boeotia, "should be recalled, or that war should be declared "against Athens; that those who would not come "into the league, or march against such as should "oppose it, should be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally.

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so-much-boasted * Plantain

* It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship, and great curiosity.
tain of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grass-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shews that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows, with slaves to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expence, who gave four talents (s) for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents incensed the Athenians most against Timagoras. For Epicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said, in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and the rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to cares, and comply with, the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas

(i) Four thousand crowns.
das were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander tyrant of Phææ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

Sect. VI. Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Phææ, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as an hostage. He returns into Thessaly, is seized by treachery, and made a prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory against the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of Alexander.


The reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had rose up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Phææ, had been declared generalissimo of the Thessalians by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, universally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct


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conducted of their general: But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pherae, who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponneseus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to

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be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to shew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased; to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and in security of his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city * Pharsalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them

* A city of Thessaly.
them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Theban troops, and marched to Pharsalus, where he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only IImenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion (x). There is in the commerce of society, says he, certain assurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: Such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistence of the past conduct of those with whom one treats: When, notwithstanding these motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: But to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity.

(y) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with terror and distrust, who very much suspected, that after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare no body, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and with all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been

been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the publick good extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour, or personal discontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pherae, and made a shew of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused them to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains for death? It is, returned the illustrious prisoner, that thou mayest perish the sooner by being still more detestable to the gods and men.

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebé his wife, the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission (z). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be said to love any body:) But notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed po

(z) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.
niards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a slave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebē therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of everything that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, *Ab unfortunate* Pelopidas, said she, *how I lament your poor wife!* No, Thebē, replied he, *it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being his prisoner.* Those words touched Thebē to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred and the desire of revenge grew strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harrassed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks, and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat with success, and preserved the Boeotians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas *, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the publick good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

*About 225 l. sterling.*
Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Thessaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it, from the apprehension, that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Meliboea and Scotusa, which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their young to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas

* Cities of Magnesia.
nondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

(a) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæa, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon-day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was to shew all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians sent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass,

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as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprized that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: So much the better, replied he, we shall beat the greater number.

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having outstript the Thessalians; and charging rudely such as endeavoured to force those heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and passed in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his soldiers vigour and courage in such a manner, as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution: But finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great
great disorder, he stood for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary soldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his sole resentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and run forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself amongst his guards. The battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The Thessalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the haste they could from the tops of the hills to his assistance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself to the danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

(b) Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds,
adds, that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of virtue; to signify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

(c) It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and amiable. When Chares shewed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: *And for me, said Timotheus, when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army.* Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

(c) Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.
His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow, which may be imposed by the publick authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as publick, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, and to give the Magnesians, Phthians, and Achæans, their liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their country, and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: They had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebæ his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them, as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this
this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebé, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé shut up her brothers during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and left the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were seized with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Their shame and fear re-animated them: She made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sort of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

Sect. VII. Epaminondas is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.


(d) THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and

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and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attack themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprize, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: But happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. (e) He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the publick place, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this

(e) Polyb. L ix. p. 547.
this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop stopt the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Iphatas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous figure, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself. Whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour, it is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas (f) for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly haften to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

(g) That general, considering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

(f) Five hundred livres. (g) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 645—647.
The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achaæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the center, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the center. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the center and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up
up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in readiness to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprized when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers, and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons,
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squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear, and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory’s inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general’s example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a
fliower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroick valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast across his cuirafs. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far, and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they staved for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their successes in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing so little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time,
time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, founded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians however sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed, was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they shewed him his shield,
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shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air; "Do not regard," said he, "this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may truly be said, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it funk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

It has been ‡ doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He fought not power for himself but for his country; and was so perfectly void

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Gracia. \textit{Acad. Quaest.} l. i. n. 4.
† Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem praefegeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi interfuleris; sic illo velit mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicae vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non tam illum amissæ, quam cum illo omnes interiisse viderentur. Nam neque bunc ante ducem ullam memorabile bellum gesiere, nec possea virtutibus; sed cladibus, insignes futere: ut manifestum sit, patris gloriam & natam & extinctam cum eo fuisse. \textit{Just.} l. vi. c. 8.
‡ Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam imperium non fibi semper sed patris quaexivit; & pecuniae adeo parcus fuit, ut fumptus funeri deserit. Gloriam quoque non cupidior, quam pecunia: quippe vacuanti omnia imperia ingellata sunt, honoresque ita gestis, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipi dignitati videretur. \textit{Just.}
void of self-interest, that at his death, he was not worth the expences of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns (b) in name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand; (i) Why, replied Epaminondas, it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich *.

He had † cultivated those generous and noble sentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprizing, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or rather seize, the knowledge of the art military in so great a degree of perfection. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned publick employments, and made no interests but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philo-

N 3

(b) A talent.  (i) Plut. de praæcept. repub. ger. p. 809.

* "Ovit xapodis, ἕτοι, ἳπατος ἀν ἀεί; σοῦ ὅπλων εἰπαίτεις.
† Jam literarum étndium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mi-

rabile videretur, unde tam insig-

nīs militæ scientia homini inter

literas nato. Justin.
sophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For besides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self, in this school * anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them, what we owe our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: He had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be ostentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, (k) that he never had met with a man, who knew more, and spoke less.

It may be said therefore of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Boeotians as gross and stupid. This was their common † characteristic, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Boeotian.

‡ Boetum in craffo juros aere natum. Epist. i. 1. 2.

In thick Boeotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to musick, he thought fit to make this excuse; It is for Thebans ‡ to sing as they do, who know not how to speak. Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius

(k) Plut. de audit. p. 39.
* The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle are proofs of this.
† Inter locorum naturas quantum interit, videmus—Athenis tenue calum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crafium Thebis. itaque pinques Thebani. Cic. de Fato, n. 7.
‡ They were great musicians.
genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit, which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor. Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, (l) My joy, said he, arises from my sense of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a disgrace to them to express for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised their altars.

(l) Plut. in Coriol. p. 115.
alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished preheminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, until the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernable in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by services and benefactions. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance, and they retained a part of that preheminence during the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all the seventy-two, or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire (m): But for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedaemonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lyfander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the preheminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independance in the other

(m) Demost. Philip. iii. p. 89.
other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (n). He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they lose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Arisftides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.


A. M. 3610.

The third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Plateæa and Thespia, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps. When he took possession of the throne, he found the publick treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The publick felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wise cœconomy in the administration of his revenue. I am assured," said he, "that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong, and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance.

(q) Ibid. p. 65, 66. (r) Ibid. p. 64.
It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune, to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes; love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

(s) In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none

(s) Isocrat. ad Nicoc.
none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and unactive life, should set apart a proper time for business and the publick affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persift," said he, "in the religion you have received from your fore-fathers, but be assured that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Shew, upon all occasions, so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your inclinations be pacifick, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony to yourself; that your people are become both more happy, and more wise, under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (t).

(t) Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 338.
Sect. IX. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprise miscarries by the ill conduct of Pharnabazus the Persian general.

Artaxerxes, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command (x). He had accepted that office without the authority of the republick.

Pharnabazus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republick with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (y) Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephretitus was the next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

At length, every thing being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Aces, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebus had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After


* Damasc us and Rofassia.
After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to re-embark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panic, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the gros of the army not being arrived, Pharnabazus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabazus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprise succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harrassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phoenicia, having first lost ineffectually the best part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals, who
had the command of it. Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabazus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabazus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

(b) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabazus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general (c), asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? It is, replied Pharnabazus, because my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my master.

(b) Diod. i. xv. p. 353. (c) Ibid. p. 375.
Sect. X. The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to the aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Persians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against Artaxerxes.

(d) After the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, infatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republick again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(e) Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having

having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their resentment. Chabrias went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republick's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was than more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dreft in a bad robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phoenicia, thinking it more advisable to make that country the seat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established
established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis his cousin upon the throne. Agesilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel, who had de-throned him, alleged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched express thither, and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the publick utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that delusive blind, the most just and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good consist principally in the service of that country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprized so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings, who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis.

* Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch, his cousin.
Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in consequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; the besiegers were beaten, and from henceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedaemon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta, and of those forty-one, he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest, and most powerful of all the
the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces, in subjection to Persia, revolted. Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness, and sweetness of temper in his character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did everything in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes, prince of Phrygia, Mausolus, king of Caria, Orontes, governor of Mycia, and Autophra-
dates, governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not suffice for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those, who had been the first, and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in refusing it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia minor, being sent into Egypt to negotiate succours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

* Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nechanebis.
Sect. XI. Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor. Death of that prince.

The end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had an hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and sixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaphes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * tiara. But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribafus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king, who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself. Such abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators were already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise fo great a


*This tiara was a turbant, or kind of head-dress, with the plume and before. All others wore them of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes.
great a danger, by neglecting a strict enquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king’s apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Arisaces, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king’s favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Arisaces, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world, considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribafus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: Nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.
Sect. XII. Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.

I have taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of publick business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great officers of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to
the officers who had done the state real service to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from publick employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with cresses and ballads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red-sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean-sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxes.

* Psuanofus, Tiribofus, Datasus, &c.
taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their Satraps or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent, of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government, that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or
or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendor of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to furnish out expenses so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a publick venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean hearts, and the violent rapaciousness of an infatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people’s patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruined states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people against their prince.
BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Persians and Grecians.

Sect. I. Ochus ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.

The more the memory of Artaxerxes Mene-mon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror by the murder of his two brothers. (i) To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the publick. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. Authors however most frequently

quently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon explained. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. (1) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; (m) and having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sisygambis; the mother of Darius Codomannus: (n) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers with their father to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

(o) The cruelties, exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabafus, governor of one of the Asiatick provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him; and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabafus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace

A. M. 3648.
Ant. J. C. 356.

(1) Justin. l. x. c. 5. (m) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. (n) Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (o) Diod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434.
to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recall Chares.

Artabafus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republick was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (q) It is certain, that soon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabafus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

Sect. II. War of the allies against the Athenians.

Some few years after the revolt of Asia minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were


* Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienfiun, Iphicratis, Chabriae, Timotheti; que post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. Cor. Nep. in Timot. c. iv.
were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their country; no one after them being distinguished by merit or reputation.

(s) Chabrias had already acquired a great name, when having been sent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broke, and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

Iphicrates was of a very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; Yes, replied he, The nobility of my family begins in me: That of yours ends in you. He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

(t) He is ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and, for that reason, were too great a burden, and extremely troublesome: He had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing

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(t) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i. Nep. in Iphic. c. i.

* Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatibus, quae fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum atatis suae cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus natu quidem quiquam anteponeretur. Cor. Nep.

(t) Diod. l. xv. p. 360.
exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of flax. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds. But that flax being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to sword or fire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with success, after having begun to break and give way. So that when the battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and soldiers drew themselves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the most able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the son of Conon, so much celebrated for his great actions, and the important services he had rendered his country. * He did not degenerate from his father's reputation, either for his merit

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* Hic à pate reeceptam glo-
rion multa auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laborio-
fus, rei militaris peritus, neque minus civitatis regendi. Cor. Cit. I. i. de Offic. ii. 116.

Nep. c. i.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior suffit quam pater, ad eam laudem doc-
trinae & ingenii gloriam adjicit.
in the field, or his ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellencies, the glory which results from the talents of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by the gift of eloquence, and a taste of the sciences.

(a) No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprize, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, If I take places in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake? He took the thing afterwards more seriously, and angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in publick, that he did not owe his success to fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

(x) The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea, forces. All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the passage, entered the port, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other galleys were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his sense, to a shameful flight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied

\( (a) \) Plut. Sylla. p. 454. \( (x) \) Diod. l. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. iv.
applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty gal-
lies, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies consisted of an hundred sail. After having ravaged several islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they sat down before Samos. The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose, notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and full of him-
s elf; one who exaggerated his own services, depreci-
ated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * caprici-
ous, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial. The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shewn upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay so great a fine, re-

* Populus acer, suspicax, mo-
bilis adversarius, invidus etiam po-
tentiae, domum revocat. Cor, Nep. † An hundred thousand crowns. ‡ Twelve thousand thousand crowns.
tired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched
with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents,
which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a cer-
tain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently
odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had re-
built with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to
the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own ex-
pence.

(y) Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself
before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that
Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him
of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his com-
mand. Iphicrates, with the confidence an established
reputation inspires, asked him, Would you have com-
mitted a treason of this nature? No, replied Aristo-
phon, I am a man of too much honour for such an ac-
tion! How! replied Iphicrates, could Iphicrates do
what Aristophon would not do?

(z) He did not only employ the force of arguments
in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms.
Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly
that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince
his judges. He posted round the place where they
assembled a number of young persons, armed with
poniards, which they took care to show from time to
time. They could not resist so forcible and trium-
phant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted
of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached
with so violent a proceeding; I had been a fool, indeed,
laid he, if having made war successfully for the Atheni-
ans, I had neglected doing so for myself.

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left
sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition
to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in
the Hellepont, if he had known how to resist the
magnificent offers of Artabasus. That viceroy, who
had revolted in Asia minor against the king of Persia
his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand
men, and just upon the point of being ruined from
the

(y) Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.  
(z) Polyb. Stratag. l. iii.
the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabafus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republick for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadours to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king’s menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (a), which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning himself blindly to the insinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applied himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days; so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had succedingly plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice.
tice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others."

The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued three years.

Sect. III. Demosthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of Artaxerxes for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mausolus. Extraordinary grief of Artemisa, his wife.

This peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that
that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in publick at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him by and by. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republic of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail, (in what manner he proposed a scheme,) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence, in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For I reserve this scheme for the Athenians fitted out, and subsequent section, being curious, and fitted their fleets. very proper to explain in what man-
For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy any immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expense of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better," said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together." (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) "When we shall see the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expenses of the war; as nobody can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to sacrificing a small part of it to their own, and their country's preservation. "And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the great riches of the king of Persia enabled him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other Barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I dare be assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the same time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the overheated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

(f) Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedaemonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled

(f) Dio, l. xv. p. 401.
settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasines, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: The other people concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(g) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve to necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in such a manner with the times, or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," (replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place) "we ought indeed always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; "but, at the same time, our conformity to it should I "con-
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"confift with the publick good and the interest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with us to affift the oppressed." (He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans as examples.) "We have never varied from this principle. The re-proach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon thole, whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reafon and the stricteff justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever lefs regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(6) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demofthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horfe, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-inflated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reafon to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who affifted them in throwing off the Athenian

(b) Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

* This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.
nian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publickly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. (i) Artemis a his wife succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemis a, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemis a, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

(k) This princess immortalized herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the Mausoleum, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of Mausoleum to all future great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

(l) She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in publick of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history.

history as a prince most forbidly avaricious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyrick, or else he would never have pleased the princes.

(m) That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drank it all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. (n) It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive, upon this head. (o) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the publick place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisa came out with her galleys from the little port through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet without resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means

(m) Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.  
(o) Vitruv. de Architecf. l. ii. c. 8.
means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisia, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She had caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisia, branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being seen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning of Artemisia, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisia, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation. (p) Negotia pro folatiis accipiens.

(q) The Rhodians being treated by Artemisia in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with
with setting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and it might have been thought was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: But all this was only the art of the orator, to infinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledge their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republic's protection. He sets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in shewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratick form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: Which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, For the liberty of the Rhodians.

(r) The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idrieus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

 Sect. IV. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.

OCHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independance. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia.
(s) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off the heavy yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis, king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mento the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

(t) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idriaeus, king of Caria, to make war against them, who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion, the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia choose him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were however subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus,

(s) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 439. (t) Ibid. p. 440, 441.
Ochus, having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprize, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miscarriage of the enterprize against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subduing it than that of the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt the persons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republicks to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in such a manner with regard to Greece.

Its design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually by noble
emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intellefive divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprizes. When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phoenicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to

\[\text{(n) Diod. l. xvi. p. 441--443.}\]
him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cyphers for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into the rest of Phoenicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king. Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent
fent him a thousand men under the command of La-
charis: The Argives three thousand under Nicostras-
tus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All
these troops joined him immediately after the taking
of Sidon.

(x) The Jews must have had some share in this war
of the Phœnicians against Persia. For Sidon was no
sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and be-
sieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides
which, it appears that he carried a great number of
Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into
Hyrcaania, where he settled them along the coast of
the Caspian sea.

(y) Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus
at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely en-
grossed his attention, that in order to have nothing to
divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an ac-
commodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who
submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were
all continued in their little states. Evagoras de-
manded to be re-instituted in the kingdom of Salamin.
It was evidently proved, that he had committed the
most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that
he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was
therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and
the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He
behaved no better in that, and was again expelled.
He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was seized,
and put to death. Surprising difference between
Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

(z) After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus, and
the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length
towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium,
from whence he detached three bodies of his troops,
each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persia
with equal authority. The first was under Dachares
the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and

(x) Solin. c. xxxv. * Euseb. in Chron. &c.  
(y) Diod. l. xvi.  
(z) Ibid. p. 444, § 450.
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Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had an hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Lybians, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's enterance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four-and-twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and failed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the situation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broke and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the enterance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium, were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated.
with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit, to be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Thole poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it, and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

Nectanebes, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Aethiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel (b).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

(c) Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Jofephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he

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(b) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15. (c) Sic nec. p. 256. Vol. de hist.
dedicates his work, of which Syncellus has preserved us the abridgment.

Nectanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians in all the enterprizes they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Dio- dorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined, in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed them to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœacia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of an hundred talents in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabafus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabafus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered.

* George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch.

** Tarasus, towards the end of the ninth century.

† An hundred thousand crowns.
ed at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established everywhere the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; some he brought over by his addresses and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstituted the king's affairs in those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

Sect. V. Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.

OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so that the first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all those of the lower Asia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny

(g) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 492.
destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in (b) derision of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, (i) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal, they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them: But the affront, which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(k) His revenge did not stop there, he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart...

(b) Ælian. l. iv. c. 8.  
(l) Ælian. l. vi. c. 8.
heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king’s sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he referred to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be said hereafter.

We see here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of publick busines, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greatest crimes his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.
Sect. VI. Abridgment of the life of Demosthenes to his appearance with honour and applause in the publick assemblies against Philip of Macedon.

As Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

That orator, born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoky blacksmith as † Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. (m) Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought

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* Quem pater ardentis masfie fuligine lippus, A carbonc & forcipibus, gladioque parente Incude, & luteo Vulcano ad rhetora mift.
† Quem pater ardentis masfie fuligine lippus, A carbonc & forcipibus, gladioque parente Incude, & luteo Vulcano ad rhetora mift.

[m] In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

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† Juv. l. iv. Sat. 10.
brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres (n).

Demosthenes’s father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents (o). He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil’s masters the reward due to them: So that he was not educated with the care, which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates *, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes’s guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high (p); or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former: But Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

(q) But he soon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was

the occasion. The orator Callistatus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Boeotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (r) Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistatus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly entreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours, which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects, and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and during the continuance of Callistatus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired

(r) Demost. in Midi. p. 613.
retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides’s verses to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seemed almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. (t) He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that, at last, no letter made him hesitate.

hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (u) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of publick assemblies.

(*) Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in publick. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than Pronunciation; insinuating, by making that reply * three times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted

(u) Quintil. l.x. c. 3.

(*) Ibid. l. xi. c. 3.
to considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas (y), though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprizing. To be the more removed from noise, and lest subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, having on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were said by those, who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble." * He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at his business before him. (z) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the publick affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero † tells us that success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence (a); I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head; of which he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority,


* Cui non sunt audita Demosthenes vigiliae? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana visus elet industria. In s. 1. iv. n. 44.
† Ne ilud quidem intelligunt,
rity, (b) the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him
more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athen-
ians. His harangues, he said, were like machines
of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him;
by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his
enterprizes, without its being possible to prevent their
effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been
"present, and heard that vehement orator declaim,
"should have concluded the first, that it was indispen-
"sably necessary to declare war against me." No city
seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could
introduce a mule laden with gold into it: But he con-
fessed, that to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible
in that respect, and that he always found him inacces-
sible to his presents. After the battle of Chaeronea,
Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread
at the prospect of the great danger, to which that or-
ator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause
of forming against him, exposed himself and his
kingdom.

(c) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I
"value not," said he, "the Piræus, the galleys, and
"armies of the Athenians: For what have we to fear
"from a people continually employed in games,
"feasts, and Bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives
"me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in no-
"thing from the meanest people of Greece. He
"alone excites and animates them. It is he that
"rouzes them from their lethargy and stupefaction,
"and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost
"against their will: Incessantly representing to them
"the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he
"transforms them into new men by the ardour of his
"discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour
"and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating
"eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees
"all our designs, he countermines all our projects,
"and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens
"entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his ad-

(b) Lucian, in Encom. Demost. p. 940, 941. (c) Ibid. p. 934—935.
vice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. " All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides." He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. " Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, "that neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world, have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprizes of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

Sect. VII. Digression upon the manner of fitting out fleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.

The subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume, where I have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain...
of the history which the reader may easily turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word Trierarchs (d) signifies no more in itself than commanders of gallys. But those cities were also called Trierarchs, who were appointed to fit out the gallys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten Trierarchs were appointed to equip one vessel.

(e) At length the number of Trierarchs was established at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expenses of these armaments; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expenses, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust at bottom; as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens, from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expense so much above

(d) Téiýëατάξεις. (e) Ulpian. in Olynth. ii. p. 33.
above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

(f) Demothenes, always intent upon the publick good, to remedy these inconveniencies, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents *, was obliged to fit out one galley; and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to compleat that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demothenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demothenes upon this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an instance of no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. "(g) Seeing," says he, speaking to the Athenians, "your maritime affairs are in the greatest decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes eat up with taxes, and the republick itself, in consequence of these inconveniencies, never attempting anything till too late for its service; I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty,"

R 2 "the

(f) Demoft. in Orat. de Cliftib. (g) Demoft. pro Ctesp. P. 419. * Ten thousand crowns.
the poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of
the highest importance, the republick enabled to
make the necessary preparations of war in due time."
He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not
have given him to forbear the proposing of this law,
or at least to have suspended its execution: But he
did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their
threats or promises, and continued firm to the publick
good.

Not having been able to make him change his reso-
lution, they contrived a stratagem to render it inef-
fectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation,
that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited De-
mothenes before the judges, and prosecuted him ju-
ridically as an infringer of the laws of his country.
The accuser having only the fifth part of the voices
on his side, was according to custom fined five hun-
dred drachmas *, and Demosthenes acquitted of the
charge; who relates this circumstance himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the
latter times, the affair would have taken this turn.
For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the
tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the
quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich,
who were far more powerful and enterprising than
those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the
lands, which they had usurped in manifest contraven-
tion of the institutions of the state. The law of De-
mothenes was approved and confirmed by the senate
and people.

We find, from what has been said, that the Trier-
rarchs fitted out the gallies and their equipage at their
own expence. The state paid the mariners and sol-
diers, generally at the rate of three Oboli, or five-
pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere. The
officers had greater pay.

The Trierarchs commanded the vessel, and gave
all orders on board. When there were two of them
to a ship, each commanded six months.

* 12l. 5s.
When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel’s equipage to their successor, or the republick. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act in the function of Trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called the law of exchanges.

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occasions of the state.

(b) Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatsoever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the Novemviri, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see, without ships or money, the republick was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republick, and sometimes even to all their descendants: For as maintaining publick places of exercise with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a publick feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and shews; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to

R 3
great

(b) Demost. ad vers. Lept. p. 545.
great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the publick expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all publick employment, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(i) As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republick gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land in Euboea, besides an hundred minæ * at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence a day.

(k) Athens, in these services which were done it, regarded more the good-will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed an hundred minæ amongst them, that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent †. These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of publick calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

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(i) Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 558.
(ii) Ibid. p. 757.

* Twenty-two pounds ten shillings.
† A thousand crowns.
The fame freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from publick offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person however, called Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the publick good, proposed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decrives his cause himself, and shews its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shewn, that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the repub-
lick, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons; he goes on to explain its conveniences, and let them in a full light.

"It is first," says he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to acknowledge and reward by such immunities; it is in some manner calling in question the services they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now alive and present in this assembly, which of us all would presume to offer them such an affront? Should not the respect we owe their memories make us consider them as always alive and present?"

"But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be insensible to our own interest? Besides, that cancelling so ancient a law is to condemn the conduct of our ancestors, what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its engagements. A private person that fails in these respects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction of publick authority, and being in a manner consecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce them ourselves by the revocation of grants, passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to insist.

"To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their coun-
try, which are the great sources and principles of
almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose
to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which
grant no such exemptions: Do we repent our not
resembling them in many things; and is there any
wisdom in proposing their defects, and not their
virtues for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of
exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this
exception, that all persons should be deprived of the
benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them;
and that a strict enquiry should be made for that pur-
pose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract
in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that
I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without
confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's de-
siring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republick,
by retrenching the moderate expences that were an ho-
nour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were
other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of publick gratitude perpetuated in a
family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its
happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that pas-
sion by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find
amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges, granted
to the family of the Maid of Orleans, have been re-
trenched. (m) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her
father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even
by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the
attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women
was retrenched.

(m) Mezerai.
BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.


Macedon was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bœotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pegasa. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II, who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before; that is, Anno Mundi 3212, and before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.
The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often stiles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (a) Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympick games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. (b) The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by surprize at day-break, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were dissatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessioned of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to

(a) Herod. l. v. c. 22. (b) Idem, l. ix. c. 44.
to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olyn-
thians; and in order to engage them the more firmly
in his interest, he had given up to them a considera-
ble track of land in the neighbourhood of their city.
According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the
blood-royal, being supported by the Athenians, and
taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in
Macedonia, reigned there two years. (c) Amyntas
was restored to the throne by the Theffalians; upon
which he was desirous of resuming the possession of
the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his
affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians.
This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being
strong enough to make head singly against so powerful
a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular
sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the
power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a
total and impending ruin. (d) It was then that Amyntas,
in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had
sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to en-
able the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipo-
lis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-men-
tioned people. This strong alliance was continued
after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as
we shall soon see.

Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the
same year this monarch declared war against the Olyn-
thians. This Philip was father of Alexander the
Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by
calling him the father of such a son, as *Cicero ob-
serves of the father of Cato of Utica.

(e) Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four
years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eu-
rydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas,
and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

Alexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In

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* M. Cato sententiam dixit hu-
jus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim
\[ \text{ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lu-} \]

men illud progenuit, ex filio et
nominandus. De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.
the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a
sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and
perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding after-
wards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger
brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage,
who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned
but one year.

(f) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas,
his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but
Pausanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been
exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a
great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing
some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates
was then in that country, whither the Athenians had
sent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis
as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make
the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice
hearing of his arrival, desired to see him, intending
to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he
was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the
afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion,
takes her two children, Perdiccas and * Philip, and
sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the
knees of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him:
"Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father
of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for
your country, and adopted you for his son. This
double tie lays you under a double obligation. The
amity which that king entertained for Athens, re-
quires that you should acknowledge us publicly
for your friends; and the tenderness which that
father had for your person, claims from you the
heart of a brother to these children." Iphicrates,
moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the
usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

(g) Perdiccas † did not long continue in tranquil-
lity.

(f) Æsch. de Falf. Legat. p. 399, 400.  
(g) Plutarch. in Pe-
lop. p. 292.

A. M. 3630. 
Ant. J. C.  
374.*
A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose: This was Ptolemy his brother, natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valor. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to *Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: But with regard to his temperance, his

*Thebinae triennio obites habitus,
his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. (b) After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly surprized at having loft their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions: The Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjunction of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. (i) Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: Accordingly, he provides for, and remedies every thing, revives the desponding coun-

courage of the Macedonians, and re-instates and disciplines the army. (k) He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was very thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: Him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterward became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedence in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by (l) Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy’s darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his *comrades or companions; and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history; yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflexions of a man so well skilful in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the

(k) Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49. (l) Iliad. N. v. 130.

* πενήντα. signifies, verbatim, a foot-soldier, comrade, companion.
negotiating a captious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. (m) He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtility established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Paeanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power: He afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and
obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Euboea. That island, which is separated from Boeotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. (n) It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Euboeans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Euboea became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Euboeans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says *Æschines, in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Euboea to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard


regard to other states; and it was this gave rise to the war of the allies, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he resolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its interminable feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents, or promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties and alliances, and each of them singly in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.
We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. (o) The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republick rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. (p) However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

(q) Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promise had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of *Pydna and of †Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.

(r) From whence he proceeded to seize Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and

(r) Diod. p. 413. 

*Pydna, a city of Macedonia, situated on the gulf anciently called Sinus Thermacan, and now Gulf J. Salmoni. 
†Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.
which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling; a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden species to be coined there, which outlived * monarchy. Superiority of finances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

(s) Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke and acted in a quite different manner. (t) It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:

\[ \text{Ἀργυρίας λόγχας μᾶχα ἐς ἄνω τα κράτησις.} \]
\[ Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all. \]

The advice of the priests became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortresses

(s) Philip. iii. p. 92.  
(t) Suidas.

* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille  
Cherilus, incultis qui veribus & maie natis  
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.  

Cherilus the Pelian youth approv'd,  
Him be rewarded well, and him he lov'd;  
His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,  
Got him his favours, and a fair estate.  
Creech's Hor.

Hic sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philip- 
lippi.  
Plaut. in Parem.
fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. * It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the publick affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was son of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. (u) Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable * advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympick games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune. (x) We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by


———Disidit hostium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit dumulos
Rex e munerebus. Horat. lib. iii. Od. 16.

When engines, and when arms do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew. Creech's Hor.

† Plutarch supposes, that this after the taking of Potidaea, but this news was brought him immediately city had been taken two years before.
by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son’s preceptor. I am to inform you, said he, that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king of Macedonia. What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

(y) This was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the center of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, (sarissa.)

This


* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impotum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam fuus cuique dignus est.) Quintil. l. i. c. x.

† An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosophe voluisset, aut ille fulcipsisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectiono quoque op- timè tractari, pertinent ad sum- mam credidisset? Quintil. ibid.  

† Decem & sex millia peditum more Macedonum armati suere, qui phalangetae appellabantur. Hac media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40.
This pike was fourteen cubits long; that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, an hundred feet in rank, and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep: But its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shews the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms *. And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the

* Five stadia.
pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the fourths four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers, who formed the first rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes, as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from the darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immovable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question) say he, take up, in fight, three feet each.

And
And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet between every soldier. In this every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much distance as one of the *phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we have before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

(2) This Livy shews evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoise; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

(a) Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus,
Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx; but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, Intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find a spot of ground, of fifteen, twenty or more furlongs* in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a track of ground, such as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the center for instance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.
certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as (b) Mr. Boffuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property, (these are Polybius's words) that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracks, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the leaft difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

(c) This enabled Paulus † Æmilius to gain his cele-

(b) Discourse on Universal History. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xlv. n. 41.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordinis servans; sed illa phalanx immobils, & unusus generis: Romana acies distinctior, e pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus est, facilis jungenti. Tit. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangis, maxime Macedonum, quae, nihili praelongis haftis velut vallum ante clupeos objecta, quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum usus est. Id. l. xxxi. n. 39.

† Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior caula victoriae fuit, quam quod multa paffim praedia erant, quae fluentantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; eurus conferta, & intentis horrendis haftis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carpitum aggregando circumagare immobilem longitudine & gravitate haftam cogas, confusa atque interrupta vires praebent. Si cut tum adversus eavet aliam irrupentes Romanos, & interrupta mul-

(c) Plutarch. in Paul.
celebrated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(d) The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom or fix feet for each horsemanspace he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

(d) Lib. xii. p. 663.

\[ \text{tifariam acie, obviam ire coge-} \]
\[ \text{bantur: & Romani, quacumque} \]
\[ \text{data intervalla effent, inimubant} \]
\[ \text{ordines fuos. Qui si universa acie} \]
\[ \text{in frontem adversus instructam} \]
\[ \text{phalangem concurrissent—indui-} \]
\[ \text{fent se haftis, nec confertam aci-} \]
\[ \text{m suffinuissent. Tit. Liv.} \]

S E C T.
Sect. II. The sacred war. Sequel of the history of Philip. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylae.

Discord, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the sacred war, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphyætions, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verses in Homer, that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedaemonians in his interest. They were very much disturbed at the sentence which the Amphyætions had pronounced against them, at the sollicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist them with

(c) Diod. i. xvi. p. 435—433. (f) Iliad. i. ii. v. 516.
with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The *Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several encounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country, that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priests at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, he answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Boeotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh sup-

* Or Locri.
ply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with a venerable name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencontre taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby
thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

(g) Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and razed it. (h) He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. After Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon starlings; which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, To Philip's right eye, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, If Philip takes the city, he will hang up After; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

(t) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. (k) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word Cyclops, or even the word eye, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedaemonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, Now, son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour.
After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but at last, Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel

cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaeas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phoceans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the publick monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents, that is, about one million, five hundred thousand pounds.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylae, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylae, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.
THE HISTORY

Sect. III. Demosthenes, upon Philip's attempting Thermopylae, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for succour. Demosthenes endeavours by his orations to rouse them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and Philip at length takes Olynthus.

As we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the publick good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to bear salutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to publick affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the publick treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring publick offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such was
was the situation of Athens, at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylae. (m) Demosthenes taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness, as even insults the Athenians.

"See," says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that man rises, who will not suffer you to choose either action or repose; but employs menaces, and, as fame says, speaks in the most insolent terms; and not contented with his first conquests, but incapable of satiating his lust of dominion, engages every day in some new enterprize. Possibly, you wait till necessity reduces you to act; can any one be greater to freeborn men than shame and infamy? Will you then for ever walk the publick place with this question"
question in your mouths, What news is there? Can there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the supreme arbiter of Greece? Philip is dead, says one; be is only sick, replies another." (His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) But whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose, O Athens! For the moment after heaven had delivered you from him, (should you still be have as you now do) you would raise up another Philip against yourselves; since the man in question owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence, than to his own strength.”

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty galleys, and to resolve firmly to mann them selves. He requires them to reinforce these with ten galleys lightly armed, which may serve as a convoy to the fleet and transports. With regard to the land forces, as in his time the general, elected by the most powerful faction; formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little service; Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies; with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more per month than ninety * talents, (ninety thousand crowns) viz. forty talents for ten convoy galleys, at the rate of twenty minæ (a thousand livres) per month for each galley; forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) per month for each foot-soldier; which

* Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.
which five livres *per* month make a little more than three-pence farthing French money *per diem*. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) *per* month for each horseman; which fifteen livres *per* month make ten sols *per diem*. The reason of my relating this so particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of provisions is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is persuaded, that provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprized at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reason for it, *viz.* that at present the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient force in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, obverse, harass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprizes with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of Thebes their rival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra...
and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dispensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who since the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidaea, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

(n) In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed

(n) Olynth. ii.

* The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthians, which relate to this subject. But M de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dunsius Halicarnassensis, which ought to be of great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthians. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.
succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not satiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse trafficks, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgot her inconstancy: But, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villany; an usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments
ments in the present oration of Demosthenes. In it is shewn the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the publick service; and that, at a common expense, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades *, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty garrisons and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However, this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortress of Gira, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiack generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: For that,
that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expenses requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Aegina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedaemonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them, in times of peace *, the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shows, upon condition, however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved, and the restriction also. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution (called by Demades a glue by which the Athenians would be caught) that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which opposed Demotheenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shows. Apollodorus was even punished, for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the

* These games, besides the two of the persons present, occasioned a debt, which were distributed to each great number of other expences.
the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow, as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and sea-faring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the publick monies being squandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to eafe people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After shewing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprizes of Philip, he hints (but in a distant way) that those funds which were expended in theatricks, and ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws, (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country,
country, in case they observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiack, (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill served by the venal succours of Athens, required, by a third embassye, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen gallyes, of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

(o) The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestick enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lathenes, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwile than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? (p) Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lathenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: Do not mind

(o) Diod. i. xvi. p. 450--452. (p) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.
mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name.

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. (q) Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedaemonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shows and publick games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

Sect. IV. Philip declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Demosthenes, into security, by a pretended peace and false promises. He seizes on Thermopylae, subjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphycions.

A. M. 3657.
Ant. J. C. 347.

T HE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocæans, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republick, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make

(q) Diod. i. xv. p. 341.
make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(r) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylae, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis. But then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocaeans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view:

(r) Demosth. Orat. de falsa Legatione.
view; and on this occasion the politicks of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthenfome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynkon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Aeschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expense, endeavours to enable himself to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republick had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose. In
In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pherae in Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocleans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was (s) Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in publick, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of publick affairs; and as others served their country vivax vocce, in the publick assemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made publick, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he writ a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The scope of this discourse was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republicks, whilst sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities

(s) Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.
of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reveries of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy as to succeed in such a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Ifocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that reports so injurious as these, have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name, and of fulfilling all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece, by the least suspicions of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing the interest of one people against another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice: In fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.
It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprize, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded, that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by services but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subdue and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties,
treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for
assuring himself of them by much stronger ties than
those of friendship, gratitude, and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the
state of affairs than Ifocrates, so he formed a truer
judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from
his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not
approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the
Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded
from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had
been bribed, assures the Athenians, that he had dis-
laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topick of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphyctions, and appoints them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed sacrilege, shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphyctions, which they had been declared

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriae dedit. Ilium vindicem sacrilegium, illum ultorem religionum.
declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphyctions, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thebians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocaeans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocaeans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations of the confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylae, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. (u) The Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piraeus fortified, in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphyctions. They perhaps had abSENTed themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled such of the Amphyctions only as were entirely at his devotion. In

In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the new Amphyction, and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves uneasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal, to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphyctions; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *oration on the peace*. We may reasonably believe that his advice was followed.
Sect. V. Philip, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Meßenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubæa, but Phocion drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of Demosthenes, send succours to those two cities, under the command of Phocion, who forces him to raise the siege of those places.

After Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (x) Diodorus observes, that all those, who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

(y) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylae; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyction; and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to soothe the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he

he had disposessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedaemonia, after Lyfander had destroyed Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then disposessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; (z) but it was afterwards restored to them by Cheriboleptus, son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving however to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it. (a) After Philip had deprived Cheriboleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

(b) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe

(a) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 454. (b) Liban. in Demosth. p. 75. (z) Ibid. p. 464. In Kajian.
safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, and pursue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the publick warfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on Chersonesus. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comick poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare* decree, an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprizes. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators," says he, "cry out eternally to you, that we must make choice either of peace or war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating some new enterprize a-
gainst us. And can we doubt but it was he who
broke the peace, unless it is pretended, that we have
no reason to complain of him, as long as he shall
forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Pi-
ræus? But it will then be too late for us to oppose
him; and it is now we must prepare strong barriers
against his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it
down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is
you he aims at; that he considers you as his most
dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can esta-
blish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and
that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with
the view of falling upon you, and of reducing A-
then to a state of subjection. And indeed, can any
of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Phi-
lip is so greedy of a few paltry towns, (for what
other name can we bestow on those he now attacks?)
that he submits to fatigues, seasons and dangers,
merely for the sake of gaining them; but that as
for the harbours, the arsenals, the galleys, the silver-
mines, and the immense revenues of the Athenians;
that he, I say, considers these with indifference,
doing not covet them in the least, but will suffer you
to remain in quiet possession of them?

What conclusion are we to draw from all that has
been said? Why, that so far from cashiering the
army we have in Thrace, it must be considerably
reinforced and strengthened by new levies, in or-
der, that as Philip has always one in readiness to
oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side,
may always have one on foot, to defend and pre-
serve them.” There is reason to believe, that De-
mosthenes’s advice was followed.

(c) The same year that this oration was spoke,
Arymbas, king of Molossus or Epirus, died. He
was son of Acletas, and had a brother called Neop-
tolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to
Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and author-
ity of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share

(?) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 485. * In Thrace.
the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For after the death of *Arymbas, Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, (so famous in the Roman history) and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Acletas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. (d) Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited

(d) Demosth. in Philipp. ii. Liban. in Demosth.
* Tullin, book viii. ch. 6. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds his succession.
ed with his views: He proposed to the Amphyctions, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedaemonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independance, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedaemonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the publick stipulations; but Aeschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedaemonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus. (e) But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to inform the negotiation of the Lacedaemonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursues; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. “You excell,” says he to them, “both you and he, in

(e) Philipp. ii.
that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak in a better manner than him, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past, ought at least to open your eyes; and make you more suspicious and circum-spect with regard to him: But this serves to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time his troops are marching towards Peloponnæus; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure; after he shall have posseffed himself of the territo ries round you? Art has invented, for the security of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts; walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark? It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouze from their lethargy; to fend immediate succour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnæus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still; but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to posseff himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the Shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge.
bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. *(f) At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

*(g) Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. *(b) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked barefoot, and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say, laughing, *See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter.*

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration.

*(f) Demost. Philipp. iii. p. 93.*
*(g) Plutarch. in Phoc. P. 746, 747.*
*(b) Ibid. p. 743, 745.*
* Socrates us’d often to walk in that manner.*
tion. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded, that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make. He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every thing against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the publick, say, There is the ax which cuts away the effects of my words. One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians: Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal.

Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilst he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all
the generals of his time, but even than all his prede-
cessors. He was honoured with the supreme com-
mand five-and-forty times, without having once asked
or made interest for it; and was always appointed to
command the armies in his absence. The world was
astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind,
and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how
it was possible for him, in a manner to fix in his own
favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athe-
nians, though he frequently used to oppose very stren-
uously their will and caprice, without regard to their
captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed
to themselves of his probity and zeal for the publick
good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and
that, according to Plutarch, generally made his elo-
quence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of
Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be
made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athe-
nians gave the command of the forces they sent to
the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid
his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard
against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the
very army he had requested. However, Phocion
was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen per-
fidy; for he pursued his enterprize, won a battle, and
drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens;
but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted
the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the
professed enemy of every kind of oppression and ex-
tortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the
minds of men with art; and at the same time he
made others fear him, he had the rare talent of
making them love him still more. He one day made
Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with
ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities,
in alliance with Athens, paid every year. To what
purpose, says he, is such a squadron? Too strong, if I
am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight ene-
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mies.
The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience, had done them, in the expedition of Euboea. For Molosius, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

(i) Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing left, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprizes he formed against the commonwealth.

(i) Dem. or. pro Ctes. p. 426, 427.
Of Philip.

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wealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the Philippicks.

(k) "Whence comes it," says he, "that all the "Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, "and now run so eagerly into servitude? The reason "is, because there prevailed at that time among the "people, what prevails no longer among us; that "which triumphed over the riches of the Persians; "which maintained the freedom of Greece; which "never acted inconsistently on any occasion either by "sea or by land; but which, being now extinguished "in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and "subverted the constitution of Greece. It is that "common hatred, that general detestation, in which "they held every person who had a soul abject enough "to sell himself to any man who desired either to en- "slave, or even corrupt Greece. In those times, to "accept of a present was a capital crime, which "never failed of being punished with death. Neither "their orators nor their generals exercised the scanda- "lous traffick, now become so common in Athens, "where a price is set upon every thing, and where all "things are sold to the highest bidder.

(l) "In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a "perfect union, founded on the love of the publick "good, and the desire of preserving and defending "the common liberty. But in this age, the states "abandon one another, and give themselves up to "reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, "without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, "Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less "than others; all, all, I say, form a separate interest; "and this it is that renders the common enemy so "powerful.

(m) "The safety of Greece consists therefore in "our uniting together against this common enemy, "if that be possible. But at least, as to what con- "cerns each of us in particular, this incontestable "maxim it is absolutely necessary to hold, that Philip "attacks

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(k) Philipp. iii. p. 90. (l) Ibid. iv. p. 102. (m) Ibid. iii. p. 97.
attacks you actually at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that by seizing upon all the fences around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, because he knows that we only are able to oppose the ambitious designs he entertains of grasping universal power.

These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must provide instantly whatever necessaries your generals may require; in fine, you must concert together on such means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now threatened with the utmost danger. (a) Though all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to persist in fighting always for the cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in presence of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second us; let us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send ambassadors to Peloponnessus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that man.

The sequel will shew, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. (b) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice

(a) Philipp. iii. p. 88.  
(b) Ibid. p. 94, 95.  
(f) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 747.
choice which had been made: (q) But what could be expected from a general, whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the service of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

(r) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: Nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprized to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatick satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward shew) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours

(q) Athen. l. xii. p. 530. (r) Diod. l. xvi. p. 466--468.
deavours to take off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) with such complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justice of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise Style so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was said of *Caesar,* *That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword.*

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

"At the time of our most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than to fit out privateers against me; to seize and fell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that opposed my measures; and to infest the places subject to me by your hostilities: But now you carry hatred and injustice to such pro-
digious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the Persian, in order to excite him to declare war against me. This must appear a most astonishing circumstance; for before he had made himself master of Egypt and Phoenicia, you had resolved, in the most solemn manner, that in case he should attempt any new enterprize, you then would invite me, in com-
mon with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our forces against him. And, nevertheless, at this time you carry

*Stoedem animo dixit, quo bellavit,* Quint. l. s. c. i.
carry your hatred to such a height, as to negotiate an alliance with him against me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to Pisistratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requested the succour of the Persian against the Greeks; and yet you do not blush to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants.

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to eraze, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them,
and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

(s) The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by these truths, "O Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can "no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, "(for Philip has now declared war against us by his "letter, and has long done the same by his conduct) "you ought not to spare either the publick treasure, "or the possessons of private person: but when oc- "casion shall require, haste to your respective standards, "and set abler generals at your head than those you "have hitherto employed. For no one among you "ought to imagine, that the same men, who have "ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore "them to their former happy situation. Think how "infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should "contemn dangers to such a degree, that merely to "aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst "of combats, and return from battle covered with "wounds: and that Athenians, whose hereditary right "it is to obey no man, but to impose law on others "swords in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through "dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate "from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the "interest of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the people, "That they ought not to be exasperated at "the diffidence of the allies, but at the conduct of "the generals who had occasioned it. For it is these, "continued he, who render you odious, and formi- "dable even to those who cannot save themselves from "destruction without your assistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without

(s) Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprizes.

The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. (t) Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

(u) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preferred by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here.

"Under

(t) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 468.  
(u) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 487, 488.
Under Bosphoricus the pontiff, Damagetus, after having desired leave of the senate to speak, said, in a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times past the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; that this benevolence, so often signalized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon (who had taken up arms to destroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt our country, cut down our forests; that in a season of so great calamity, this beneficent people succoured us with a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, furnished with provisions, arms and forces; that they saved us from the greatest danger; in fine, that they restored us to the quiet possession of our government, our laws, and our tombs: The Byzantines and Perinthians grant, by decree, the Athenians to settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; they also grant them a distinguished place at publick shows, and the right of sitting both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next to the pontiffs: And further, that every Athenian, who shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any kind: That in the harbours, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues shall represent the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus: And besides, that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that the same ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines.

The inhabitants of Cherfonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the nations inha-
inhabiting the Chersonesus, the people of Seftos, of Äelia, of Madyris, and of Alopeconnesus, decree to the people and senate of Athens, a crown of gold of sixty talents*, and erect two altars, the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the other to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: An act of beneficence, which they shall fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their power. All which they have resolved in full senate."

(x) Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moesia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

(x) Justin, i. ix. c. 2, 3. *Sixty thousand French crowns.
Sect. VI. Philip, by his intrigues, gets himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons. He possesses himself of Elataea. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the conquest of this city, unite against Philip. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of Demosthenes, are rejected. A battle is fought at Cheronea, where Philip gains a signal victory. Demosthenes is accused and brought to a trial by Æschines. The latter is banished and goes to Rhodes.

The Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. (y) The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacifick proposals.

(z) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of difquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries, or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandize it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the

the Thessalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republick; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: But that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations, he raised divisions among the Ozolae of Locris, otherwise called the Locrians of Amphissa, from their capital city: Their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having prophaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhian field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has seen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphyctionics. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely
entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori, by which name those were called, who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphyctions. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphiffians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessors; but which they now were accused of usurping, by a most sacrilegious act.

Whilst the Amphyctions were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fell upon them unawares, pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew resentment and war upon these Locrians. Cotyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there Æschines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, or representatives, either that they must assist themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a publick decree, ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphyctions, implore his assistance; beseech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphiffians make their sport; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphyctions, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he shall think proper.

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean field,
field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he poiffessed himself of Elatæa, the greatest city in Phociis, standing on the river Cephissus; and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

(a) This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an affembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual cuftom, cries with a loud voice, *Who among you will afcend the tribunal?* (b) However, no perfon appears for that purpofe; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propofe a fateful counfel: For, says Demofthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occafioned by the univerfal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were feized, Demofthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, afcends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with fentiments suitable to the prefent conjundure, and the neceffities of the state. Excelling equally in politicks and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a counfel, which includes all that was neceffary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by fea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to fhew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to

(a) Demofth. pro Ctef. p. 501—504.
(b) Diod. l. xvi. P. 474—477.
to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in "taking that city. "What then is his " design, and wherefore did he profess himself of " Elatæa? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage " those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them " with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of " his army, and advancing his power and forces a- "round that city. On the other side, he would strike " unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in " such a manner, as may enable him to get the better " of it either by terror or force. Philip, says he, " prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, " by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, " under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit " for service; and support these by your cavalry. " By this step you will shew all Greece, that you are " ready armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your " partisans

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Aristides, Athenian, called it on this occasion Αθήνα, εξ χαρίας, Αθηνας Αθηναί. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.
partisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip, have forces in Elatæa ready to assist them upon occasion; in like manner those, who are willing to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion.” Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: “For this reason the senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of Greece to the safety of their own country, have resolved, that after offering up prayers and sacrifices, to call down the assistance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruise on the other side of the pass of Thermopylae; at the same time that the land-generals, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageously their particular independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly some motives of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal friendship between them and us, the Athenians however, obliterating the remembrance of past
transactions, will now affift them with men, money, darts, and all kind of military weapons; persuaded, that such as are natives of Greece may, very ho-nourably, dispute with one another for pre-emi-nence; but that they can never, without fullying the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to de-spoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to fo ignominious a slavery.

(c) Demosthenes, who was at the head of this em-bassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively per-suasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to with-stand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere novices in comparison to him: However, he here met with a superior. (d) And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration, where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negoti-ation at the head of his political exploits.

(e) It was of the utmost importance for the Athe-nians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability of war. To ef-fect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had

(c) Plut. in Demosth. p. 853, 854. (d) Demosth. in Orat. pro Coron. p. 509. (e) Ibid. * This Python was of Byzanzia, after which he went over to Philip- ium. The Athenians had presented Demosth. p. 193, 745. him with the freedom of their city;
had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: But the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatsea, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly: A prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the publick liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprizes. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to eraze entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.
The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the publick good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered: But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess Philippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle.
idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Boeotia. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: That of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And, indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Boeotia. Philip gave the command of his left-wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right-wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right-wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye
he fought, in quality of a commander (the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the sacred battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. (g) Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence cried out, *Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia.* Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, cried out with a calm tone of voice, *The Athenians do not know how to conquer.* Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. (b) It is even said, that in his flight his robe being caught by a Bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, *Spare my life.* More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip,

(g) Polyæn. Stratag. lib. iv. (b) Plut. in vit. decrem Orat. p. 845.
Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shews, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one’s self, and triumph over one’s own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung thus (himself beating time) Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said. Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and fully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, Ab, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites? These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says * an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attick graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them cloaths; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth.

* Ἄρτος τῷ Δημάδῳ καθημελεθέντας ταῖς Ἀθηναίοις χάριν. Did.
wealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: In which, says Polybius (i), he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

(k) We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chaeronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his style and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. (l) But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fortés, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour;

nour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chaeronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all rose up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a publick calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chaeronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

(m) Plut. in Demosth. p. 855. Demost. pro Ctes. p. 519, 520.
This earth entombs those victims to the state.
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed: No effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belong the attribute
Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer:
"Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give; but do not calumniate me for the ill success of them.
For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, since it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength: If with these I did not seek, I did not employ every method which human prudence could suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians; shew me this, and then give what scope you please to your accusations."

He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus (p). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before

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fore Platae: No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and, on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Platae; at sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious. Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetick manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these * orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

(q) Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest in complete armour, he said with a loud voice: "These young orphans, whom an untimely death in the midst of dangers has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now they send them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the most happy...

(q) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.

* Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 562. observes, as had lost their lives in the defence that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoke in honour of such persons.
happy auspices, their own affairs; and invite each of them to emulate each other in discharging the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taste for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Charonea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Aëschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes: But the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. * People flocked to it from all parts (says Cicero) and they had great reason for so doing; for what fight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diffensions, and an implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. (r) Cicero had translated the latter, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men, a considerable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid just eloquence; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same

(r) De opt. gen. orat.

* Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur è tota Graecia factus esse. Quid enim aut tamen viendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm fum-morum oratorum, in gravissima causa, accurata & minimissimís in- cenfás contentio? Cicer. de opt. gen. orat. n. 22.
fame objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: And it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; but what applause would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: For the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cried out: *How will it be possible for

* Some authors ascribe these words Æschines, and was also banished from to Demosthenes, when, three years Athens, after, he met with the same fate as
for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!

Sect. VII. Philip, in the assembly of the Amphyc-
tions, is declared general of the Greeks against the
Persians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestic
troubles in his household. He divorces Olympias,
and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage
of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander
king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.

The battle of Chæronea may be said to have
enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with
no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point,
which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted
unsuccessfully at Platææ, at Salamis, and at Marat-
thon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had re-
pulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the
succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force,
the most powerful states of Greece, and had made
himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge
the injuries which Greece had received from the Bar-
barians, and meditates no less a design, than the de-
struction of their empire. (s) The greatest advantage
he gained by his last victory (and this was the object
he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to
get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks,
their generalissimo against the Persians. In this qua-

c
ty he made preparations, in order to invade that
mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part
of his forces, Atalus and Parmenio, two of his cap-
tains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied,
and made them set out for Asia minor.

(t) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and
happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at
home; division and trouble reigning in every part of
his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was
naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raised dif-
sensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost

(s) Diod. l. xvi. p. 479. (t) Plut. in Alex. p. 669.
out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his comfort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard? and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another without running the hazard of breaking his neck! After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.
In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and carefles were over, Philip asked him whether the Greeks were in amity? It indeed becomes you, Sir, replied Demaratus, to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and disfensions. The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priests replied, The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed. Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egea, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy, * entitled Cinyras,

* Suetonius, among the prefaces exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observed, that Meister, the Pantomime,
in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to shew that he considered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king’s justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias’s complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger
now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruising his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the spot. (u) Thus died Philip, at forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, That the night before he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in publick, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians

(u) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.
Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demofthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which shewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

Sect. VIII. Memorable actions and sayings of Philip. Good and bad qualities of that prince.

There are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Tourreil has collected with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thesaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted (x) Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, Philip, remember thou art mortal.

Z 2 He

He discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Demochares, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer, with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, that those who dare make use of such insolent language, are more haughty, and less peaceably inclined, than they who can forgive them."

Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, *Let down the lappet of your robe*; upon which Philip replied, *Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that he was one of my friends.*

The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publickly in the Olympick games; *What won't they attempt* (replied Philip) *should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?*

His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him; *Yes, indeed,* (says he) *and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where.* Another time, that they advised him to disfiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: *Let us first take care* (says he) *that we have not given him any reason to do so.* Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful.

*Si que alia in Philippo virtus, sit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.*
tiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applause, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: *It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated.*

(c) Being urged to afloat, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him; *I had rather* (says he) *he should lose his reputation, than I mine.*

(d) Philip rising from an entertainment, at which he had sat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to allege which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, *I appeal.* *How! (says Philip) from your king? To whom then? To Philip when fasting* (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing; found the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.

(e) A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her lawsuit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion; *If you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king.* Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was sensible, that a king and a judge are the same thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them

\[ (c) \text{Plut.} \quad (d) \text{Ibid.} \quad (e) \text{Ibid.} \]
the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wise expression; * Be no longer king; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(f) He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: Take what thou wilt, says he, for thou hast me by the throat.

(g) It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.

(b) Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting. Philip answered; Philip to Menecrates, health and reason †. But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

(i) Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep; I indeed sleep, says he, but Antipater wakes.

Parmenio,

(f) Plut. (g) Ibid. (b) Aelian. lib. xii. cap. 51. (i) Plutarch.

* Kai μη Βασιλεύς. † The Greek word Ἴμαθήσιν signifies both those things.
Parmenio, hearing the ambassadours of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: Do not wonder, says he, if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he waked whilst you slept. By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, In my whole life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them.

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents: To strike the furious, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he

(k) Plutarch.
(l) Ibid. in Apoph. p. 177.
either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendent, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the dearest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardour and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. (m) I saw, says this orator, this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver

(m) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 483.
liver up to fortune, any other part of his body she might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it.

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprizes. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline: And indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specidious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But
But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequentcd his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but Theopompos, (n) a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says (o) he, "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of crimes did they not commit?"

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politicks. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne,

(n) Diod. Sicul. i. xvi. p. 408. (o) Theopom. apud Athen. i. vi. p. 205.
throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

(p) Polyænus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the compleating of his other designs. "He did not (says he) carry on an open war against the Thessalians; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he rather fomented than appealed their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commo-

(p) Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.
"monwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not
by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly."

(q) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point
of politicks. But what engines does this art play,
what methods does it employ to compass its designs?
Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy and perjury.
Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this
prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful,
infinuating, subtle genius; but we do not find him
possessed of the qualities which form the truly great
man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every
thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his
power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave
his word with a firm resolution to break it; and
made promises which he would have been very sorry
to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion
as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in
deceiving all with whom he treated. (r) He did not
blush to say, That children were amused with play-things,
and men with oaths.

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished
by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more
profound in malice, and more a knave than any other
person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea
of himself to all posterity? What idea should we
form to ourselves in the commerce of the world,
who should value himself for tricking others, and
rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a
character in private life, is detested as the bane and
ruin of society. How then can it become an object
of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of
state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than
the rest of men (because of the eminence of their
stations, and the importance of the employments
they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and, above all,
the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which
they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the in-
exorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare
promise among private persons ought to be sacred
and

and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? " We are bound (fays a celebrated writer*) " to speak truth to our neighbour; for the use and " application of speech implies a tacit promise of " truth; speech having been given us for no other " purpose. It is not a compact between one private " man with another; it is a common compact of " mankind in general, and a kind of right of na- " tions, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever " tells an untruth, violates this law and common " compact.” How greatly is the enormity of vio- lating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? (s) Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth, said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? (t) If your father-in-law (Ferdinand the catholick) said Lewis XII. to Philip arch- duke of Austria, has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered.

But those politicians, who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of

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(i) Mezerai. (t) Ibid. • M. Nicole on the epistle of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.
of publick affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more; some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, how shining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.
BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

Sect. I. Alexander's birth. The temple of Ephesus is burnt the same day. The happy natural inclinations of that prince. Aristotle is appointed his preceptor, who inspires him with a surprizing taste for learning. He breaks Bucephalus.

Alexander came into the world the first year of the CVIth Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Ephesus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Asia minor. A great number of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven columns, three-score feet high, which so many † kings had caused to be wrought at a great expence, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on

(a) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

* Pliny says two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Anciently most cities were governed by their particular king.
on this occasion. The rest of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

(b) Hægesias * of Magnesia, according to Plutarch, says, That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympus, to facilitate the birth of Alexander. A reflection, says our author, so very † cold, that it might have extinguished the fire. ‡ Cicero, who ascribes this saying to Timæus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprized. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

(c) One Heroftratus had fired that temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he confessed that it was the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time have told us the name of the criminal.

(d) The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympick games in the chariot-race.

But

(b) Plut. in Alex. p. 665. (c) Valer. Max. I. viii. c. 14.
(d) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Id. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.

* He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, son of Lagus.
† I don’t know whether Plutarch’s reflection be not still colder.
‡ Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in historia dixit, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Diana Ephesæ templum deflagravit, adjunxit: minime id esse mirandum, quod Di ana, cum in partu Olympiadis ad esse voluisset, abfuisset domo. De Nat. Deor. I. ii. n. 69.
OF ALEXANDER.

But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion? for he was very swift of foot. He answered, That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do.

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprized them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling; and like one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so-much boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane-tree; (c) and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience: Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature; enquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words,

(c) Athen. I. xii. p. 739.
words, the difference they found between Alexander and (f) Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, * This young prince is great, and ours is rich. That man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journeys together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he entrusted with the whole care of his education. (g) One of the reasons which prompted Philip to chuse him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of † Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the

(f) Artaxerxes Ochus.

(g) Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* ο ωραίοις ἐπτην, βασιλεί; μεγάλοι ος
† A city of Macedon, near the sea-shore.
the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious viaducts, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, *That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. + He grew vastly fond of philosophy, and learnt the several parts of it, but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is sensible of the impression of those that surround him, and many other questions of the like import. The reader will naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the mathematicks, which give the mind so just a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shews how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witness. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his serious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence.

* Ο; ίνείξαν μείν ξώριν, δεί τέτων δι Retinuit ex sapientia modum.

+ Retinuit ex sapientia modum.
and wife policy. How much must such an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

(b) The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle, to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work intituled Alexander's Rhetorick; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, shew that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion, for Homer, shews, not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is represented as a good king, and a brave warrior.

After

(b) Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.
* Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit.
† Ἀγαμήμοναν ἀνθρώπον ἰδών ἀρετὴν, κρατήριον ἵκες. II. l. 3. v. 1729.
After this it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious stones) in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, \textit{The best provision for a warrior.} He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the \textit{Edition of the Box} was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

(i) Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle, his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired to possess only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that "† he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the "knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than "the greatness and extent of his power." He in like manner requested (k) Aristotle, not to shew the treatise of rhetorick above mentioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at least must confess, that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{(i)} Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.
  \item \textit{* Pretiosissimum humani animi opus. Plin. l. vii. c. 29.}
  \item \textit{† Τὸς τολημαίου ἀργετὸς εὐφυὴν.}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{The word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{(k) Arist. p. 609.}
  \item \textit{qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{† ἔγὼ δὲ βιολογίαν ἐν ταῖς ἱπέρ τὰ áρεσα ἐμπείριας, ὑ ταῖς δοκήσιν διαφέρων.}
\end{itemize}
it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master (than whom no man possessed greater talents for the education of youth) had inspired him from his most tender infancy. He loved, said that author, to converse with learned men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to study*; three sources of a monarch's happiness, and which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense, instructs a prince by way of amusement, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able masters give him, on the most exalted sciences, and particularly upon politicks, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. In fine, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all seasons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself as well as mankind, who are the same in all ages. Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education Aristotle gave him.

(l) He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in such a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they † found in him both a skilful judge,


* ἰθος συλλέγων, ἦς ἑιλομαθής, ἦς ἐρήμη χρίσαι τι προσφέρων, ἦ μά-

† Μαρτυρία Ἰλλέουν ἦ Σελεύκων. —
judge, and a generous protector, who was able to di-
stinguish and reward merit.

(m) But he despised certain trifling feats of dex-
terity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians ad-
mired very much a man, who employed himself very
attentively in throwing small peas through the eye of
a * needle, which he would do at a considerable
distance, and without once missing. Alexander see-
ing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told,
a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of
pease.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition; was re-
solute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which ne-
ever gave way to force, but at the same time would
submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is
very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of
mind. Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double
authority of king and father, believed it necessary to
employ persuasion rather than force with respect to
his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved
rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advanta-
geous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent
from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, strong,
fiery, generous beast, called † Bucephalus. The
owner would sell him for thirteen talents, about
1900 l. sterling. The king went into the plains, at-
tended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections
of this horse; but upon trial he appeared so
very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a man-
ner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being
angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature
had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him
back again. Alexander, who was present at that
time, cried out, What a noble horse they are going to
lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!
Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect

A 4

(m) Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.
* We may suppose it was some because his head was like that of
instrument in the shape of a needle, an ox.
† Some think he was called so,
of folly and rashness, so common to young men: But
as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said,
and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature
just going to be sent home again, his father gave him
leave to try what he could do. The young prince,
overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus,
takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the
sun; having observed, that the thing which frightened
him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about,
or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He there-
fore first stroked him gently with his hand, and
soothed him with his voice; then seeing his metal
abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall
his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first
slackens the rein, without once striking or vexing
him: And when he perceived that his fire was cooled,
that he was no longer so furious and violent, and
wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein,
and spurring him with great vigour, animated him
with his voice to his full speed. While this was
doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear,
and did not once open their lips; but when the prince,
after having run his first heat, returned with joy and
pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged
absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general
endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses
and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed
tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexan-
der after he was alighted, and kissing his head, he
said to him, My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee,
for Macedon is below thy merit.

We are told a great many surprizing particulars of
this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to A-
lexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. (n) When
this creature was saddled and equipped for battle, he
would suffer no one to back him but his master; and
it would not have been safe for any other person to go
near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount
him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet.

According

(n) Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.
According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himself in so vigorous a manner, that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where perceiving* the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure at the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it Bucephalia in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere, that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chaeronea.

* Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensus humani solatio, animam expiravit. *Aul. Gell.*
Sect. II. Alexander, after the death of Philip, ascends the throne at twenty years of age. He subjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to dissolve the alliance formed against him. He possesses himself of, and destroys Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himself nominated, in the diet or assembly at Corinth, generalissimo of the Greeks against Persia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Asia.

A. M. 3668.
Ant. J. C. 336.

Darius and Alexander began to reign the same year: The latter was but twenty when he succeeded to the crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though he were absent, he nevertheless ruled in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the

the vanquished not being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious situation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to sooth, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant † answer of their ambassadours, he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report, which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in

* οὖσαν τὰς ἀρχαὶ τῶν νεωτέρων.
† Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassadours what things they dreaded most? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.
in their citadel. (p) Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child, and a * hairbrained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip’s lieutenants in Asia minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip’s second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes’s proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes’s letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus’s death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

When Alexander had secured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed the Thermopylae. He then spoke as follows to those who accompanied him: Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown. He appeared so suddenly in Boeotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered

A. M. 3670.
Ant. J. C. 334.

(\(p\) Etschin. contra Ctesph. p. 453.

* It is \(\delta\,\varepsilon\,\varsigma\,\nu\,\iota\,\nu\) in Greek, a word which signifies many things in that language.
delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: But after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and shewing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince
prince perceived immediately by her mien that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chaeronea, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous answer of that lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Thebæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always discovered, in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had indeed too rashly broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors. That what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which
had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: But all the rest, in number about thirty thousand, he sold, and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chaeronea. It was on this occasion Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be
be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard. The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather, to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs; waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of *Orsea, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republick. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learnt the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to publick affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave

* A city of Euboea.
behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned, at Corinth, the assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the methods for executing a revenge suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the dispositions of most things in the world.

To form such a design required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch, who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once swore, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred, which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding

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the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians; the terror which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Sula; shewed plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself; that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have performed actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprized to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine. This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, Were I not Alexander, says he, I would be Diogenes. A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, that shews perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his destiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: But then in case he should not be able to compass
pass his ends, he is also sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame, as to want nothing. In a word, all or nothing presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny himself, on this occasion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on those days which are called unlucky, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priests refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, + My son, thou art irresistible. This was all he desired; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Note, with regard to the sequel of this history.

I could have wished, and it was even my design, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did to those of Cyrus the younger; this being of great assistance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conquests. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conquests being too large to be conveniently inserted in this volume. But to supply, in some measure, this defect, I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the Streights of the Dardanelles.

B b 2

* Homo supra mensuram humanae superbiae tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere. Seneca de Be- nef. 1. v. c. 6. 

† 'Αλλὰς τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τῷ μαρ.,
He crosses Asia minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tygris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesseth himself of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passeth into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almost to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander,

* The capital of Babylonia.
der, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

Sect. III. Alexander sets out from Macedon upon his expedition against the Persians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of Achilles. He fights the first battle against the Persians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.

(?) Alexander being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprise which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a comfort, in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers, were invited.


* Theatrical representations were so called.
vited. (r) He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.

Before he set out upon this expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse.

He also enquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdiccas said to him, My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself? Alexander replying, Hope: Says Perdiccas, The same hope ought therefore to satisfy us; and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was sensible, that this secret consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his subjects in such a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the sequel of this history will shew, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arising in it during

(r) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xi.
ring his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them *, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near three score years of age; and when they were either assembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse ‡ under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to six hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Paeonians, who were always in front, were headed by Caffander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Seftos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Seftos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the assistance of an hundred and threescore galleys, and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides; and made effusions in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia; and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore

* Ut non tam milites, qu摈 cerneres, senatum te aliejuus prifce magistros militiae electos puteares. reip. videre diceress. Id. Justin. i. xi. c. 6.
‡ Thefe were all Macedonians.
† Ut, si principia castrorum
shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe.

He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month’s provision. I before observed, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals, and officers; and a circumstance of great importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

(s) Being arrived at the city of Lampfacus; which he was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you would destroy Lampfacus. By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his lifetime, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatness of his exploits. And indeed †, had it not been for the Iliad,

(s) Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

* Septent thoufand crouns.
† Cui in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum conflitit: O fortunate, inquit, adolefcenti, quix tua virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris! Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa ex- tititiet,
Iliad, the name of Achilles would have perished in the fame grave with his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The Satræ, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of * one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine, what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger; inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arsites, a Phrygian satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havoc in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines,

* * *

According to Justin, their army consisted of * six hundred thousand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thousand. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.
lines, with the cavalry in the wings: The baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves; and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: That they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread amongst the Persians; and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this,
this, Alexander having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, heads them himself, animates them by his presence, pushés the Persians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving
to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gives him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Rosaces’s hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saved his sovereign’s life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the center of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts; being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprize they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resist
fistance, and were soon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were so well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all which were set up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed; and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of
of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedaemonians excepted) gained these spoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Asia.* A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

**Sect. IV. Alexander conquers the greatest part of Asia minor. He falls sick of a mortal distemper, occasioned by bathing in the river Sydnus. Philip the physician cures him in a few days. Alexander passes the Straights of Cilica. Darius advances at the same time. The bold and free answer of Caridemus to that prince, which costs him his life. Description of Darius's march.**

The success of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy consequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the fide next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after

after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess; solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burnt the night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians all the expences they had already been at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus not being willing to consent to it, and however afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery for an evasion. They told him, that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him: And indeed the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a shew as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling-ladders on all sides. The scalado was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve
lieve one another without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were everywhere repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new escalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Milesians with the utmost humanity, and sold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrison.

Alexander seeing that the enemy's fleet was failed away, resolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He therefore retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other galleys.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficulty access from its happy situation; and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up
up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls; they had the grief to see their works demoliished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were astonished to see a new one behind it; which was so sudden, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in semicircular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men; because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently seen at this siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city, are the valour and courage of its defenders. The siege was held out so long, and attended with such surprising difficulties, as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provision, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompassed it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her stead. The scepter devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idrieus, according to the custom of the country; but she was de-throned by Pexodorus, to whom succeeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates his son-in-law. Ada however was still possessed of a fortress called Alinda, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning
contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master of the whole country, he restored the government of it to Ada.

(u) This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom *Leonidas his governor had given him; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, "and that was by walking a great deal in the morn-"ing very early; and the other prepared him an ex-"cellent supper, and that was dining very mode-"rately."

Several kings of Asia minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates King of Pontus was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. (x) He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabazus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hytales his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers, as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to spend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees

(u) Plut. in Alex. p. 677. (x) Florus, l. iii. c. 5.  
* ἴδον μὲν δὲ ἐφεσεῖς ἔγειρεν θυρείσαν, καὶ τὸ ὕποσπερ ἐμὲ τοῖς ἄραβάλλω τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀλειφάζοντες.  
** ἐκεῖνοι νῦν μὲν τὶ προτείνοντες.
agrees exactly with the law of (y) Moses; and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learnt it from some Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that approving it as a very wise and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. (z) This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the seashore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprizing that Josephus, the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red sea on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, That when he left the city of Phaselis, he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax: And it is very well known that this prince, who was vastly fond of the marvelous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people,

(y) Deut. xxiv. 5.  (z) Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.
people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander son of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of a thousand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænae, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marfylas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour; they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured: And accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so wonderful a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it begun or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle

* About one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.
oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. Now Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself; after many fruitless trials, he cried, (a) *It is no matter which way it be untied*, and thereupon cut it with his sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper, to extricate him from present danger; for the Lacedaemonians, and several other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over-sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

That prince could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately went first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design in execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lebos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Euboea, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died.

(a) Sortem oraculi vel eluísit, vel implevit. *Quint. Curt.*
died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprise which could have saved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; whereupon being mustered, they were found to be about four, five, or six hundred thousand men, for historians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Phrygia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed, that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones: For, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk a breast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not

* Quintus Curtius supposes it to be Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which so called from Cyrus the Great, and opinion appears the most probable.
not only straight, but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are over-shadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the bystanders fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words:

"The greatest prince that ever lived is torn from us in the midst of his prosperities and conquests; not in a battle, or at the storming of a city; but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will conquer before he has seen his enemy. We shall be forced to retire, like so many fugitives, through those very countries which we entered with triumph; and as the places through which we must pass are either desert or depopulated, hunger only, should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to set forth himself..."
himself up in Alexander's stead? And should we be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall we furnish ourselves with vessels to cross it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themselves, they cried aloud: "Alas! how sad is it that he, who was our king, and the companion of our toils; a king in the flower of his youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperities, should be taken off, and in a manner torn from our arms!"

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptoms he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his confidants and physicians to come into his tent, "You see (said he) my friends, the sad extremity to which fortune reduces me. Methinks I already hear the sound of the enemy's arms, and see Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with my evil genius, when he wrote letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and contemptuous a strain; however, he shall not obtain his desire, provided such a cure as I want is attempted. The present condition of my affairs will not admit either of slow remedies or fearful physicians. A speedy death is more eligible to me than a slow cure. In case the physicians think it is in their power to do me any good, they are to know, that I do not so much wish to live as to fight."

This

*Darius, who imagined himself after cloathing him in purple out of fire of overcoming Alexander, had wrote to his lieutenants, that they should chastise this young fool; and Freihheim in Quint. Curt.*
This sudden impatience of the king spread an universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with a thousand talents the man who should kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child; raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dole; which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but him only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness, for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolster, gives it Philip to read. At the
fame time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the physician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had shewed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprize; and throwing himself upon the king's bed—

Royal Sir, says he, with a resolute tone of voice, your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiscreet and unseasonable. These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so taking Philip by the hand, Be you yourself easy, says he to him, for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first for my recovery, and secondly for your own justification.

In the mean time, the physick worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it, strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physick to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable subjects; discoursing one moment about his mother and his sisters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with hasty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physician's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivisick virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much sooner than had been expected. Three days after he shewed himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their eyes; so much the greatness of the danger had surprized and dejected them. No cares less were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness.
ness, and returning him thanks as to a god who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him. They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate assistance of the gods; and as success always attended his designs, his valour became glorious in him, and seemed to have something inexpressibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprises, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions. Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the soldiers, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity; his sharing in toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain security in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horie as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only

* Quae leviora haberis silent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt. *Q. Curt.**
only incumber one another; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my telling you the truth; but in case I do not do it now, it will be too late hereafter. This mighty parade of war, this prodigious number of men which has drained all the East, might indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple shine in every part of your army, which is so prodigiously splendid, that those who have not seen it, could never form an idea of its magnificence. But the soldiers who compose the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and bristling in every part with arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle shew. Their only care is to discipline, in a regular manner, their battalions, and to cover themselves close with their bucklers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages without flinching; and keeps so close in their ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every single man among them, the officers as well as soldiers, are so well trained up, so attentive to the command of their leaders, that, whether they are to assemble under their standards, to turn to the right
right or left, to double their ranks, and face about
to the enemy on all sides, at the least signal they
make every motion and evolution of the art of war.
But that you may be persuaded, these Macedo-
nians are not invited hither *, from the hopes of
gaining gold and silver; know, that this excel-
"lent discipline has subsisted hitherto by the sole aid
and precepts of poverty. Are they hungry? they
satisfy their appetite with any kind of food. Are
they weary? they repose themselves on the bare
ground, and in the day-time are always upon their
feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry,
and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are
armed cap-a-pee, are to be repulsed by stones hurled
from slings, and with sticks burnt at the end?
Such troops as are like themselves, will be able to
check their career; and succours must be procured
from their country, to oppose their bravery and
experience. Send therefore thither all the useless
"gold and silver which I see here, and purchase
"formidable soldiers." † Darius was naturally of a
mild, tractable disposition; but good fortune will
corrupt the most happy disposition. Few monarchs
are resolute and courageous enough to withstand their
own power, to repulse the flattery of the many peo-
ple who are perpetually fomenting their passions, and
to esteem a man who loves them so well, to contra-
dict and displease them, in telling them the genuine
truth. But Darius, not having strength of mind
sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to ex-
ecution a man who had fled to him for protection,
was at that time his guest, and gave him at that time
the best counsel that could have been proposed to
him. However, as this cruel treatment could not
silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual free-
dom; "My avenger is at hand, the very man in
opposition to whom I gave you counsel, and he
will

* Et, ne auri argentique studio
teneri putes, adhuc illa disceiplina
paupertate magistratet. Q. Curt.
† Erat Dario mite ac tractabi-
le ingenium, nihil etiam suam na-
turam plerumque fortuna corrum-
peret. Q. Curt. I suspect the par-
ticle suam.
will soon punish you for despising it. * As for you, Darius, in whom sovereign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach posterity, that when once men abandon themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted in them by nature." Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sun-rise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set in crystal. The order they observed in their march was this.

First, they carried silver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) cloathed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to **Jupiter**, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courier of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the sun's horse; and the equerries were drest in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called **The Immortals**, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the Barbarians in the sumptuousness.

* Tu quidem, licentia regni subito mutatus documentum cris posteris, homines, cum fe permiserere fortune, etiam naturam defendere. Q. Curt.  
† Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the first and greatest of their gods by that name.
fumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with surtouts (having sleeves to them) quite covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the † Doryphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a ‡ golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scymitar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipt with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses (four hundred in number) all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syfigambis, Darius's mother, feated

* This was a title of dignity. † These were guards who carried a great number of the king's relations in this body. ‡ Darius.
feated on a chariot, and his comfort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the butlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domesticks of both sexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of six hundred thousand men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himself only, fancied he was great, and rose in the idea he had formed of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

Sect. V. Alexander gains a famous victory over Darius, near the city of Issus. The consequences of that victory.

For the clearer understanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the situation of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three streights or passes.

The
A Map of the Places Adjacent to Issus

To facilitate the understanding of the Marches of Alexander and Darius, towards that City.
The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus; in the way to the city of Tarfus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Asyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure it for his march. As for himself, after marching from Tarfus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarfus in one day. Go, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. From hence he came to Solae, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarfus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Malles, and afterwards at Caftabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Asyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he set out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and, after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the
pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming-up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse, it was spacious enough to contain his vastly-numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops; and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they should once be separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy’s hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illustrious example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was vastly shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, “That he was far from ever designing to commit so horrible a crime; that should he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the least credit to his promises; that it was never known that a person had been put to death for giving imprudent counsel; that no man would ever venture to give his opinion, if it were attended with such danger, a circumstance that would be of the most fatal consequence to princes.” He then thanked the Greeks

* Neminem floridum consilium enim qui suaderent, si suadisse pe
capite luere debere; defuturos riculum effet. Q. Curt.
Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition;) that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into straits and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says an (c) historian, blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius having sent his treasure with his most precious moveables to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of the army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army according to the custom of the Persians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the sick who were then in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his
his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they could attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisadoes, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was, to engage in those pastures, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflexion, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night,
night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them: But now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle-array. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprize ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the † Argylapsides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Coenus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the center of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which

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* The ancients used to offer up their distinguished by their silver shields, sacrifices upon eminences, but much more so by their great
† This was a body of infantry, bravery.
we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of these bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had referred to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the Barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Paeonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He referred the * Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand bowmen to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the center he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have

* Agria was a city between the mountains Haemus and Rhodope.
have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pafs, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle-array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: The rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the center of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the Barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the center of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing of his forces which he had opposed to the Barbarians on the mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards.
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the summit of it; so that he left only three hundred horse to keep them in, and sent the rest, as I observed, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended further than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late: For Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, "the victories they had formerly gained in Europe; the still recent glory of the battle of Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had left behind them, all which they had subdued." He added, that "by one single victory they would possess themselves of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of the East would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many calamities which the Persians (those irreconcilable enemies to Greece) had brought upon them;" and set before them "the famous battle of Marathon, of Thermopylae, of Salamis, of Plataeae, and the many others by which they had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, view the enemy's army, every part of which shone with gold and purple, and was not loaded so much with arms as with booty. That they therefore should push forward (they who were men) and strip all
all those women of their ornaments; and exchange
their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and
snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a
shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against
the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to pre-
vent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from break-
ing, and halted by intervals: But when he was got
within bow-shot, he commanded all his right (wing)
to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that
they might surprize the Barbarians, come sooner
to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the
enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful.
Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolu-
tion; and being now forced to fight close, they charged
on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaugh-
ter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aim-
ing the point of his sword at the face of his opponent.
Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private
soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ar-
dently as the glory of killing, with his own hand,
Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was con-
spicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a
powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers
to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now
the battle grew more furious and bloody than before;
so that a great number of Persian noblemen were
killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery.
Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexan-
der was going to charge that monarch with the ut-
most vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse
under his command, and distinguished himself above
all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot,
being quite covered with wounds, began to prance
about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they
were upon the point of overturning the king, who,
seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of
his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another
chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as pos-
tible,
fible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill conseqiences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right) were carrying the advantages they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus lost his life, with an hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thesalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the
the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence; and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this, the Thesalian cavaliers seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry compleated the defeat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in disorder, and crowded in great numbers through passes, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides, the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much fury, that they were as much shattered as the infantry, and lost as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thousand of the Greeks that were in Darius's service (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.
As for the Barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syfigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who also was his sister, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a son of his, (a child) and some Persian ladies. For the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents* were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The Persians, either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had received; it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noise intermixed with groans, which frightened all the company; infomuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before

* About 440,000 l. sterling.
† According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost an hundred thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; and the former historian relates, that no more than an hundred and fifty horse, and three hundred foot, were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.
fore the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stripped him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons, who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were dispatched to murder them; so that these princesses, being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent: But their terror increased, when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he put them to death, they might be "allowed to bury Darius after the manner of their "country; and that when they had paid this last "duty to their king, they should die contented." Leonatus answered, "That Darius was living; and "that so far from giving them any offence, they "should be treated as queens, and live in their former "splendor."
“splendor.” Syfigambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius’s mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. However, this prudent princess used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with such a modesty and reserve as she thought suited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as such as had been only related to him; and he made presents to all, according to their merit and station.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he sent a message to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephaestion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his secrets to him, and nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but even Hephaestion made so cautious and discreet a use of that liberty, that he seemed to take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were of the same age, but Hephaestion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king; and paid him their respects as such: But some captive eunuchs shewing them Alexander, Syfigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration

* Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut ma-

gis à rege permittum quæm vindici carum ab eo videretur. Qwant.  
Cartius.
raderation would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, Dear mother, says he, you are not mistaken, for he also is an Alexander: * A fine expression, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but fortune had not yet corrupted his soul. He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowerd him, and he became unable to resift her.

Sysigambis, strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince," said she to him, "what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I confess myself your captive. I † know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius's son in his arms. This little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephaestion, said to him; O that Darius had had some portion of this tender disposition!

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors; and was superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius's consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as he himself was the most

* O donum inclitæ vocis, danti ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus pariter atque accipientis speciosum! Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.
most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestic shape; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a sacred temple, and a sanctuary assigned for the asylum of chastity, in which all the princesses lived to retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. (d) He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter the following words were read: For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me. We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first (e) Scipio on a like occasion. Et juvenis, & cælæbs, & victor.

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

(d) Plut. in Alex. (e) Val. Max. I. iv. c. 3.
Alexander marches victorious into Syria.
The treasures deposited in Damascus are delivered to him.
Darius writes a letter to Alexander in the most
haughty terms, which he answers in the same style. The
gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. Abdol-
onomyus is placed upon the throne against his will.
Alexander lays siege to Tyre, which at last, after
having made a vigorous defence, is taken by storm. The
fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.

(f) Alexander set out towards Syria, after
having consecrated three altars on the river
Pinarius; the first to Jupiter, the second to Hercules,
and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his
victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which
Darius’s treasure was deposited. The governor of
the city, betraying his sovereign from whom he had
now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to
acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his
hands all the treasure and other rich stones of Darius.
But being desirous of covering his treason with a spe-
cious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in
the city, so caused, by day-break, all the money and
the richest things in it to be put on men’s backs, and
fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention
to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to
the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who
had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the
first fight of the forces which this general headed,
those who carried the burdens being frightened, threw
them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who
convoyed them, and the governor himself, who was
most terrified. On this occasion immense riches were
seen scattered up and down the fields; all the gold and
silver designed to pay so great an army; the splendid
equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the
golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and
carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, what-

(continued)
ever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There also were taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general; insomuch, that scarce one noble family in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also was found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. (g) We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make pies, and all things in the pastry way, to preside over the wine-cellar, to give out the wine, and such like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his destruction!

Darius,

(g) Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.
Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert or vast solitude. This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at *Sochus, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thousand men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all possible haste to Thapfacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he stiled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to ask any sum of money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife and children. "That with regard to their dispute for empire, he might, if he thought proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops: But that in case he were still capable of good counsel, he would advise him to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another; that they should henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander’s oath.”

This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.
This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: "Alexander the king to Darius. The ancient Darius, whose name you assume, in former times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the coasts of the Hellespont and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He next crossed the sea at the head of a powerful army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in order to fight us; and having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left, at his retiring, Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains. But who has not heard that Philip, my father, was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by your partizans, in hopes of a great reward? For it is customary with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and, when armed in the field, to set a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even you yourself, though at the head of a vast army, however promised a thousand talents to any person who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself, and consequently am not the aggressor. And indeed the gods, who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. However, though I ought not to grant any request you make, since you have not acted fairly in this war; nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a supplicating posture, I give you my word, that I will restore to you, without any ransom, your mother, your wife and children. I will let you see, that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered*. If you are afraid of surrendering yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my honour, that you may do it without the least danger: But remember, when

* Et vincere, & consulere viitis scio. Q. Curt.
“you next write to me, that you write not only to a king, but to your king.” Thersippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Everyone submitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffick, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred of the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephaestion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city; to these he offered the crown: But they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne, unless he were of the blood royal. Hephaestion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword; “Continue (says he to them) in this way of thinking; you, who before were sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem, than to accept it. “However, name me some person of the royal family, who may remember, when he is king, that it was you set the crown on his head.” The brothers, observing that several through excessive ambition aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander’s favourites, declared,
red, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal line; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to so extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then saluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus: "You must now change your tatters for the dress I have brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible habit in which you have grown old; assume the sentiments of a prince; but when you are seated on the throne, continue to preserve the virtue which made you worthy of it. And when you shall have ascended it, and by that means become the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your citizens, be sure never to forget the condition in which, or rather for which, you were elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear shewing their resentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the newly elected

\* Cape Regis animum, & in necisque omnium cívium dominum,
   eam fortunam, qua dígnum es,
   fitam continentiam profer. Et,
   cum in regali folio residebis, vitae
   propter quem. Q cheerful.
elecled prince to be set for; and after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air " and mien do not contradict what is related of thy " extraction; but I should be glad to know with " what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty."--- " Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear " this crown with equal patience. These hands have " procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed " nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

(b) Syria and Phænicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the center of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master;
so that when he discovered a desire of entering their
city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tute-
lar god, they refused him admission. But this con-
queror, after gaining so many victories, had too high
an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was
resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they,
on the other side, were determined to sustain with the
utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on.
Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea,
about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It
was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and
fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed;
and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty
people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose am-
badadors were at that time in the city offering to
Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sa-
crifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyri-
ans. It was this made them so haughty. Firmly de-
termined not to surrender, they fix machines on the
ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men,
and build work-houses for the artificers, of whom
there were great numbers in the city; so that every
part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations.
They likewise cast iron grapples, to throw on the
enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp-
irons, and such like instruments, invented for the de-
fence of cities.
Alexander imagined that there were essential rea-
sons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was
sensible that he could not invade Egypt easly, so long
as the Persians should be masters of the sea; nor pur-
sue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind
him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of
which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He
likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should
break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after have-
ing retaken in his absence the maritime cities of
Asia minor, and increased their fleet, would make
his country the seat of war during his being employ-
ed

* Four furlongs.
ed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him; and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to dispossess the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would soon make himself master of the island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprise, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would discredit his own arms, would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep
sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the gallys, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few vessels he possessed lay at a great distance from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprizes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praises, and others by strict reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily drove into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones; and as the place where these works were carrying

* Haudquaquam rudis transienti militares animos. * Curt.
carrying on, was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with; because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were masters of the sea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's soldiers, "That it was a noble fight to see those conquerors, whose names were so renowned all the world over, carrying burdens on their backs like so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them, in a contemptuous tone of voice, "whether Alexander were greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to prevail over that god?"

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last the bank appeared above water, began to shew a level of a considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in their ship-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. These boats were full of slingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows, because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and flets should be spread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones; and on mount Libanus there also were
were some Arabian peasants, who meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the same number. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every stratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-vessel, and filling it with brushes, and such like dry materials, made a large inclosure near the prow, wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur, and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this inclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and such like unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their galleys. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel in question, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time the sailors, who were in it, leaped into the sea and swam away. Immediately the fire caught, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the sail-yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increased the flame. But, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the bank; being either shot through with arrows, or burnt to death; whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away, the Tyrians, choosing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time the besieged, coming
coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its stakes, and burnt the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all deserted upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with so prodigious a speed, as quite astonish'd the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced these still more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abys.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible, that it would not be possible for him either to compleat the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the same time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered

* Cities of Phœnicia.
conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, joined him with theirs and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the same time, ten galleys from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty galleys.

The king, whilst his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyßimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself *Phoenix*. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and scarce able to walk, he by that means was separated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous, that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thousand Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with

* It is well known that Phoenix was governor to Achilles.
with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himself was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the king of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a great appearance, (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming-up of his left wing) they kept all their gallys in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the great narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallys, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar. After wards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank,
bank, and with hooks drew such branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one remora to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the besiegers arrows, stones, and burning torches.

At the same time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phoenicia before the harbour on the other side of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himself to attack the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very near as difficult; the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because, as the soldiers stood in ships, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor; so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station these cross-wise, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian galleys. But still, divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea, where
where it was not possible for them to do any further mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gal-
lies, with four men chained to each oar, in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other fail-yards, which were fastened together by planks, laid cross-wise, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on the space. The galleys being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The sea rises by insensible degrees; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, rise to a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened, or break to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer galleys thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those obeyed whose business it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to tear their ships out of the waves. At last they brought them
them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as before for empire, but to save their country. And indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though frustrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precautions to send most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This Colossus had formerly stood in the city of Gela in Sicily. The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ, had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity in question from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down, it would not

(i) Diod. i. xiii. p. 226.

See Vol. i. in the history of Carthage.
not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to sacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preferred it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed this cruelly-superstitious custom, a child would have been butchered on this occasion.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed up and down; and that he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable dispatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also lost some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all
the darts discharged from the balistae against them by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and scythes to joists or beams; then training their catapults, (an enormous kind of cross-bows) they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or penfile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning-sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention, for, the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go for Egypt: For, after having over-run Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a great number of ships, which
which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: However, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a * partizan, as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his insignia and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over it, by the assistance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and some of the Macedonians

* A kind of halbert.
Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy matter of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temple, to implore the assistance of the gods; others, shutting themselves in their houses, escape the sword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death; in fine, others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to fell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants (those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples) and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms flew to the asylum. The temples were filled with such old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the soldiery. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander’s camp, saved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre
Tyre and Sidon) they, for that reason, carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit fifteen thousand were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter, from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to six thousand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thousand men remaining after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the sea-shore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules, according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thousand, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

Alexander himself sacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforward be surnamed Philalexander, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a seven-months siege.

Thus were accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats, by besieging and taking it; and

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version.
and they were compleated by the sad catastrophe we
have here described. As this double event forms one of
the most considerable passages in history, and that
the scriptures have given us several very remarkable
circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here,
in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of
Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; in fine, its last re-
establishment, but in a manner entirely different from
that of others. Methinks I revive on a sudden,
when, through the multitude of profane histories
which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part
whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say
more, of the Almighty, the sacred scriptures exhibit
themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of
God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what
idea we are to form of those things which appear the
most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes
of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre,
I shall here present the reader with a little extract of
the History of that famous city, by which he will be
the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

(k) Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred
and forty years before the building of the temple of
Jerusalem: For this reason it is called by Isaiah, The
daughter of Sidon. It soon surpassed its mother-city in
extent, power, and riches.

(l) It was besieged by Salmanasar, and alone re-
sifted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phoeni-
cians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its
pride.

(m) Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre, at the
time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did
not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was
conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with most of
their effects, into a neighbouring island, where they
built

1. x. c. 11.
built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of Pale-Tyrus, or Ancient Tyre: But the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begins the seventy years obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved fifteen thousand of their citizens (as was before observed) who, after their return, applied themselves to traffick, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a second time to captivity, plunged it into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last, converted by the preaching of the gospel, it became a holy and religious city. The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to shew.

(n) Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered as one of the most ancient and flourishing cities of the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the seas, and made it the center of all the trade in the universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia,

The history, from Persia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendor, and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these, I say, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring mankind with a love for ease, vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness.

(o) A long, uninterrupted series of prosperities had swelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings; who sees every maritime power, either as her allies or dependants; and who made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, in the insulting words following. (p) Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste. (q) She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity, notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: (r) She likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

This

(o) Ezek. xxvi. 17, xxvii. 3, 4, 25-32, 33. (p) Ezek. xxvii. 2;
(q) Joel iii. 2, 8. Amos i. 9, 10. (r) Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.
(s) This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought against her Nabuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, in order to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandizes and treasures to the soldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

(t) By this so unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will only directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. (u) She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea; of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches and splendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; (x) of being governed by a monarch, who might justly be entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

(y) But since this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God had given her, in the person of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she still would not learn to confide no longer in the false and imaginary supports of her own

(s) Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3-12, and 19. xxvii. 27, 34.
own greatness: (z) God foretells her another chastisement, which he will send upon her from the West, near 400 years after the first. (a) Her destruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. Tyre, possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets, and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength or reputation; having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land forces. (b) Tyre looks upon herself as impregnable, because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle: Nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. (c) The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth. (d) Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and she will prove to all cities a subject of sorrow and groans, by making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

(e) To prove, in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible, and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has

(z) Isa. xxiii. 11, 12, 13.  
(a) 1 Maccab. i. 1.  
Zech. ix. 7, 8.  
(b) Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.  
(c) Ibid. ver. 9.  
(d) Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.  
(e) Ibid. ver. 13, 14.
has prepared for pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been an example to her.

* This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both publick and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families, which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

(f) To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity, God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during three-score and ten years. (g) But after this season of obscurity, she will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whose charms and artifices she shall assume; she will employ her utmost endeavours to corrupt youth, and soothe their passions. To promote her

(f) Isa. xxiii. 15. (g) Ibid. ver. 16.
her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendor; and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.

(b) Thus, in proportion as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she shall return to her former shameful traffick, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions she had applied to such pernicious uses.

(i) But at last, Tyre, converted by the gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them, but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffick, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their industry, labour, and the success of their applications and conduct) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after. But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; as a woman, whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions

(b) Isaiah xxiii, 17, (i) Ibid, ver. 18.
passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every characteristicalick of chastity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffick is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffick, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

Sect. VII. Darius writes a second letter to Alexander. Journey of the latter to Jerusalem. The honour he pays to Jaddus the high-priest. He is shown those prophecies of Daniel which relate to himself. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuses them to the Samaritans. He besieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt and subdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Libya, where he visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and causes himself to be declared the son of that god. His return into Egypt.

WHILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thousand talents (thirty millions) as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops who were still under his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tygris, the Araxes and the Hydaspes, which were as many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he

"should not be always shut up between rocks and "
"passes: That they ought both to appear in a plain, "
"and that then Alexander would be ashamed to "
"come before him with only a handful of men."
The king hereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of those offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. And so would I, replied Alexander, were I Parmenio. He therefore returned the following answer; "That he did not want the "money Darius offered him: That it did not become "Darius to offer a thing he no longer possessed, or "to pretend to distribute what he had entirely lost. "That in case he was the only person who did not "know which of them was superior, a battle would "soon determine it. That he should not think to "intimidate with rivers, a man who had crossed so "many seas. That to whatsoever place he might "find it proper to retire, Alexander would not fail "to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

(l) From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem, firmly resolved to shew it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in traffick, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in their neighbourhood. (m) Galilea, Samaria and Judea furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the same time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: He therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alledging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering, that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living: A rare example of fidelity,

(l) Joseph. Antiq. i. xi. c. 8. (m) Acts xii. 20.
lity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with cheerfulness to Alexander, and even sent him eight thousand men, to serve at the siege of Tyre and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I observed * elsewhere, that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Asharaddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called Cuthæi, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been preserved more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. (n) One of the sons of Jehoida the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was so shamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. (o) Manasses chose to go into banishment rather than separate himself from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whi-

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(n) 2 Eis. xiii. 28. (o) Joseph, Antiquit.
ther he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia had forced into Phœnicia) leave to build on mount Garizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem, and to appoint Manasses, his son-in-law, priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple; and refuged all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up publick prayers to implore his assistance, and made sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him "To cause flowers to be scattered up and down
"down the city; to set open all the gates, and go,
"clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests
"dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest
"clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to
"fear any evil from that king, inasmuch as he would
"protect them." This command was punctually
obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the
very day after, marched out of the city to an emi-
nence called *Sapha, whence there was a view of all
the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jeru-
salem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival
of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phoenicians who were in his ar-
my, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was
so great, that he would certainly punish the high-
priest after an exemplary manner, and destroy that
city in the same manner as he had done Tyre; and,
flushed with joy upon that account, they waited in
expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities
of a people, to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As
soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they
set out to meet him with all the pomp before de-
scribed. Alexander was struck at the sight of the
high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golden
plate was fixed, on which the name of God was writ-
ten. The moment the king perceived the high-priest,
he advanced towards him with an air of the most pro-
found respect; bowed his body, adored the august
name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it
with a religious veneration. Then the Jews surroun-
ding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every
kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized
with inexpressible surprise; they could scarce believe
their eyes; and did not know how to account for a
sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly
improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his asto-
nishment, asked the king how it came to pass that

* The Hebrew word Sapha signifies to discover from far, as from a
tower or contriv-box.
he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest; but the God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dia in Macedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war) as I was revolting the methods how to conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly; and assured me that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his feature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dia; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, showed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an extract of them, to shew how conspicuously the most distant events are present to the Creator.

(p) God manifests, by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them, in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; (q) that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones,

(p) Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37. (q) Ibid. ver. 35.
ones, and effaces them, even to the very footsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-floor.

(r) God's design, in subjecting states to such astounding revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the most high, the eternal king, the sovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleases, with supreme power, both in heaven and in earth. (s) For the putting this design in execution, the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels being appointed as spectators and overseers of governments and kings, enquire into the use which these make of the authority that heaven entrusted them with, in quality of his ministers; and when they abuse it, these * spirits, zealous for the glory of their sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and reducing them to the most abject among mankind.

(t) God, to make these important truths still more sensible, shews Daniel four dreadful beasts who rise from a vast sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the character sticks, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image! For, empires rise out of noise and confusion; they subsist in blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet, in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes, and unforeseen destruction.

(u) The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires. After having represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians


* It was at the desire of these angels, that Nabuchodonosor was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.
fians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with such of its characteristics, as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he shadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

(x) To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the three first kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have rose to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, a soft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his projects.

(y) On the contrary, from among the Greeks in question, attacked unsuccefully by the Persians, there will arise a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprizes; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations: But at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall

(x) Dan. xi. 2.  
(y) Ibid. ver. 3, 4.
shall lose his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendor and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Asia minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or Barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

(z) In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet compleats the description in still stronger colours, the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia minor and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian sea; in fine, that they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of prodigious size; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immense marches in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it shall advance towards this enemy with such rapidity,
that it will seem only to skim the ground; that it
will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely sub-
vert it by repeated victories, and destroy the double
power of the Persians and Medes; during which not
one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, shall
give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have rose to its
greatest height, Alexander, who formed its greatest
strength, shall be snatched from it; and then there
will arise, towards the four parts of the world, four
Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to
that of Alexander, will, however, be very consider-
able.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine,
than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so
exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies, which go
so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without
leaving a single successor from among his own fami-
ly, and that four of his generals will divide his em-
pire between them? But we must peruse these pro-
phecies in the scriptures themselves. The Vulgate
agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the
Hebrew, which I shall translate * agreeable to the
original text.

(a) In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar,
a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after
that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a
vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at
Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam)
and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.
Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there
stood before the river a Ram, which had two horns, and
the two horns were high: But one was higher than the
other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram push
ing westward, and northward, and southward: So that no
beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that
could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his
will,

(a) Dan. viii. 1-8.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's translation here, believing it more
proper to make use of our own version of the Bible.
will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand and before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great born was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: But these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost; empires established or overthrown; in all these, I say, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself, God breaks at every interval his silence, disperses the clouds which hide
hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretell, a long series of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to subject all the nations of the universe, viz. that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and, lastly, that of the Romans.

It is in the same view that he insinuates, very strongly, on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other destroyer of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; prophesies, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and relates the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

These passages of scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious; and serve as so many keys to open to us the path to the secret methods by which he governs the world. These faint glimmerings of light should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial, and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled
bled the Jews, and bid them ask any favour what-
soever. They answered, that their request was, to
be allowed to live according to the laws which their
ancestors had left them, and to be exempt, the
seventh year, from their usual tribute; and for this rea-
son, because they were forbid, by their laws, to sow
their fields, and consequently could have no harvest.
Alexander granted their request, and, upon the high-
priest's befeching him to suffer the Jews, who lived
in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to
their own laws, he also indulged them in this particu-
lar with the utmost humanity; and said further,
that in case any of them would be willing to serve
under his standards, he would give them leave to
follow their own way of worship, and to observe their
respective customs: Upon which offer great numbers
lifted themselves.

He was scarce come from Jerusalem, but the Sa-
maritans waited upon him with great pomp and cere-
mony, humbly entreating him to do them also the
honour to visit their temple. As these had submitted
voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they
imagined that they deserved his favour much more
than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they
should obtain the same, and even much greater indul-
gence. It was in this view they made the pompous procefsion above-mentioned, in order to invite Alex-
der to their city; and the eight thousand men they
had sent to serve under him, joined in the request
made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them
courteously; but said, that he was obliged to march
into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose; how-
ever, that he would visit their city at his return, in case
he had opportunity. They then besought him to
exempt them from paying a tribute every seventh year;
upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were
Jews? They made an ambiguous answer, which the
king not having time to examine, he also suspended
this matter till his return, and immediately continued
his march towards Gaza.

Upon
(b) Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants and soldiers, with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut ten thousand men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent. Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence—Observe, said he, I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else. At last Alexander's * anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered

ordered his soldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated, on this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged, in the same manner, round the walls of Troy; * as if a man ought ever to pride himself for having imitated so ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or hundred weight) of frankincense, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately atchieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander take up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him: Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but, till that day comes, be sparing of what you have. The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the gods.

(c) As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable


* Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Horat.
ginable diligence, to recognize him for their sovereign.

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that they valued very little who should be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to rescue them from the insolence and indignity with which themselves, and those who professed their religion, were treated. For, how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians) so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the same mock of that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thousand men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burnt the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprize, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made publick pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants,
rants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, they fellied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him; he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy desarts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. (d) Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these desarts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues (e) broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Zeus, Jupiter,

(d) Plin. lib. v. c. 9. (e) Forty furlongs.
Jupiter,* and the Egyptians Ammon. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called Jupiter-Ammon.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for an hero, he was determined to have some god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design, which was great in no other circumstances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already began to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to force, not only enemies, but fortresses, seasons, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prospe-rities, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourselves, have seen a famous conqueror, who boasted his treading in the steps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of savage heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

Alexander therefore sets out; but going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the sea, he coasts it; and, after having passed Canopus, he ob-

* For this reason the city of Ammon, is called by the Greeks Egypt, which the scriptures call Λίον, or the city of Jupiter.
No-Ammon (the city of Ham) or Charles XII. king of Sweden.
† Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.
ferves, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot he thought very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and publick squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of Diana, which Herophilus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red-sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffick of the east and west; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of sixteen hundred stadia, or four-score French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and most of the way was through sandy deserts. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived in the vast dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition of dying almost with thirst; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of sand, that are sometimes raised by the winds; and which had formerly destroyed fifty thousand of Cambyse's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air became so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe; when, on a sudden, whether by chance, say the hi-
florians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the sky was so compleatly overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in prodigious want of water. But the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted; and some had so violent a thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and caught the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these desarts, and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched slowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to serve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A vaftly-furprizing circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it neverthelefs is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the water, or fountain of the sun. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer insensibly, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the * navel, resembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the senior priest declared him to

* This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.
to be the son of Jupiter; and assured, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last, he enquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had been so faithful to his interest.

Swelled with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees, he always wrote in the style following:

\[\text{Alexander King, son of Jupiter-Ammon:}\]

In answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in few words, by desiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilst Alexander prided himself in these chimera's, and tasted the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will shew. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being persuaded, in case this were possible, that he really was such, he himself would also pass for a god; till at last, Providence having acted that part, of which she was pleased to make him the instrument, brought

\[\text{Hh2}\]

\[(f) \text{ Varro apud A. Gell. I. xiii. c. 4.}\]
him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the Palus Mareotis, which was not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither all sorts of persons, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. (g) He drew to it, among others, a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians, whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of papyrus (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I shall mention elsewhere.

(b) During Alexander's stay in Memphis, he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to entrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he invested one Doloafpes with the whole power of it; for, being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its ancient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatsoever.

To hasten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

(g) Joseph. contra Appian. (b) Arrian. l. iii. p. 108--110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

Sect.
Sect. VIII. Alexander, after his return from Egypt, resolves to go in pursuit of Darius. At his setting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He causes the several honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He passes the Euphrates and Tigris, and comes up with Darius. The famous battle of Arbela.

ALEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt, set out from thence about spring-time, to march into the east against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samarians mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

He was scarce set out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Sytigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princes, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child, * who was the more wor-thy

H h 3


* Ob id ipsum miserabilis, tem, maxima ex parte ad ipsum quod nondum sentiebat calamitat-redundantem. Q. Curt.
thy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his confort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shewn her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows. "If thou dost still acknowledge Darius for "lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect and ve- "neration thou owest to that great splendor of * Mith- "res, which enlightens us, and to this hand which "the king stretches out to thee; tell me, I say, "whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do "not bewail the least of her evils; and whether, as "she fell into the hands of a young monarch, she "did not first lose her honour, and afterwards her "life." The eunuch, throwing himself at Darius's feet, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alex- ander's virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her death; and not deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, viz. to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexan-

* The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithres, and the moon under that of Mithra.
der, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what publick fame had related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings and empires, grant that, after having raised the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may transmit it to my descendants with the same lustre in which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which Alexander has shewn in my calamity to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: Or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, or that it must necessarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay cross the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at last that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh: His forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused
caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass: But he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the east, this is the most rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but those also drag along great stones; so that it is named Tygris, by reason of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander founded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horses bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and posted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept themselves above water, because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more fatigued; for these being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burdens of several; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them would listen to his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part
part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, recovering however but a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mææus, who might easily have defeated them, had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus in fight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and streights quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This * circumstance may lessen our surprize at that excess of boldness, which was his peculiar characteristical, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greatest dangers; since, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite fullied, and, as it were, tinctured with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which filled the army with sufficient disquietude, they were first struck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards seized with fear, they cried out, "That heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged against the will of it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light; and that they could now see nothing but delirium *

* Audacie quoque, qua maximè viguit, ratio minu potest; an temerè fecisset. Q. Curt.
"and solitudes; that merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many thousands shed their blood; and that for a man who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a god."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers as were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical enquiries, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the side of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Persians; and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they gave as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprizing ascendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconstant ever they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this arduous, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the mountains called Gordyæi. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thousand horse that was going upon discoveries, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty * stadia from the place where they then were.

* Seven or eight leagues.
Not long before this, some letters had been intercepted, by which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous circumstances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderness and humility towards his family, he dispatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situate between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, between persons who make war against each other, are superfluous; and that, in case I have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for my own sake, and not for his; in consequence of my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy, is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or women, and turn my rage against such only as are armed for the fight. Did Darius sue for
"for peace in a sincere view, I then would debate 
on what is to be done; but since he still continues, 
by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers 
to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I 
therefore am determined to pursue him with the 
utmost vigour; and that not as an enemy, but a 
poisoner and an assassin. It indeed becomes him, 
to offer to yield up to me what I am already pos-
sested of! Would he be satisfied with ranking him-
self as second to me, without pretending to be my 
equal, I might possibly then hear him. Tell him, 
that the world will not permit two suns, nor two 
sovereigns. Let him therefore chuse, either to sur-
render to-day, or fight me to-morrow, and not 
flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining better 
succefs than he has hitherto had." Darius's pro-
posals are certainly not reafonable; but then, is Alex-
ander's anfwer much more fo? In the former we be-
hold a prince, who is not yet fenfible of his own 
weaknefs, or, at leaft, who cannot prevail with him-
sel to own it; and in the latter, we fee a monarch 
quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carry-
ing his pride to fuch an excess of folly, as is not to 
be paralleled: The world will not permit two suns, nor 
two sovereigns. If this be greatnefs, and not pride, I 
do not know what can ever deserve the latter name. 
The ambaffadors having leave to depart, returned 
back, and told Darius, that he muft now prepare for 
battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village 
called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain 
at a conliderable diftance from Arbela. He had be-
fore levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the 
field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry 
might have full room to move in; recollecting, that 
his fighting in the ftreights of Cilicia had loft him 
the battle fought there. At the fame time, he had 
prepared * crows-feet to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander,

*Crows-feet is an instrument which the cavalry is to march, in 
composed of iron spikes. Several order that they may run into the 
eff of these are laid in fields through horesfeet.
Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them, that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said, that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alleging, that they might
easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprize, and in
the dark; but the king answered so loud, that all
present might hear him; that it did not become Alex-
ander to steal a victory, and therefore he was re-
solved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This
was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent an-
swer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon
so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an
unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be at-
tacked at unawares, because he had not intrenched
himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole
night under arms, which proved of the highest pre-
judice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always
to consult soothsayers, observing, very exactly, what-
ever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of
the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting
a battle, the success of which was to give empire to
the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he re-
posed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself
up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacri-
fices; and afterwards offered up victims to *Fear,
which he doubtless did to prevent his army from be-
ing seized with dread, at the sight of the formidable
army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vest-
ments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first
repeated the prayers which the king was to address to
Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole be-
ing ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself
the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in
his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence
of the battle, which was upon the point of being
fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his bo-
dy being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of
his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary
to his usual custom: So that when his generals were
assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his
orders, they were greatly surprized to find he was not
awake; upon which, they themselves commanded the
soldiers

* We must read in Plutarch οίτης instead of οίτης.
soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprized to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: How could it be possible, said Alexander, for us not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands? Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode him up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse: But the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them; and commanded in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the center of

* According to several historians † Nomina verius quam auxilia. it amounted to upwards of a million R. Curt. of men.
of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them, at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged behind, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bowmen, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins, and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been shewn the several places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid left the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander dispatched against them the
body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas; but, as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry*. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves, and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed: However, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the footsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory) he shewed, with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the footsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their ad-

* Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge.
vancing to surround his right wing) had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the center of their body. Historians relate, that this prince having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: But, perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian, and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left,
advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Syfigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed;) that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and, being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with so much humanity, she did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a single word; but in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had dispatched a messenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things," said the prince, "let him not weaken his main body; "let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself "wholly to the engagement; for victory will not "only restore us our own possessions, but also give "those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the center of the second line, seeing the enemy were going to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given; and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Maceus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; de-
claring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually pursuining Darius, and, fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to succour his left wing; shuddering, with rage, to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost three-score of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occasion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in disorder, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden: However, like an able commander, who
feizes every advantage, and who employs his utmost endeavours to inspire his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon this exhortation, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that instant, and, overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the same time, two years before, that the battle of Issus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.

* The month, called by the Greeks Boedromion, answers partly to our month of October.
Sect. IX. Alexander possesseth himself of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis; and finds immense riches in those cities. In the heat of drinking he sets fire to the palace of Persepolis.

LEXANDER's first care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. (1) He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though so many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilst war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and failed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself, says the same author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propose them

them to posterity, as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer, *"That life was not so dear to him, as to make him desire to preserve it by the destruction of so many thousand of his subjects and faithful allies, who, by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had as much right to pass over this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it ought to be as open to them." After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease; not to mention that the soil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich cloaths, and other precious moveables, with four thousand talents, (about 775,000 pounds) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which

* Non ita se saluti sue velle, ut tot millia sociorum hostis objiciat: debere & alius fu-
which throws out so vast a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most was, a great gulph, whence flowed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, viz. its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being desirous of shewing the king the strength and subtlety of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that street which went up to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where those drops were fallen (for it was night;) and the drops which were nearest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end, by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleased with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in besieging a city of such importance, and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of great quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign,
sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazaæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smooked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish footsayers and musicians: It was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their kings to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horseman six mine, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horseman two mine, (above five pounds;) to every Macedonian foot soldier two mine; and to every one of the rest two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, pursuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazaæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander,
Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They presented him with astronomical observations taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Calisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.

The king resided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses; nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or shew the least reserve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal them, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been scarce able to compleat their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Amyntas brought six thousand foot and five hundred Macedonian horses, which were sent by Antipater; and six hundred Thracian horses, with three thousand five hundred foot of the same nation; besides four thousand mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near four hundred horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. The youths in question waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended

* Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Celo.
tended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: And these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But left indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles; for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of a thousand men; whence those officers were called Chilarchi. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, consisting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves; because they might perceive very easily, whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumstance in which soldiers can never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without shewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas, before the horsemen of every nation used to fight under his own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but as it very
very frequently could not be well heard, because of
the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave
orders that a standard should be set up over his tent,
which might be seen by his whole army. He also
appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and
smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where
he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As
he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province,
sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender
the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to
this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience
to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the
hopes of plunder, the king gave this young noble-
man a very gracious reception, who attended him as
far as the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so
famous, upon account of their exquisite taste (m). The
kings of Persia never drank of any other; and, wher-
ever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them
in silver vases. It was here Abutites came to wait
upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king;
among which were dromedaries of incredible swif-
tness, and twelve elephants which Darius had sent for
from India. Being come into the city, he took im-
mense sums out of the treafury, with fifty thousand *
talents of silver in ore and ingots, besides moveables,
and a thousand other things of infinite value. This
wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for
several centuries upon the common people, from
whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were
raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amas-
sed them for their children and posterity; but, in
one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king,
who was able to make a right use of them; for Alex-
ander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of
the immense riches which he found hoarded up in
Persia;

(m) Herod. lib. i. c. 185.
* About seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.
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Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found * five thousand quintals of Hermione † purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasuring up there during the space of one hundred and ninety years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre was no ways diminished.

Here likewise was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in ‡ Arrian’s time.

The king being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of three thousand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thousand Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

He left Darius’s mother and children in Susa, and having received from Macedonia great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Syzigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes shewed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased with these gifts; the working in wool being considered by the

* The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was sold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.
† Hermione was a city of Ar-
‡ What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander, in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.
the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that Syfigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which you see me cloathed, was not only a gift of my sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the custom of my country misled me; and do not consider that as an insult, which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I knew interfered with your manners and customs. I was told, that among the Persians it is a sort of crime for a son to seat himself in his mother's presence, without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this particular; and that I never sat down, till you had first laid your commands upon me to do so. And every time that you was going to fall prostrate before me, I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the highest testimony of the veneration I have for you, I always called you by the tender name of mother, though this belongs properly to Olympias only, to whom I owe my birth."

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they shewed their parents. The reader, doubtless, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and the most exalted pitch to which fortune had raised him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, viz. of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent.
History informs us here, that among the Persians, a son never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from so excellent an institution?

Secondly, I discover, in the same relation, several valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in scripture to this purpose concerning Rebecca, Rachael, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses drawing themselves water from springs; and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. Here the sisters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sister made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princesses, who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestick affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meaneness and contempt: But then, what has it substituted in the room of the harsh and vigorous exercises which a just education enabled the sex to undertake, to that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A soft indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversations, vain amusements, a strong passion

* Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nefas esse consider, nisi cum illa permisset. R. Curt.
† Mater, hanc vestem, quam inventus sum, sororum non solum domum, sed etiam opus vides. R. Curt.
passion for publick shows, and a frantick love of gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syfigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Pafi-Tigris. * Having crossed it with nine thousand foot and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of the Uxii. This region lies near Sufa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Sufiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and, for this purpose, had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Syfigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not

* This river differs from the quippe ultima pro fide experiri Tigris.
† Haud sanè temporum homo:
not suffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syzigambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor?

The *Uxii* being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilst himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass of Sula. Ariobarzanes, with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all sides, and posted the Barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this sight, commanded a retreat to be founded; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself not only stop at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner surrendered himself to Alexander, with a promise to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery, that their feet would scarce stand upon them; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the shows which

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the winds had brought together, and which were so high, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy’s corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were flying to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and seized the pass, which till then had resisted his attacks; and, at the same time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polyasperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune, which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius’s treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to feize
feize them himself; that he had only the * Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harrassed by the length and swiftness of this march, and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears. After which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and, as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them, that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on that occasion.

"How will it be possible," said some of them, "for us to appear publickly before all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condition still more shameful than dissatisfactory? The best way to bear misery is to conceal it; and no country is so sweet to the wretched, as solitude, and an oblivion of their past calamities. Besides, how will it be possible for us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great distance from Eu-

* This is not the same river with that in Armenia.
rope, banished to the most remote parts of the
earth, worn out with age, and most of our limbs
maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues,
which have even wearied a triumphant army? The
only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our
misery, and to end our days among those, who are
already so accustomed to our misfortunes." Others,
in whom the love of their country extinguished all
other sentiments, represented, "That the gods of-
ered them what they should not even have dared
to wish, viz. their country, their wives, their chil-
dren, and all those things for whose sake men are
fond of life, and despise death. That they had
long enough borne the sad yoke of slavery; and that
nothing happier could present itself, than their being
indulged the bliss of going at last to breathe their
native air, to refuse their ancient manners, laws,
and sacrifices, and to die in presence of their wives
and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and ac-
cordingly they besought the king to permit them to
continue in a country, where they had spent so many
years. He granted their request, and presented each
of them * three thousand drachmas; five men's
suits of cloaths, and the same number for women;
two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to
sow them. He commanded the governor of the pro-
vince not to suffer them to be molested in any man-
ner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes
and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this
was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alex-
ander to restore them the limbs, of which the Per-
sians had so cruelly deprived them; but then he re-
stored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance.
Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with
the pleasure which arises from the doing of good ac-
tions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day,
the generals of his army, represented to them,
* About one hundred fifty pounds.
"That no city in the world had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire. For that it was from thence all those mighty armies poured, which had overflowed Greece; and whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the firebrand of the most accursed war, which had laid waste all Europe; and therefore, that it was incumbent on them to revenge the manes of their ancestors." It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled separately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treasures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a storehouse, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps; not to mention the cloaths and furniture of ineffable value; for this was the seat of luxury. There was found in the treasury one hundred and twenty thousand talents *, which were designed to defray the expense of the war. To this prodigious sum he added † six thousand talents, taken from Pasagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Persepolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it masked, was Thais the courtezan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who

* About eighteen millions sterling.
† About nine hundred thousand pounds.
who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character) she said, with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter of inexplicable joy to her, were she permitted (marked as she then was, and in order to end this festival nobly) to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burnt Athens; and set it on fire with her own hand, in order that it might be said in all parts of the world, that the women, who had followed Alexander in his expedition to Asia, had taken much better vengeance of the Persians, for the many calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals who had fought for them both by sea and land." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, singing and dancing, they surround the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great successes increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who served under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as follows: "I do not blame you," said she, "for being beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting like a king: But then a medium ought to be observed in your magnificence. You equal
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"equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches " on them, you give them an opportunity of making " a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive " yourself." As she often wrote the same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret, and did not shew them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæstion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only the ring from his finger, he put the seal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account, but he always submitted to her ill humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, Antipater does not know that one single tear shed by a mother, will obliterate ten thousand such letters as this. A behaviour like this, and such an answer, shew, at one and the same time, that Alexander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

Sect. X. Darius leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by Bessus, governor of Bactria. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He sends his corpse to Sysigambis.

LEXANDER, after he had taken Persepolis and Pasagardæ, was resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana,

K k 4

the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among so many thousand men who composed my army, you only have not abandoned me during the whole course of my ill fortune; and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity and constancy will be able to make me fancy myself a king. Defectors and traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are thought worthy of the honour bestowed on them, but rewards are given them only in the view of tempting you, and to stagger your perseverance. You still chose to follow my fortune rather than that of the conqueror, for which you certainly have merited a recompence from the gods; and I do not doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is denied me. With such soldiers and officers I would brave, without the least dread, the enemy, how formidable soever he may be. What! would any one have me surrender myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness and meanness of spirit, the government of some province which he may condescend to leave me? No---It never shall be in the power of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my head the diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period to my reign and life. If you have all the same courage and resolution, which I can no ways doubt, I assure myself that you shall retain your liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and insults of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the means either to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having ended this speech,
speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shrouts, that they were ready to follow him whither soever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Beles, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was just ready to fall; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made this answer: "That it would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn them. That he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them: And that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counsel; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him
him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to (o) Strabo, these treasures amounted to an hundred and eighty thousand talents (about twenty-seven millions sterling;) and, according to (p) Justin, to ten talents more, (about fifteen hundred thousand pounds.) He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Cadusians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who stayed behind in Susa, where he fell sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caspian freights; but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what dispatch soever he might make, stayed there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caspian freights, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Beulfus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the sure of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were seized with dread, though

(o) Strab. l. xv. p. 741. (p) Justin. l. xii. c. 1.

*This is the city mentioned in Tobit iii. 7.*
though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting, as for putting in execution the detestable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with such prodigious terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requested him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy: But he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had suffered; and beseeching Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they separated, in order to leave different footsteps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuit of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horsemen; and, as the Barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found in a solitude, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystatus by name, brought him. He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said: "That in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt,
though he had never obliged him. That he gave
him a multitude of thanks for the great humanity
he had exercised towards his mother, his wife and
his children, whose lives he had not only spared,
but restored them to their former splendor. That
he besought the gods to give victory to his arms,
and make him monarch of the universe. That he
thought he need not intreat him to revenge the exe-
crable murder committed on his person, as this
was the common cause of kings.

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give
him," said he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine;
and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am
able to give of my gratitude and affection." Say-
ing these words, he breathed his last. Alexander
coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body,
he wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies
of affection that could be given him, proved how in-
timately he was affected with the unhappiness of a
prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately
pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's
body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin
to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to
Syfgambis, in order that it might be interred with
the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian mo-
narchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th
Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, six of which
he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacifick prince;
his reign having been unfulfilled with injustice or cru-
eler, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or
to his not having had an opportunity of acting other-
wise, from the perpetual war he had carried on against
Alexander all the time he had sat upon the throne. In
him the Persian empire ended, after having existed
two hundred and nine years, computing from the be-
ginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder
of it) under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses,
Smerdis Magus, Darius fon of Hytaflpis, Xerxes I.
Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Dai-

A. M.
2674.
Ant. J. C.
330.
rius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arfes, and Darius Codomanus.

Sect. XI. Vices which first caused the declension, and at last the ruin of the Persian empire.

The death of Darius Codomanus may very justly be considered as the æra, but not as the sole cause of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this declension was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, softness and voluptuouness. The example of frugality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time: But, after those nations had subjected all things, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish delights with art and delicacy: And the wealth of the richest provinces in the world,
being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the consequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the splendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conquests; and when he shewed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inspiring them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: And by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they law so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that guilt without reserve.

He also spread this evil, by his obliging judges, officers and governors of provinces, to appear in splendor before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside: And, on the other side, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publickly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen, and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer discoursed of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian
Persian youth; of those publick schools of sobriety, patience and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces: Their young men being brought up in splendor and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly opposite to those of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the most abandoned to splendor, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness: So that we may affirm, that the empire of the Persians was, almost at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased every reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their successors became insensitive to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to idleness and effeminacy: They grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed, on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks in their service; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: They were the only soldiers in Darius’s army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who fought against Alexander.

Instead
Instead of chusing for the command of their forces, officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domesticks, eunuchs and women; such an assemblage, formed merely for vain show and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it flow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of subsisting long in a country, and of compleating great enterprizes in sight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themselves to pleasures, and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to slaves, and to flattering courtiers, whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures; and to entrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another character of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises, and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as persuaded them that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their
their duties, nor the maxims of a wife and good government; the principles by which men judge of solid merit, and are capable of chusing persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power merely to protect their subjects and make them happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his subjects, and the publick source of the felicity of so vast an empire; as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a publick calamity. So far from this, a monarch’s grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and painful an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them careless, and averse to business of every kind; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themselves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an over-great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their councils, to any expression delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves, and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domesticks and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling
splendor of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unwieldy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; so that this colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

**Sect. XII.** Lacedaemonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. Antipater marches out upon this occasion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches against Bessus. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a far country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march towards Bessus. A pretended conspiracy of Philotas against the king. He, and Parmenio his father, are put to death. Alexander subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bastriana, whether Bessus is brought to him.

**WHILST** things passed in Asia, as we have seen, some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedaemonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately dispatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to venture a battle. The Macedonian army consisted of no more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began.

(q) Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. r.
gan with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalize themselves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their respective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mien, and still more so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers laying him upon his shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having seized an advantageous post where they kept close in their ranks, they resifted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, seeing himself closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last, oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of three thousand Lacedæmonians loft their lives, and a thousand Macedonians at most; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war, to declare themselves. Antipater immediately sent the news of this success to Alexander: But, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the
the most modest and circumspect terms; in such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was so very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained, as a diminution of his own. And, * indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. Antipater did not dare to dispose of anything by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might tell him the ill success they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he punished.

(r) Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions of all sorts to be brought thither.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmost dispatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. Alexander was soon informed of this, when, terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like

(r) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 2—4.

* Alexander hostes vincit vo. demptum gloriar. exigit. mag. quic. luerat; Antipatrum viciss. ne quid cessisset aliena. Q. Curt. ratus quidem indignabatur; fane
like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror.
The officers comforted him, by representing, that
this sudden motion was a mere folly, and a transient
gust of passion, which would not be attended with
any ill consequences; and assured him, that the sol-
diers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would
address himself to them in tender expressions. He
promised to do it. The circumstance which had given
occasion to this false report, was, his having disbanded
some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very
bountiful manner; so that the Macedonians imagined
they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the
following speech. "I am not surprized, O soldiers,
if, after the mighty things we have hitherto per-
formed, you should be fatiated with glory, and
have no other views but ease and repose. I will
not now enumerate the various nations we have
conquered. We have subdued more provinces
than others have cities. Could I persuade myself,
that our conquests were well secured, over nations
who were so soon overcome, I would think as you
do (for I will not dissemble my thoughts) and would
make all the haste imaginable to revisit my household-
gods, my mother, my sisters, and my subjects, and
enjoy in the midst of my country the glory I have
acquired in concert with you. But this glory will
all vanish very soon, if we do not put the last hand
to the work. Do you imagine, that so many na-
tions, accustomed to other sovereigns, and who
have no manner of similitude to us either in their
religion, manners, or language, were entirely sub-
dued the moment they were conquered; and that
they will not take up arms, in case we return back
with so much precipitation? What will become of
the rest who still remain unconquered? How! shall
we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of
courage! But that which touches me much more;
shall we suffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go
unpunished? Can you bear to see the sceptre of
Darius
"Darius in the sanguinary hands of that monster, who, after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, at last assaffinated his sovereign, in order to deprive us of the glory of saving him? As for myself, I shall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch hanging on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings and nations of the earth, the just punishment due to his execrable crime. I do not know whether I am mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of death in your countenances; and that the anger which sparkles in your eyes, declares you will soon imbrue your hands in that traitor's blood."

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how desponding a condition ever they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Drangae, the Arachosii, and several other nations, into which his army marched, with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet shadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

(j) Nabarzanes, one of Beffus's accomplices, who had

(j) Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.
had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an ascendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander, had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their bosom being uncovered on the left side, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and so descended no farther than the knee. They preserved their right breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called *Amazons.*

Thalestris † looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestick air, and think those only capable of mighty

*This is a Greek word signifying, without breasts.
† Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parent oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est.*

Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.
mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors, as entirely fabulous.

(*) Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his passions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He now was no longer the same man. Though he was invincible, with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasures, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental musick, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in publick. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien that she was not
OF ALEXANDER.

not of vulgar birth; and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had fwayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son; that she had married Hyftaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

This prince was naturally of so tender and humane a disposition, as made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. (n) A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's use; the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander, seeing him just sinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to ease himself, cried out, Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own.

(x) Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a small body of horse, when he pursued Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-skins upon mules. These Macedonians perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst, occasioned by the raging heat (the sun being then at the meridian) immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to present him with it: Alexander asking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, We were going to carry it to our children; but do not let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but saved, we shall get children enough, in case we should lose these. At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held,

(n) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.  
(x) Ibid.
held; swallow it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, There is not enough for my whole company; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest be thirstier, and they would quite die away. The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with shouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not spare them in any manner; that now they were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greatest victories and conquests. Had Alexander always cherished them, he would justly have merited the title of Great; but a too glorious and uninterrupted series of prosperity, which is too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: For now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe; he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far, as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with three hundred and sixty concubines, (the same number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not
one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publickly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learnt in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently express themselves in the following terms: "That they had lost more by victory than they had gained: That as the Macedonians had thus assumed the manners and customs of foreigners, they might properly be said to be conquered. That therefore the only benefit they should reap from their long absence, would be, to return back into their country in the habit of Barbarians; that Alexander was ashamed of, and despised them; that he chose to resemble the vanquished rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had been king of Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence: But *slavery, though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an useless train of baggage, that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted

* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est, R. Curt.
lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice must certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage, than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness; and, being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have perished.

(y) Being arrived among the Drangae, a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneasiness; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason; and the motive of it was, some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his execrable design to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whispered it to Philotas, earnestly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and that the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out,

out, and asking whether he had done as requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotus replied, that he would be sure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing, that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by any other person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himself, and told how many times he had conjured Philotus to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter guessing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from compleating the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him, why he thought Philotus more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite speechless; so that, after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last. The king afterwards sent for Philotus, and speaking to him (having first commanded every one to withdraw) he asked whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotus, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had whispered this, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly shewed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing so long a design of so black a nature: Upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which
which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unseasonably, the king, should he communicate a design, which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say, whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of sweetness and humanity; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing so much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his lofty behaviour, said one day to him, *My son, make thyself less. The strongest fene is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves, that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

(z) His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of the king, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms.

(z) Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. ii. p. 339.

* οὐ λέγει, ζηλόν μη ἐμοὶ.
Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, his father's services and his own: "What would Philip," said he, "have been, had it not been for Parmenio? and what would Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? what would become of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, should we undertake to expose this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoke. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, nor so much as once let drop the least word, which shewed his resentment upon that occasion, whenever he was most intoxicated with liquor; he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephaestion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council composed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehensions he might justly be under, both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt to work any change in a heart, which could be corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime; and from Parmenio, his father, who, said he, will never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his son's life to the king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are so great, that they become a burden to those on whom they are conferred, for which reason they do all in their power to erase them from their memory. And farther, who can assure us, that both father and son are not engaged in the conspiracy? When a prince's life is in danger, every thing is of impor-
"tance; and all things, even to the slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we conceive it possible, that a favourite, on whom his sovereign has bestowed the most shining marks of his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed, upon his being told an affair of such mighty importance? But we are told, that this design was communicated by young people, who deferred very little credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in suspense two days, as if he really believed what they told him, and still promised them that he would reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not see, that he did this merely to prevent their having access by another way to his majesty? Sir," continued he, "it is necessary, for your own sake and that of the state, for us to put Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth an account of this plot, and the several persons who are his accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep; when starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness. After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, being about six thousand. It was a very ancient custom for the army, in war-time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do so; so that the prince had no power on these occasions,
sions, unless a sanction were given to it by the consent of one of these bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to * persualion, before he employed his authority.

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech: "I narrowly escaped, O soldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of a small number of wretches; but by the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again appear before you alive: And I protest to you, that nothing encourages me more to proceed against the traitors, than the sight of this assembly, whose lives are much dearer to me than my own; for I desire to live for your sakes only; and the greatest happiness I should find in living (not to say the only one) would be the pleasure I shall receive, in having it once in my power to reward the services of so many brave men, to whom I owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all burst into tears.

"Alas! how will you behave, when I shall name the persons who formed so execrable an attempt? I myself cannot think of it without shuddering. They, on whom I have been most lavish of my kindnesses; on whom I had bestowed the greatest marks of friendship; in whom I had put my whole confidence, and in whose breasts I lodged my greatest secrets—Parmenio and Philotas." At these names, all the soldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they saw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and

Vol. IV.

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Cebalinus,
Cebalinus, were sent for, who made the several depositions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole assembly, being seized with a trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse, worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a sight was this! Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the bystanders wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his speech and his voice, by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to dispatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution? which he might very easily have done. Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing, on a sudden, himself to Alexander, as if he had been present, "O king," says he, "wheresoever you may be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that past from
from behind a curtain) "if I have committed a fault
" in not acquainting you with what I heard, I con-
"fessed it to you, and you pardoned me. You gave
" me your royal hand as a pledge of this; and you
" did me the honour to admit me at your table. If
" you believed me, I am innocent, if you pardoned
" me, I am cleared: I refer all this to your own
" judgment. What new crime have I committed
" since? I was in a deep sleep when my enemies waked
" me, and loaded me with chains. Is it natural for
" a man, who is conscious that he is guilty of the
" most horrid of all crimes, to be thus easy and un-
" disturbed? The innocence of my own conscience,
" and the promise your majesty made me, gave my
" soul this calm. Do not let the envy of my enemies
" prevail over your clemency and justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas
should be put on the rack. The persons who pre-
sided on that occasion, were his most inveterate ene-
mies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture.
Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and
strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being
able to force from him a single word, nor even so much
as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed
himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and
even accused his own father. The next day, the an-
swers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he him-
sely being present. Upon the whole, he was unani-
mously sentenced to die; immediately after which he
was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia,
with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to
death, Lynceftes Alexander, who had been found
guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and kept
three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of
Parmenio: Whether it were that Alexander really be-
lieved him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he
had put the son to death. Polydamus, one of the
lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution.
THE HISTORY

performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to an hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicions. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he asked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said as follows: "The king is preparing to march against the Arachosii. How glorious a prince is this, who will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! However, he ought to be a little tender of himself, now he has acquired so much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, seemed pleased with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead. Thus
Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more so to the officers and soldiers, who repose the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a flight of suspicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

(a) Alexander was sensible, that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to separate, from the rest of the army, such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, left their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers.

dangers. After having passed through Drangania, Arachofia, and the country of the Arimaepi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus) where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, thirst, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapacea, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about seven or eight thousand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they crossed the river in this manner; those who went over first, drawing up in battle-array, whilst their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in fix days.

Whilst these things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confident, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces
pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and let him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Brachideæ. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been entrusted. These received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the Brachideæ, because of the treachery of their ancestors. They then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city; and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword, which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were these ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantick a cruelty.
A little after Belus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said these words: "I have, at last, revenged both you and Darius, my kings and masters. I bring you a wretch who assassinated his sovereign, and who is now treated in the same manner as himself gave the first example of. Alas! why cannot Darius himself see this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Belus, and spoke thus: "Thou surely must have been inspired with the rage and fury of a tyger, otherwise thou wouldst not have dared to load a king, from whom thou hast received so many instances of favour, with chains, and afterwards murder him! Be gone from my sight, thou monster of cruelty and perfidiousness." The king said no more, but sending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Belus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deserved; suspending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general assembly of the Persians.

Sect. XIII. Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxartes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, send ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the Iaxartes, gains a signal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends Belus to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.

(b) Alexander, infatiable of victory and conquests, still marched forward in search of new nations

(b) Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 149. & l. iv. p. 159--160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6--11.
nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxartes.

Not far from this river the Barbarians, rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander’s forces, and having carried off a great number of prisoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thousand, who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly, but the Barbarians knew of it; for they saw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he shewed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. These assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods: In a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only:

* Quintus Curtius and Arrian not in the Gaspian sea, but in the calls it the Tanais, but they are Pontus Euxinus, and is now called mistaken. The Tanais lies much the Don.

And
And there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very considerable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burnt and laid waste all the plains.

There came an embassy to him from the (c) Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: These submitted to Alexander. They were considered as the most equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander dispatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bebysus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly surprized at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whose name it was called. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general-officers, to besiege the city.

(c) Abii Scythae.
city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troopers were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: But this prince, whom no danger or disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore caused the wall to be fapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above an hundred and twenty thousand men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garrison, and shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he surrounded with walls
walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing sixty * fur-
longs in circumference, which he also called Alexan-
dria; having before built several of that name. He
caufed the workmen to make such dispatch, that in
less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and
the houses built; and indeed there was a great emu-
lation among the soldiers, who should get his work
done soonest; every one of them having had his por-
tion allotted him: And, to people his new city, he
ransomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled
several Macedonians there who were worn out in the
service, and permitted many natives of the country,
at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians, who live on the
other side of the Iaxarthes, seeing that this city, built
on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they sent
a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and to drive
the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander,
who had no design of attacking the Scythians, find-
ing them make several incursions, even in his sight,
in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed;
especially when advice was brought him at the same
time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Ma-
racanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to
pieces. Such a number of obstacles would have dis-
couraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians
had taken up arms, and the Bactrians also; his army
was harrassed by the Scythians; he himself was
brought so low, that he was not able to stand up-
right, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces,
or give a single order. To increase this affliction, he
found his army no ways inclined to attempt the pas-
fage of the river in sight of the enemy, who were
drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in
the utmost perplexity all night long; however, his
courage surmounted all things. Being told, that the
auspices were not propitious, he forced the footsavy-
ers to substitute favourable ones in their stead. The
day

* Three leagues.
day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and shewed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held their king in such high veneration, that only his presence immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; intreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days' time they had made twelve thousand; and also prepared a great number of skins for that purpose.

As every thing was ready for the march, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who all rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, being very probably surprized (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors made this speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldst touch the east, and with the other the west; and not satisfied with this, thou wouldst follow the sun, and know where he hides himself. Such as thou art, thou yet aspireset after what it will be impossible for thee to attain. Thou crossest over from Europe into Asia; and when thou shalt have subdued all the race of men, thou then wilt make war against rivers, forests, and wild beasts. Dost thou not know, that tall trees are many years a growing, but may be tore up in an hour's time; that
that the lion serves sometimes for food to the small-
elf birds; that iron, though so very hard, is con-
fumed by rust; in a word, that there is nothing
so strong which may not be destroyed by the weak-
est thing?

What have we to do with thee? We never set
foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit
woods, be allowed to live without knowing who
thou art, and whence thou comest? We will nei-
ther command over, or submit to any man. And
that thou mayest be sensible what kind of people
the Scythians are, know, that we received from hea-
ven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a plough-
share, a dart, a javelin, and a cup. These we
make use of, both with our friends, and against
our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which
we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them
we offer wine to the gods in our cup: And with
regard to our enemies, we combat them at a dis-
tance with our arrows, and near at hand with our
javelins. * It is with these we formerly conquered
the most warlike nations, subdued the most power-
ful kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened ourselves
a way into the heart of Egypt.

But thou, who boastest thy coming to extirpate
robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon
everth. Thou hast plundered all nations thou over-
camest. Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, in-
vaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana; thou art form-
ing a design to march as far as India, and thou
now comest hither to seize upon our herds of cat-
tle. The great possessions thou hast, only make
thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not. Doth
thou not see how long the Bactrians have checked
thy progress? Whilst thou art subduing these, the
Sogdians

* This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and possessed themselves of Upper Asia, for twenty-eight years. See the second volume of this work, in the history of the Assyrians. I have not followed Curtius literally in this place, his sense being pretty much embarrassed.
OF ALEXANDER.

Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occasion of war.

Pass but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to pursue the Scythians; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so many nations; and, when thou shalt fancy us at a great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly on thy camp; for we pursue, and fly from our enemies, with equal speed. I am informed that the Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our desarts, than of thy great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe to thee, that fortune is flippery; hold her fast therefore, for fear she should escape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou desirest to continue in possession of it.

If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to mortals, and not deprive them of their possessions: If thou art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou shalt not molest, will be thy true friends; the strongest friendships being contracted between equals; and they are esteemed equals, who have not tried their strength against each other: But do not imagine, that those whom thou conquerest can love thee; for there is no such thing as friendship between a master and his slave, and a forced peace is soon followed by a war.

To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians will take an oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among them, is to keep their word without swearing. Such cautions as these do indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, and call upon the gods to witness them; but, with regard to us, our religion consists in being sincere, and in keeping jurando gratiam Scythas fan- cire ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Graecorum ita cautio est, qui aeta consignat, & deos invo- cant: nos religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Q. Curt.
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"keeping the promises we have made. That man "
"who is not ashamed to break his word with men, "
"is not ashamed of deceiving the gods; and of what "
"use could friends be to thee whom thou couldst "
"not trust? Consider that we will guard both Europe "
"and Asia for thee. We extend as far as Thrace, "
"and we are told, that this country is contiguous to "
"Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only divides us "
"from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours on "
"both sides. Consider, therefore, whether thou wilt "
"have us for friends, or enemies."

The Barbarian spoke thus: To whom the king made but a very short answer; That he would take ad-"vantagetheaboveofhisowntogoodfortune,andoftheir coun-sel; of his good fortune, by still continuing to rely upon it, and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rashly. Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers armed cap-a-pie. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors who wore corlets. The like order and disposition was observed in the other rafts or floats which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them; the clamour and confusion, that are inseparable from such an enter-
prise; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the sight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up to-
gether, when throwing their javelins with a strong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of shafts, began to retire, and draw their horses back, they leapt on the shore with incredible swiftness, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice; but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for these were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till being at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as they could see, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged pretty close one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with eighteen hundred horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side there were but sixty troopers slain, and about an hundred foot, with a thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians all their prisoners without ransom, to shew, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory, had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished,
greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible; but, after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and sacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, who were well-shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprized to see them go to death with so much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes? They answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they blessed this death; a death so glorious, that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should no longer be his enemies? They answered, he
he might be assured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them farther, what pledges they would give him of their faith and sincerity? "No other, (answered they) but the same "life we receive from your goodness, and which we "shall always be ready to give back, whenever you "shall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled all his generals, he commanded Beshus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high treason, who are tore to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this considerable reinforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled; and to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one strong hold, called Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended
fended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and, after using several insulting expressions, asked, "whether Alexander, who was able to do all things, could fly also; and whether nature had, on a sudden, given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exasperated at this answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the most active and dextrous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus: "It was in your company, brave young men, that I stormed such places as were thought impregnable; that I made my way over mountains covered with eternal snows; crossed rivers, and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This rock, which you see, has but one outlet, which alone is defended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. There is no watch or sentinel, except on that side which faces our camp. If you search very narrowly, you certainly will meet with some path that leads to the top of the rock. Nothing has been made so inaccessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour; and it was only by our attempting, what no one before had hopes of effecting, that we possessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall have made yourselves masters of it, set up a white
white standard there as a signal; and be assured, that I then will certainly disengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon myself, by making a diversion." At the same time that the king gave out this order, he made them the most noble promises; but the pleasing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the noblest ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march* at the second watch of the night, by that part which should seem to them of easiest access; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They then took provisions for two days; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some forced their wedges into the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves; others thrust their cramp-irons into the stones that were frozen, to keep themselves from falling in so slippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling-ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold, and wind. Nevertheless, the hardest task was yet to come; and the further they advanced, the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most, was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpressibly weary.

* About ten o'clock.
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weary, and many of them had even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that, dispersing themselves in such distant parts of the rock as were free from snows, they laid down in them, and slept till day-break. At last waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which shewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a desire of storming the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himself did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the signal. Nevertheless, he was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendor which breaks out at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had founded the Barbarians, he dispatched him a second time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to shew them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he shewed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said in an insulting tone of voice, You see.
see that Alexander's soldiers have wings. In the mean
time, the trumpets were heard to sound in every part
of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted
aloud, and cried, Victory! These things, though of
little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as
often happens, throw the Barbarians into so great a
consternation, that without once reflecting how few
were got to the summit, they thought themselves
loft. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and thirty of
the chiefs among the Barbarians were sent back with
him, who agreed to surrender up the place, upon
condition that their lives might be spared. The king,
notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet
with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness
of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms
of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his
own good fortune, which had never failed him, made
him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the
other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself
absolutely lost, came down, with his relations and the
principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's
camp. But this prince, who was not master of his
anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and huma-
nity required on this occasion, caused them all to be
scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to
crosses, at the foot of the same rock. The multitudes
of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were
given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been
newly founded in those parts; and Artabazus was
left governor of the rock and the whole province
round it.
Sect. XIV. The death of Clitus. Several expeditions of Alexander. He commands worship to be paid to himself, after the manner of the Persians. Discontents arise among the Macedonians. Death of Calisthenes the philosopher.

ALEXANDER having subdued the Massagetae and the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, he covered the king with his shield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother.

As

As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he entrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, *after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so excessively lavish of self-commendation, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, "That the famous victory of Chæronea was won by his means; and that the glory of so immortal a battle had been torn from him by the malice and jealousy of his father. That in the † insurrection which broke out between the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away after the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid himself on the ground; and could not think of a better method to save himself, than by lying along as dead; that on this occasion he had covered him with his shield, and killed with his own hands those who attempted to fall upon him; but that his father could never prevail upon himself to confess this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he owed his life to his own son. That in the war against the Illyrians, he was the only person who had done any thing, Philip having had no manner of share in it; and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he sent him. That the persons worthy of praise, were not such as initiated themselves in the ‡ mysteries of the

* In quo Rex, cum multo incaluisse fero, immodicus atìmitator sui, celebrare quæ gererat cept: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memoriæ. Q. Curt.

† This edition is not mentioned in any other place.

‡ It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in these mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided in them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.
Samothracians, when they ought to have laid waste all Asia with fire and sword, but those who had achieved such mighty exploits as surpassed all belief.

These and the like discourses were very pleasing to the young men, but were very shocking to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was intoxicated, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from *Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, "That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned; † because, by these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had pur chased with their blood." The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths, as to defend Parmenio publickly; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander

* In his Andromache.  † Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi.  R. Curt.
Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheless this hand (said he to him, extending it at the same time) that saved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur. "But the tragical end of Parmenio shews, what reward they and myself may expect for all our services." This last reproach stung Alexander: However, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right" (says Clitus, as he rose up) not to bear freeborn men at his table, who can only tell him truth. "He will do well to pass his life among Barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus.

The king's anger being in a manner extinguished on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in its blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed abused his patience, but then he had always served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and saved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the sister of
Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother’s blood? Upon this he threw himself on his friend’s body, forced out the javelin, and would have dispatched himself with it, had not the guards, who rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He paffed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wafted his spirits, he continued speechlefs, flretched on the ground, and only venting deep fighs. But his friends, fearing his silence would be fatal, forced themselves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Arif- tander the foothfayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he saw Clitus, cloathed in a black robe, and feated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little eafier in his mind. He next was addrefied by two philosophers, Callifthenes and Anaxarchus. The for- mer went up to him with an air of humanity and ten- derness, and endeavoured to fupprefs his grief, by agreeably infinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recall his reafon, by reflections of a fon- d nature, drawn from the very effence of philofophy, and by carefully fhunning all fuch expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentle left hand. But Anaxarchus did not observe this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, like the meanefl flave! Does not he know, that he himself is a supreme law to his subjeçts; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to sub- ject himself to a vain opinion? The king was deter- mined to starve himself; fo that it was with the ut- moft difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little fuftenance. The Macedonians declared by
by a decree, that Clitus had been very justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by ascertaining, that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflections against the cries of a justly-alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in discourses calculated to fully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to shew his dislike of what was said, by a mournful but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to speak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such a reservedness been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the sacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjustly soever they may act, not only every contemptuous and insulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they being the representatives of God himself.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to a feast; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in person excites him to quaff immoderately; a king, on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his subjects to forget it also; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights which wine commonly inspires: And should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject too high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain
A certain author compares anger, when united to power, with thunder; and, indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to subdue those two vices in his youth; and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is asserted, that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? Alexander, who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by those two vices, which throw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to subdue himself; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is, of all conquests, the most glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into the Xeniippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither some rebels were retired, all whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army towards the rock Chorienis, of which SySIMethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with SySIMethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander

* Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia. Publ. Syr. regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt profecta. Quintil. i. i. c. i.
† Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, si quidem Leonides Alexandri paedagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam eum vitiiis imbit, quae robustum quoque & jam maximum

† Victor tot regum atque populorum, irae fuccubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in potestate, quam affectus—Imperare fui, maximum imperium est. Senec. Epist. cxiii.
Alexander had resolved to attack the Dabae, because Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched life her husband had forced her to lead, and having often intreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid a spectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the soldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the soldiers; so that they did not dare either to stand still or advance forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army on this occasion were insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible to these calamities, rode up and down among the soldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from some distant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army, but upwards of a thousand men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and soldiers the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Saca, which he soon over-run and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxartes
Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations, in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his father-in-law: But as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complacency.

In fine; having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs) that thirty thousand young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time as hostages and soldiers. In the mean while, he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polyperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorn themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the swords of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance, caused the swords of his soldiers to be set

* Sed, post Clyti cædem, libertate sublata, vultu, qui maximè servit, attentiebantur. R. Curt.
set off with silver plates, put golden bridles to the horses, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprise, at the head of an hundred and twenty thousand men, all equipped with the magnificence above described.

All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, viz. to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means for putting that design in execution. He was resolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To * foot and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary, in any manner, from the customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the mean refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: It was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, would resign their seats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon,

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* Non deecrat talia concupisci- pes socius asentatio, quum ho- centi pernicioso adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum o-
one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expense, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer him as to a god, without the least scruple, since they believed him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had surmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in case the rest should not care to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to shew them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall. But that all of them must do their duty, especially those that professed wisdom, who ought to serve to the rest as an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. (e) He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was considered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel, as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: But he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between groveling complacency, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences, with which his disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of * Homer to him;


* Inter abruptam contumaciamTacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 20.
& deformes obsequium pejgere iter† [αμυθες ἐν μοι τεκναι ἀττηαι,
ambitione ac periculis vacuum,] de βιοτηται. II. xviii. v. 95.
My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philosopher, seeing that every one, on this occasion, continued in a deep silence, and that the eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made a speech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insubordination and rebellion. "Had the king," said he, "been present when thou madest thy speech, none among us would then have attempted to answer thee, for he himself would have interrupted thee, and not have suffered thee to prompt him to assume the customs of Barbarians, in casting an odium on his person and glory, by so servile an adulation. But since he is absent, I will answer thee in his name. I consider Alexander as worthy of all the honours that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference between the worship of the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and sacrifices; the latter is confined to praises only, and aweful respect. We salute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience and fidelity; but we adore the former, we institute festivals to their honour, and sing hymns and spiritual songs to their glory. The worship of the gods does itself vary, according to their rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all things, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended, should we pay to another person the homage due to his sacred person only; ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we bestow upon mortals, the honours due to them alone? I am
am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to
the rest; he is the greatest of kings, and the
most glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a
man, not a god. To obtain this title, he must
first be divested of his mortal frame; but this is
greatly our interest to wish may not happen, but
as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship
Hercules till after his death; and that not till the
oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians
are cited as an example for our imitation; but
how long is it that the vanquished have given law
to the victor? Can we forget that Alexander crossed
the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but
Asia to Greece?"

The deep silence which all the company observed
whilst Callisthenes spoke, was an indication, in some
measure, of their thoughts. The king, who stood
behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had
passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That
without insisting any farther, he would only require
the Persians to fall prostrate, according to their usual
custom; a little after which he came in, pretending
he had been busied in some affair of importance.
Immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him.
Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that
one of them bowed so low that his chin touched the
ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to
strike harder. The king, offended at this joke, threw
Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly.
However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Callis-
thenes was not so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a
crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus,
one of the young officers who attended upon the
king in all places, had, upon account of some pri-
vate pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it
was very happily discovered, the instant it was to be
put in execution. The criminals were seized, put to
the torture, and executed. Not one among them had
accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate
OF ALEXANDER.

with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he infisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of Philosopher, from the solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; sometimes it must be of a knavish, and treacherous, at least, of an hypocritical, flattering cast. He very seldom was seen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy silent air was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure, had he been possessed by a prince who hated falsehood; for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of such a virtue, and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to those things which were for his true interest. From that instant no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those, who had the greatest love for the publick, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was listened to but flattery,
flattery, which gained such an ascendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him, for having sacrificed, to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe, after Seneca, that the death of Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful soever, no military exploit, though of the most conspicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the east: In answer to each of these particulars, 


End of Vol. IV.