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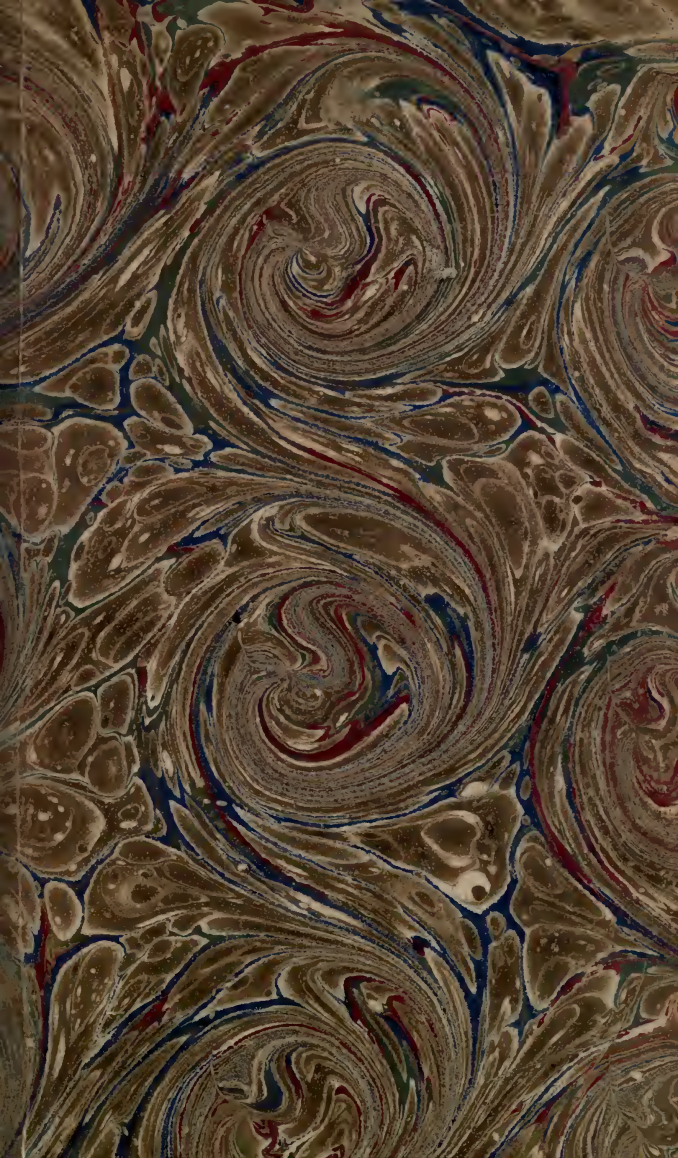


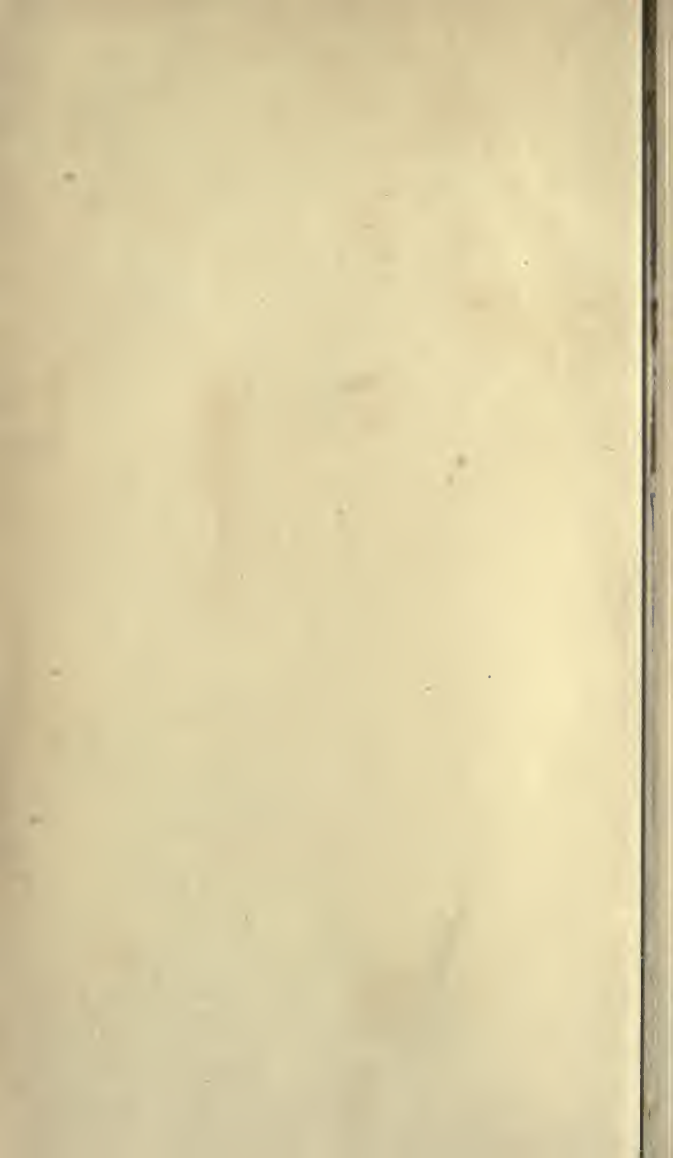
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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY  
WILLIAM MITFORD, ESQ.

*A New Edition,*  
WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED  
A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,  
BY HIS BROTHER, LORD REDESDALE.



IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

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CHAPTER VI.

VIEW OF THE EASTERN NATIONS POLITICALLY CONNECTED  
WITH GREECE.

SECTION I.

*Of Lydia : Asiatic Grecian Commonwealths . Scythia : Assyria :  
Persia. — Reduction of the Asian Greeks under the Persian Do-  
minion by Cyrus.*

As the affairs of Greece now become essentially connected with those of that powerful empire which, by rapid conquest, had united under one dominion almost the whole of the civilised world, it will be necessary to take a short survey of the state of things in the surrounding nations; and particularly in those of the vast continent of Asia, whose transactions with the little country of Greece furnish some of the most remarkable and important events in the political history of mankind.

It has been already observed that riches and arts were earlier known in Lesser Asia than in Greece. Before the Trojan war, the country whence Pelops came, by some called Phrygia, by others Lydia, was famed among the Greeks for wealth. In Lydia, the mountain Tmolus anciently abounded with gold, which the torrent-river Pactolus so brought down from the craggy

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 93. Strab.  
1. 13. p. 265.

summits, that a rude people might easily collect it. Hence, at the foot of Tmolus, on the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia. Gold, to which all nations of the old world, even in their rudest ages, seem almost instinctively to have attributed a mysterious value, while the original Americans, of any people known to have long possessed it, have alone given it an estimation nearly proportioned to its intrinsic worth; gold has not always those pernicious effects which speculating philosophers have been fond of attributing to it. Gold was to the Lydian the spring of industry, of knowledge, we may add of virtue, if it be truly said that virtue consists in action. Undoubtedly it was also the spring of vice; for so things are constituted in this world, that there almost only can be active virtue where is vice. The Lydians, as we have heretofore had occasion to remark, appear to have derived their origin from the same hordes who peopled Greece. Their laws and manners, to the time of Herodotus, were almost the same with those of the Greeks; and that historian mentions some circumstances in the progress of society in which they preceded neighbouring nations. They were the first people known to the Greeks to have exercised retail trades<sup>1</sup>, and the first who struck coins of gold and silver. Coins are singularly adapted to convey to late ages and distant countries exact information of the progress of art and fine

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 35. 74. 93.  
& 94.

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<sup>1</sup> Πρῶτοι κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. Herodot. 1. 1. c. 94. We must not expect perfect correspondence, in terms of this kind, between different languages, in distant countries, and widely distant ages: but we find κάπηλος very nearly defined, by Plato, a Shopkeeper.\* He is put in opposition to the ἔμπορος, who travelled to deal, and who, according to the extent of his dealings, would be, in modern terms, either a merchant or a pedlar. In another place Plato distinguishes the κάπηλος, as one who bought to sell, from the ἀντοπώλης, who sold his own manufacture or produce.†

\* Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 371.

† Ibid. t. 2. p. 260.

taste: and the extant coins of the Lydian kings, the oldest known to exist, exhibit remarkable proofs of the elegant taste and excellent workmanship of their early era.

In all countries the arts of peace and war have flourished together. While the people of Lydia through industry were growing rich, the monarchs extended their dominion eastward as far as the river Halys. The small republics of the Grecian colonies could not be safe in the neighbourhood of such a potentate. What accidental weakness of the Asiatic princes had allowed those adventurers, mostly driven by violence from their settlements in Greece, to appropriate a territory on the Asiatic shore, four hundred miles in length, eminent for richness of soil and beauty of climate, so little were letters known or practised, and so deficient tradition, we are wholly without information. Those adventurers however were of the most polished Greeks of their age, Ionians from Athens, Æolians from Thebes and from the capitals of the Pelopidean and Nelidean kings. They knew how to profit from a rich settlement acquired. The improvements of Lydia would become theirs. Alone, in that part of the Asiatic continent, possessing ports and shipping, maritime commerce was exclusively theirs. Accordingly we find that, in science and the fine arts, Ionia became the mistress of Greece; and in extent of maritime communication the colonies far exceeded the mother-country. But, while flourishing each by itself, and though some maintained intimate friendly intercourse with the distant sister colonies of Sicily and Italy, yet the Asiatic Grecian states, jealous of their separate independency, had scarcely any political connection with the mother-country, and little with one another. The several cities indeed of each people, Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian, maintained a union in religion: they had their common sacrifices; which would however involve some political connection, or at least would hold means

always ready for forming political connection. The Ionians, with their Panionian sacrifice, had a meeting of deputies from all their cities for common consultation concerning their political interests. But even the Panionian assembly, being but a congress of ministers from independent states, wanted authority to enforce its own resolutions, and the political connection produced by it remained very imperfect.

The first attempt of a Lydian monarch to reduce the Grecian states, of which we have any information, was under Gyges, supposed to have reigned soon after the age of Lycurgus. Deficient as their political connection was, he found among them probably a knowledge of war as well as a republican spirit of bravery, which the Asiatics in general did not possess; for he failed in his attempts upon

Herodot. 1. 1. c. 14. Miletus and Smyrna, but he took Colophon.

The weight however of the Lydian kingdom, perseveringly exerted, was too great for any of those little commonwealths to resist: Ardyes, son of Gyges, took Miletus and Priene.

There are some parts of the world whose inhabitants, from earliest history, have differed from all others in circumstances and manners, which they have preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. Of these the people of that vast country called SCYTHIA by the Greeks, and by the moderns Tartary, are especially remarkable. The description that Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, gives of the Scythians, is equally just, as far as our knowledge goes, for all former and for all following ages. They wander

Justin. 1. 2. c. 2. Herodot. 1. 4. Strab. 1. 8. over, rather than possess, a country of immense extent. Exercising no tillage, they claim no property in land; they hold in abhorrence and scorn the confinement of a fixed habitation; roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from pasture to pasture, over their boundless wilderness. In this



vagabond life, not to steal from one another is almost their only law. Their desires commonly go no farther than for food, which their herds supply, and for clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate makes peculiarly necessary. For the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean; and, though mostly plain, yet of extraordinary height above the level of the ocean; being bounded even on the south by mountains mostly covered with snow, while the tract northward is a continent of snow; their winters are of a severity unknown under the same latitude in other parts of the globe.<sup>2</sup>—Nature has therefore supplied the brute animals of those regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wrest such boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the ancient Scythians went thus far. Necessity drove them to the use of those furs for clothing which are become so extensively an article of useless, perhaps often pernicious, luxury in milder climates.<sup>3</sup> Such a country, with such inhabitants, would little invite the ambition of others. But the Scythians, instinctively fond of wandering, were

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus's exact acquaintance with the Scythian climate, and his lively description of it, both deserve notice:—*Δυσχειμέρος δὲ αὐτῆ ἢ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστὶ ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτῶ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφάρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμὸς, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδαρ ἐκχέας, πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις· πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίαν ποιήσεις πηλόν. Ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πῆγνυται, καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπιλαίνουσι πῆγην ἐς τοὺς Σινδοὺς. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτῶ μῆνας διατιλεῖ χειμῶν ἴων· τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τίσσεας ψύχεια αὐτόθι ἐστί. κ. τ. λ. Herodot. l. 4. c. 28. See also Strabo, b. 7. p. 307. In the mild climate of our own island we do not readily learn to conceive the severity of continental winters, even in the most desirable latitudes, where the surface is elevated and the ocean distant. All modern accounts of the countries around the Euxine testify to the justness of Herodotus's description of the Scythian winter.*

<sup>3</sup> England is perhaps, of all countries in the northern temperate zone, that in which furs are least used. In few parts of the world indeed is precaution of any kind against changes in the atmosphere less known, because in few less necessary; though nowhere are those changes more the subject of conversation and complaint; which seems to arise from a peculiar fondness for exercise in the air and a consequent impatience under confinement within doors, which the people of some other parts of Europe bear without complaint.

likely to be inspired with a desire to wander among the possessions of their more settled neighbours. And though their manner of life is little above that of brutes, yet it has always been that of gregarious brutes: they migrate in such multitudes that their progression has been scarcely resistible. War was moreover singularly their delight; and mercy and human kindness were totally alien to their warfare. Scalping was practised by them nearly as by the American Indians; none could claim his share of plunder who had not an enemy's head to present to his chief. The scalp then became the warrior's favourite ornament for his own person,

Herodot. 1. 4.  
c. 64, 65.

and that of his horse: the number he possessed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this testimonial of military merit none could be admitted to their principal feasts; where, as among our Scandinavian ancestors, probably their descendants, the skulls of slain enemies were the drinking-cups. It is perhaps well for the historian's credit that we are assured, by unquestionable testimony, of the existence of such practices among later people.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This sketch of so singular a portion of mankind was penned before the author had seen the finished picture of the same people by the masterly hand of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It has been observed by more than one great historian, that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for any thing material to other books.\* Sensible of the truth of this remark, the author found himself under peculiar difficulty in the necessity of giving some account of the Scythians. He scrupled the transcription of a long passage from a history not only in the hands, but fresh in the memory, of all Europe. The whole would indeed have been beyond his purpose, the selection of parts hazardous, and any appearance of competition preposterous. He therefore risked his original sketch, principally translated from Justin and Herodotus, which he hopes will be found not absolutely incompetent for its purpose; and it will certainly be imputed as credit to those two writers, that this sketch, as far as it goes, accords very completely with the elaborate account of the historian first mentioned, who has so singularly united the liveliest manner with the most laborious diligence.

\* Hume's Hist. of England, Appendix II. ; and Padre de Paolo, Hist. Conc. Trid.

Thrice, in very early times, these ferocious vagabonds are said to have overrun Asia. But their irruptions had more the effect of a swarm of locusts, an inundation, or a hurricane, than of an expedition devised and conducted by the reason of men. While Ardyes reigned in Lydia there happened a migration from those rugged climates. A Scythian horde drove before them a Cimmeric horde, apparently of not very dissimilar manners. The conquerors, pursuing eastward, entered Media, and overwhelmed that rich and powerful kingdom. The Cimmericians had avoided them by taking a more westerly course; and, in their flight, little less terrible to the nations among whom they came than the Scythians had been to themselves, they overran Asia Minor. Sardis fell their prey; the citadel only withstanding them. Most of the Grecian cities suffered. But the plague was transitory. It came, it destroyed, it vanished; and things resumed nearly their former situation.

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 15. & 1. 4. c. 1.  
Ol. 36. 2. B. C.  
635, N.; Ol.  
39. 1. B. C.  
624, B.

The power of the Lydian monarchy however was shaken. Some of the Grecian states, Miletus particularly, appear to have recovered independency; for we find Sadyattes, son of Ardyes, toward the end of his reign, engaged in war with the Milesians. It was continued or renewed by his son Halyattes. Miletus was then the richest and most populous of the Asiatic Grecian cities. None of the greater powers having directed their attention to maritime affairs, the naval force of the little Grecian states gave them consequence; and that of Miletus was the superior. The Lydian monarch had only to oppose to it what he might command from his subject

Ol. 50. 5  
B. C. 580, N. 2  
Ol. 39. 4.  
B. C. 621, B. 1  
Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 17.

<sup>5</sup> The space of only three years, allowed by Usher, between the Scythian irruption and the Milesian war, is inconsistent with the narration of Herodotus. Newton has not marked the date of the Milesian war; but, according to other circumstances which he has marked, it might have begun about the fiftieth Olympiad, where Herodotus's account would nearly bring it.

Greeks. The Milesians therefore commanding the sea, a blockade by land was little efficacious; and any other mode of siege was at that time little known. The manner therefore in which the Lydian monarch carried on the war was thus. Marching into the Milesian territory a little before harvest, with all military pomp, to the sound of various musical instruments, he cut down all the corn, and destroyed all the vines, olives, and other valuable trees; sparing the buildings, that the people might have the better means of cultivating fresh harvests for him to carry off or destroy. The Milesians, venturing to take the field for the protection of their property, suffered two considerable defeats. The war however continued eleven years from its commencement under Sadyattes, and still the Milesians obstinately defended themselves. In the twelfth year, Halyattes, being seized with a dangerous illness, was agitated with superstitious fear on account of the accidental burning of a temple of Minerva by his ravaging troops; and the Milesians, making advantage of this circumstance, procured a peace.

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 26. & seq.

Crœsus, son of Halyattes, still advanced the power of the Lydian monarchy. He made all the Asian Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia, was master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys. According to remaining report he was an able and virtuous prince, not less generally beloved than feared; so that the Asian Greeks, finding their condition far from worse for their subjection to such a monarch, who allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and constitution, with the whole internal regulation of their little commonwealths, became attached to him as subjects to their legal hereditary sovereign.<sup>6</sup> There

<sup>6</sup> This appears from the tenor of Herodotus's narration, and receives confirmation from Thucydides, who says that the Ionians flourished greatly and were very powerful till they were reduced by Cyrus, after he had conquered

had long been intercourse between Lydia and the continent of Greece. As a mart, Sardis was an object for all nations

Cræsus.\* Pindar's concise but emphatical eulogy speaks also strongly to the same purpose. The passage is remarkable:—

. . . Ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔ-  
 χημα δόξας,  
 Οἶον ἀποιχομένων ἀν-  
 δρῶν δίαιταν μανύει  
 Καὶ λογίοις καὶ αἰοδοῖς<sup>α</sup>  
 ΟΥ ΦΘΙΝΕΙ ΚΡΟΙΣΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΑ.  
 Τὸν δὲ ταύρω χαλκίῳ καυ-  
 τῆρα, ηὐλῆα νόον,  
 Ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντῶ φάτις<sup>β</sup>  
 Οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγις ὑπα-  
 ρόφισαι κοινωσίαν  
 Μαλθακὰν παίδων ὄαροισι δέχονται.  
 Τὸ δὲ παθεῖν ἐν πρῶτον ἄθλων<sup>γ</sup>  
 Εὖ δ' ἀποεῖν δευτέρῃ μοῖ-  
 ρῇ<sup>δ</sup> ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνήξ  
<sup>α</sup> Ὅς ἂν ἐγκύβησῃ καὶ ἔλῃ,  
 Στέφανον ὑψίστον δέδεκται.

Pindar. Pyth. I.

When in the mouldering urn the monarch lies,  
 His fame in lively characters remains ;  
 Or graved in monumental histories,  
 Or deck'd and painted in Aonian strains.  
 Thus fresh and fragrant and immortal blooms  
 The virtue, CRÆSUS, of thy gentle mind :  
 While fate to infamy and hatred dooms  
 Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind ;  
 Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride,  
 When in his brazen bull the broiling wretches died.  
 Him therefore nor in sweet society  
 The generous youth conversing ever name,  
 Nor with the harp's delightful melody  
 Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.  
 The first, the greatest bliss on man conferr'd<sup>δ</sup>  
 Is in the acts of virtue to excel ;  
 The second, to obtain their high reward,  
 The soul-exalting praise of doing well.  
 Who both these lots attains is blest indeed,  
 Since fortune here below can give no richer meed.

WEST'S Translation.

In Pindar's youth the fame of Cræsus was recent. The selection of him therefore for example of a virtuous and beneficent prince, fittest to be named in opposition to a detested tyrant, is strong testimony.

\* Thucyd. l. 1. c. 16.

within reach. Superstition chiefly seems to have led the Lydians to Greece: the reputation of the Delphian oracle was high among them, and many presents from Lydian monarchs were principal ornaments of its shrine. Midas, son of Gordias king of Phrygia, was, according to Herodotus, the first foreigner who ever sent a present thither; and after him, Gyges king of Lydia. But whether the treasures sent to be placed under the protection of the god, at Delphi and other temples, were all intended as gifts, has been already mentioned as doubtful. In after-times those shrines, which were held in any extensive respect, afforded a highly valuable resource for the possessors of moveable wealth in a state of the world when possession of moveable, and indeed of any wealth, was so generally precarious. They were resorted to as banks; the reputed sanctity of the places affording, for treasures deposited, a security beyond any to be found elsewhere. Scanty as remaining information on the subject is, it seems reasonable to conclude that depositors, on withdrawing the whole or any portion, paid largely for

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 50.

the benefit. The wealth that Cræsus sent to Delphi is described as consisting in large part of what are called bricks, or tiles, in modern phrase ingots, of gold. Hardly would wealth be placed there in that form merely for ostentation. Cræsus, apparently partial to the

Greeks, encouraged men of genius and learning of that nation in his court.<sup>7</sup> He was however an ambitious prince. Master of the whole western coast of Asia Minor, with all its shipping, he had the means of be-

<sup>7</sup> The first five lines of the quotation from Pindar in the foregoing note, being introductory to the mention of Cræsus, appear to indicate that the Grecian poets, as well as the sophists mentioned by Herodotus, were not without a due share of that prince's favour; if indeed the historian did not mean to include poets under the term sophist. It should follow that, if pure Greek was not the common language of Sardis, it was however familiarly understood in Cræsus's court.

coming a more formidable naval power than had yet been known in the world. Already the islands trembled for their independency; and Greece itself was not without apprehension, when events in another quarter Herodot. 1. 1. c. 27. called all the attention of the Lydian monarch.

Though accounts of the countries about the river Euphrates go farther into antiquity than those of any other upon earth, yet we scarcely know when there was not a large and polished empire there. Of other countries which have possessed science, arts, and letters, we learn whence science, arts, and particularly whence letters, have come to them; but no trace appears of their existence in any other country prior to their flourishing in CHALDÆA. However also the wonders of BABYLON may have been exaggerated by some writers, we have yet sufficient testimony to its having been a city of extraordinary magnitude, population, wealth, and magnificence, when scarcely elsewhere in the world a city existed. The ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, of which it was the metropolis, became divided by a revolt of the northern provinces. Babylon remained the capital of the southern part, still called Assyria: the northern formed an extensive kingdom under the name of MEDIA. To the south of Media, and east of Assyria, separated by lofty mountains, was a country so inferior as to extent and population, that hitherto it had been of little weight or consideration. But during the reign of Cræsus in Lydia, a prince of extraordinary abilities, named Cyrus, arose among the Persians. Grecian accounts concerning this very eminent person differ greatly. Those however which, for the character of their authors, deserve most respect, are also most consonant to what is found in Holy Writ. According to these, Cyrus was son of Cambyses king of Persia, by his queen Mandane, daughter of Astyages king of Media, in failure of whose

male issue he succeeded to the sovereignty of that powerful kingdom; possibly, and even probably, not without contest in arms, to which alone some ancient writers attributed the acquisition. All following history however shows that Media never, like the extensive provinces afterward acquired, was treated as a conquered country. The Medes and Persians are always mentioned as of equal privilege, and in effect as one people. Thus become greatly powerful, Cyrus, whether for justifiable cause or not we are uninformed, led his arms against Assyria, and so successfully as to threaten its overthrow. Cræsus was alarmed at his growing power and fame. It was obvious policy to support the Assyrian monarch, and endeavour to hold the balance between him and the Persian. Yet either the attempt or the neglect might be fatal; and human wisdom could only decide upon the probability. Anxious for surer grounds, and full of the superstition of his age, he tried all the more celebrated oracles known to the Greeks for advice and information. His presents to Delphi were in such amount as to induce the Delphians to decree to the king and people of Lydia precedency in the consultation of the oracle<sup>8</sup>, with privilege for any Lydian to become at pleasure a Delphian citizen. Such preference to a foreigner, in a business which must have been under the control of the Amphictyonic council, proves strongly the respect of the Greeks for Cræsus, and perhaps their fear of him. Yet the managers of the oracle, always provident of its reputation, could by no means be induced to prophesy any success to him in a war with Persia. To all his interrogatories on the subject they gave answers so doubtful and illusive that whatsoever part he might take, and whatsoever might be the event, the credit of

<sup>8</sup> Προμαντήϊην καὶ ἀτελιήϊην καὶ προεδρίϊην. Herod. 1. 1. c. 54. What precisely these privileges and honours were, may be difficult to determine.



the oracle would be safe. The unhappy prince, after much hesitation, at length determined upon war. He led his army beyond the boundary of his own dominion, the river Halys, into the Assyrian provinces. Cyrus, leaving Assyria to his generals, marched against him, and one great battle decided the fate of Lydia. Cyrus was victorious; and pursuing his march to Sardis, made Cræsus prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

Ol. 57. 1.  
B. C. 554, N. :  
Ol. 58. 1.  
B. C. 548, B.

While the issue of the war remained yet uncertain, Cyrus had endeavoured to gain the Grecian cities in Asia Minor: but they adhered to their engagements with the Lydian king. The full success therefore of the Persian arms could not but be highly alarming to them. Immediately the Ionians sent to offer submission upon the same terms upon which they had been subject to Cræsus. The Milesians alone were admitted to so much favour. The others were told that, having refused those terms when offered, they must abide the consequences. To repair and improve fortifications, and provide for several defence, became the earnest care of every city. But common danger produced common care, and the Panionian assembly was summoned to concert measures for general defence. Comparing their own force however with that of the Persian monarchy, successful resistance appeared hopeless. In this extremity they turned their thoughts to their parent country, with which they had never yet had any close political connection. Hope therefore of disposition to hazard engaging in their defence would be little, had ability to protect them been more within view. Nevertheless, Greece holding then some political union, under the lead of Lacedæmon, they sent a supplicatory embassy to that state. But it was never the character of the Spartan government to be for-

Herodot. l. 1.  
c. 141.

ward in hazardous enterprise. The Ionians could obtain no promise of assistance; some Spartans only were appointed to accompany them in their return, to inquire into the truth of the alarming accounts given of the Persian power, and endeavour to learn the farther designs of the conquering monarch. They went to the Persian court at Sardis;

Herodot. l. 1. c. 152, 153. and the account given by Herodotus, with his usual simplicity, of what passed at an audience to which Cyrus admitted them, marks just the contempt which might be expected, in the conqueror of Asia, for the little republics of Greece. A republic indeed was probably a new idea to him. He told the Spartans, "That he could not be afraid of people who had squares in the middle of their towns, in which they met to swear and deceive one another;" alluding to the agora, which was, in most of the Grecian cities, the place equally for the common market, the general assembly, and the great court of justice: and he concluded with a threat, "That it might come to their turn to lament their own subjection, and they would better not interfere in his concerns with the Ionians." The war with Assyria was an object of other importance. Marching therefore himself eastward, he left the Greeks to his lieutenant.

l. 3. c. 15. It was a practice of this great prince to leave a considerable share in the administration of conquered countries to the natives. He committed a high office at Sardis to Pactyas, a Lydian, who took a l. 1. c. 153. very early opportunity to show himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. Cyrus was scarcely gone when he managed a revolt, became master of the town at Sardis, and besieged the Persian governor in the citadel. Cyrus did not think even this a circumstance to require the intermission of his march against Assyria. He detached a part only of his army against the rebel, who appears to have been

very unequal to the greatness of his attempt; for according to Herodotus, without any farther effort, he fled to the Grecian town of Cuma, where probably he had claim of hospitality. The Persian general sent to demand him. The Cumæans, between fear of the vengeance of so mighty a potentate, and unwillingness to incur the disgrace of betraying a received suppliant, which they expected would also draw on them the anger of the gods, were greatly at a loss. The neighbouring oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, then in high repute among the Asian Greeks, was their resource. This story, also related by Herodotus with a simplicity evincing truth, while it characterises both the religion and the politics of the times, affords a remarkable specimen of the subjects upon which oracles were consulted, and of the subterfuges of the managers to preserve their credit. The question of the Cumæans was not a little distressing. To advise any opposition to the Persian power would have put the credit of the oracle to the highest risk. But to betray an admitted suppliant was held among the Greeks in no less a measure offensive to the gods and infamous among men. This however the oracle unwarily directed. Aristodicus, a man eminent among the citizens of Cuma, whether influenced by party views or by friendship for Pactyas, or by honest indignation at the unworthy deed prescribed, as under divine authority, to his fellow citizens, publicly declared his doubt of the answer reported from the oracle, and insisted that the prayer should be repeated to the god, and persons of unquestionable credit commissioned to bring the response. He prevailed, and was himself appointed of the number. The answer was still as before, That the Cumæans should deliver up Pactyas. Aristodicus, not thus satisfied, searching around the temple, purposely disturbed some nests of sparrows and other birds, which in that situation, according to the tenets of Grecian superstition, were under the

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 156. & seq.

particular protection of the deity of the place. A voice was presently heard from the inmost recess of the building; "O most unholy of men! how darest thou thus violate my suppliants?" Aristodicus replied, "O sovereign power! dost thou thus protect thy suppliants, yet commandest the Cumæans to give up their suppliant?"—"Yes," returned the voice, "I command it: that so you, the sooner perishing, may no more consult oracles about betraying suppliants." This reply answered the purpose both of the oracle and of Aristodicus; but not so of the Cumæans. The credit of the oracle, not only for truth, but in some measure for justice also, was saved; but the Cumæans, fearing equal destruction whether they betrayed Pactyas or attempted his protection, sought to avoid the danger by a middle course, and furnished him with means of escaping to Mitylene in Lesbos. There it was hoped he might be safe: for as the Persians were utterly unacquainted in marine affairs, and no maritime state was yet added to their dominion, the Grecian islands were thought in no immediate danger. But the Mitylenæans, equally regardless of their honour, and fearless of divine vengeance, only considered how they might most profit by the conjecture. They entered into a negotiation to deliver up Pactyas for a stipulated price. His Cumæan friends, informed of this, farther assisted him with means for escaping to Chios. But the Chians, no less infamously mercenary than the Mitylenæans, sold him to the Persian for a small tract of land on the continent over against their island; and, to execute their agreement, scrupled not to violate the sanctuary of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their state, whither he had fled as a sure asylum.

The Persian general meanwhile overran the rich vales of the Mæander and of Magnesia, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He took the town of Priene, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. He was proceeding

*Herodot. l. 1.  
c. 161.*

thus violently to execute his commission for subduing the Grecian possessions when sickness stopped his course, and death soon followed. Harpagus, his successor in command, began his administration with the siege of Phocæa. The Phocæans had been remarkable for their early and successful application to maritime affairs. They, first of the Greeks, undertook long voyages, and made known to their fellow countrymen the shores of the Adriatic, and the coasts of Tuscany and Spain. Becoming rich by commerce, they had fortified their town, which was large, in a manner superior to what was then common. But the Persian force, directed by the skill of Harpagus, was too great for them to resist. This general made his approaches in a method analogous to that now in use; with just the difference which the fortification and arms of his age required. No weapons of that time could prevent him from breaking ground near the town ditch: to his trenches he added a lofty rampart; and, as he approached, he filled the ditch and then formed a mound against the town wall, upon which his people might mount for storming. The Phocæans, hard pressed, obtained a truce for a day, upon pretence of considering about a capitulation. Putting then their families and most valuable effects aboard their vessels, they escaped to Chios, whilst the Persian took possession of the empty town.

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 165.

Ol. 60. 2.  
B. C. 539, B.

The Phocæans wanted only a seaport and security: the rest their activity would supply. They desired therefore to buy the little islands called Cænussæ, lying between Chios and the main; but the Chians, jealous of an interference in trade, refused to sell them. About twenty years before, a Phocæan colony had been founded in Corsica, with the name of Alalia, and thither the fugitives now determined to direct their course. But, in their way, actuated by that

spirit of revenge which naturally embittered war, when death, slavery, or expatriation were the only alternatives to the vanquished, they suddenly turned upon Phocæa, and probably finding the Persian garrison both weak and unprepared, they put the whole to the sword, though without any hope or thought of holding the place. After this useless massacre, imprecating solemn curses on any of their number who should desert their expedition, and all taking an oath never to return to Phocæa, they steered for Corsica. Nevertheless, stimulated by regret for their native country, and dread of their new undertaking, more than half returned;

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 163. &  
Strab. 1. 6.  
p. 532.  
Pausan. 1. 10.  
c. 8. Thucyd.  
1. 1. c. 13.  
Isocrat.  
Archid. p. 68.  
t. 2.

and, though how they made their peace with the Persian we are not informed, it seems implied that they obtained admission. Of the rest, after various chances, a part settled the town of Hyela, afterward called Helea, and Velia, in Italy. But

the fairer fortune of the larger part seems not to have been known in Greece in Herodotus's time. What drove them beyond their first object, Corsica, we do not learn; but,

Strab. 1. 4.  
p. 179.

proceeding northward, they found on the Gallic shore a port singularly commodious for vessels

adapted to the navigation of the Mediterranean. A territory around, little fruitful, was probably little the care of surrounding barbarians, while the port would afford the opportunity, which the Greeks especially desired, for communication with all the world, beyond the ability of barbarians to interrupt. Thus Massilia became a rich and powerful mari-

Thucyd. ubi  
sup. Strab.  
1. 4. p. 180.  
184.

time commonwealth. Its naval victory over the Carthaginians, reported by Thucydides, proves its early strength. The Grecian names Antipolis,

Nicæa, Monæcus (now Antibes, Nizza, or Nice, and Monaco), eastward, and Agatha (now Agde), westward in Gaul, and

Strab. 1. 3.  
p. 159.

Rhodus, Aphrodision, Emporeion, Hemeroscopeion in Spain, mark the extent of its maritime

dependencies. Rhodus, now Roses, in Catalonia, Strab. 1. 14. p. 654. founded by Rhodians, was brought under the dominion of the Massilians. Hemeroscopeion received afterward from the Romans the name of Dianium. The neglect of the admirable harbour of Toulon, with the labours afterward of the Romans to make Forum Julii, now Frejus, a naval arsenal, which has ceased for centuries to be a seaport, mark the difference between ancient and modern navigation.

The Teians, next attacked by Harpagus, followed the example of Phocæa. Sailing to Thrace, they founded the town of Abdera. The other Asian Greeks, finding their walls would not enable them singly to resist the Persian power, resolved together to try the event of a battle. Being defeated they submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, which seem to have been milder than might have been expected from the former Persian general. Harpagus, proceeding from Ionia through Lycia into Caria, brought the whole of Asia Minor under the Persian dominion.

Cyrus meanwhile was no less successful in Ol. 60. 3. B. C. 538: N. and B. greater enterprise in Upper Asia. By that siege of Babylon, famous equally in profane and sacred history, he became master of Assyria. Having thus acquired a dominion far more extensive than had before been known in the world, the wisdom of his remaining years was employed to model the many nations which owned subjection to him into one regular empire. Far however we are from having that certain and complete information concerning the transactions of this great prince, either in war or peace, that were desirable; but upon the whole it appears that his laws and political institutions were directed by a superiority of genius equal to that which guided him to conquest; and, what principally makes the want of an authentic history of him to be regretted, he afforded the example, followed only

by one of the many conquerors by whom it has been the fate of that large and rich portion of the world to be overrun, of a benefactor to mankind, a father to all his people, to the conquered hardly less than to his fellow conquerors.<sup>9</sup>

## SECTION II.

*Accession of Cambyses to the Throne of Persia. — Acquisition of Tyre and Conquest of Egypt by the Persians. — Accession of Darius. — Constitution of the Persian Empire: Persian Religion.*

Ol. 62. 4. B. C.  
529, N. and B.

CYRUS was succeeded in this great empire by his son Cambyses; whose temper, which led him to emulate his father rather in military than in civil virtues, gave occasion to all neighbouring nations to dread the force of which he was become absolute disposer. His first object was the conquest of EGYPT. That country, as

<sup>9</sup> Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, has borne testimony to the virtues of Cyrus, in a short but emphatical panegyric:

. . . . Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,  
" Ἀρξᾶς ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις"  
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτίησατο,  
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίβη.  
Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὐφραν ἔφθ.

p. 262. edit. H. Steph.

This passage strongly indicates that the strange story told by Herodotus of the death of Cyrus, if ever heard of, was not commonly received in Greece in the poet's time; and though, as far as I have observed, unnoticed by modern writers, should add considerable weight to the opinions which give the preference to Xenophon's more probable account. Herodotus indeed has prefaced his narrative with a confession that it was dubious, and that he had only selected it from among various contradictory reports. The mention of Cyrus, in Isocrates's encomium of Evagoras, may also seem to indicate that it did not gain any very extensive credit. The testimony of Isocrates corresponds with that of Æschylus: 'Ἀλλὰ μὲν τῶν γε ἔπειτα γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων, Κῦρον, τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφιλόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν, Πέρσαις δὲ κτησάμενον, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν, κ. τ. λ. Isocrates's subject could hardly have failed to lead him to notice the final failure of the fortune of Cyrus, had it in his time had any general credit. Isocr. Evag. laud. p. 292. t. 2. ed. Auger.



we have before observed, had been, from times of highest antiquity, a populous, well regulated, wealthy, and polished kingdom. Divided from all surrounding nations by natural boundaries of singular strength, it had been little exposed to foreign invasion. Yet the Ægyptian monarchs had always been of great political consequence. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Palestine. This led to transactions, in war and in peace, with Assyria. But a vast desert divided the two monarchies; and the countries disputed by their arms were mostly far distant from the seat of government of either. Egypt itself therefore, in a peace seldom interrupted, cultivated science and arts; and under Amasis, contemporary with Cyrus, so flourished in riches and population, that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns. We have sufficient assurance that some of those towns were of extraordinary extent and magnificence. Even in its miserable state in modern times, suffering as it has been for centuries, under a kind of constitutional anarchy, Egypt remained wonderfully populous, abounding in towns and villages; and Cairo, not a century ago, was said to have above seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Anciently Egypt was the school of Greece: those who desired to improve themselves in knowledge went to Egypt: and a Greek derived reputation from the mere circumstance of having been in that polished country.

About a century before the reign of Amasis, a civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony there. On a failure of the ancient royal line, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereignty. One of them, Psammitichus, pressed by the rest, engaged in his service some piratical Grecian adventurers from Ionia and Caria; and with their assistance became monarch of Egypt. This is the first instance recorded of

that practice, not less common afterward among the Greeks than since among the Swiss, of letting their valour and skill in arms for hire. Psammitichus thought it prudent to retain for his support those by whom he had acquired his throne.

Herodot. 1. 2.  
c. 154.

He settled his auxiliary Greeks on some lands which he gave them, near the sea, on each side of the Pelusian, the eastermost branch of the Nile, and he encouraged their commerce with their mother-country. Hence the communication between Egypt and Greece became familiar, and thus first any accurate knowledge of Egypt came to the Greeks. Probably the ancient constitution of the country suffered by this revolution. The power of the great families would be reduced; some of them perhaps extinguished: and a monarch who reigned by an army of foreign mercenaries could scarcely exist but through the maintenance of absolute dominion. The sceptre of Psammitichus, thus supported, descended to his posterity. But Apries, his great grandson, was dethroned, and Amasis, a private Egyptian, acquired the sovereignty.

c. 122.

In Egypt all persons, being strictly confined by law to the profession of their ancestors, all the descendants of the Grecian mercenaries were born soldiers. Amasis imitated and extended the policy of Psammitichus. He removed the Grecian families to Memphis, his capital, and formed from them his body guard. Encouraging thus the farther resort of Greeks to Egypt, he allotted for their residence and possession the town and territory of Naucratis, near the mouth of the Canobian, the westermost branch of the Nile, now called Albekeer<sup>10</sup>, and recently become illustrious through the singularly glorious victory obtained there

<sup>10</sup> The French corruption and orthography of this Arabic name has been adopted by our government, whence, against the better practice of our most learned and respectable travel-writers, it is now commonly written "Aboukir;" far less indicating to English readers what should be the pronunciation.

by the British fleet over the French. Amasis indulged the Greeks so far as to allow them to build temples, and have their processions and other religious ceremonies after the manner of their own country. Most of the Asian Greeks had accordingly temples there; of the people of old Greece, the Æginetans only are mentioned. But farther to cultivate a general interest through the Greek nation, Amasis, when the temple of Delphi was burnt, made a large present to the Amphictyons toward its restoration.

This able prince died at a very advanced age, during the preparations in Persia for the invasion of his country. He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who seems to have suffered for want of his father's advantage of having been bred in a private situation. Through some mis-<sup>Herodot. 1. 3. c. 4.</sup>management apparently in those who guided his councils, Phanes, a Halicarnassian, high in command in the Grecian troops, and of considerable abilities, took disgust at the Egyptian service, and went over to the Persian. The approach to Egypt from Asia with a large army, even no enemy opposing, is, from the nature of the intervening country, difficult. The Persians were utterly unversed in marine affairs; but they had absolute command of<sup>1. 2. c. 1.</sup> whatever the Asian Greeks could supply. Tyre moreover, originally a colony from Sidon, but risen to a superiority, both in commerce and political consequence, above the parent city, so as to become the first maritime power in the world, was under his dominion. It had been subdued about fifty years before by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria. The Tyrians therefore gladly passed under the sovereignty of Persia, and seem to have obtained favourable terms. The Cyprian Greeks had also sought safety by voluntary submission; and all these people contributed<sup>1. 3. c. 19.</sup> to form the fleet and army which were to go against Egypt. Yet all the formidable force that the Persian

monarch could raise might have failed, but for the exact knowledge of the country, and the approaches to it, which

Herodot. 1. 3.  
c. 4. & seq. Phanes brought. The army must pass through a part of the Desert Arabia. Under the direction

of Phanes the friendship of an independent Arabian chief, such as yet hold that country in defiance of all the power of Turkey, was purchased; and through his assistance the troops were supplied with provisions, and, what was still more difficult, with water.<sup>11</sup> Thus a most formidable obstacle was overcome without loss, and the army met the fleet before

Ol. 63. 4. B. C.  
525, B. Pelusium, on the eastermost branch of the Nile,

which, in the greatest part of its course, washes the edge of the desert. That key of Egypt was taken after

Herodot. 1. 3.  
c. 13. a short siege: Psammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole country quickly submitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring Africans, and

among the rest the Greeks of Cyrene and Barca, sent offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted.

c. 17. Cambyses, flushed with success beyond expectation, would immediately proceed to farther conquest. Herodotus says that he proposed at the same time

to make war upon the Ethiopians, Ammonians, and Carthaginians. Carthage, a colony from Tyre, emulating the mother-country in commerce, was become equal, or superior, in naval power. But the Tyrians showed such extreme aversion to assist in a war against those whom they termed

c. 19. their children, that Cambyses was persuaded to desist from that enterprise. He chose to go in

person against Ethiopia. Without seeing an enemy, he lost

<sup>11</sup> In describing this country and its people, little known to the Greeks in general, who from all their settlements made the passage to Egypt by sea, Herodotus gives one strong instance, among many, of the accuracy as well as the extent of his information, and of his fidelity in reporting it. To the correctness of his account of Egypt, one of the most intelligent and accurate of modern travellers, Volney, who investigated that country as far as its modern state would permit, has given repeated testimony.

more than half his army in the desert, and returned. His conduct ever since the conquest of Egypt had been that of a merciless and frantic tyrant, his wildness often approaching madness. He is said to have died in the eighth year of his reign, of an accidental wound from his own sword. The Grecian accounts however of these distant transactions, especially of those not by their nature of very public notoriety, are probably not very exact. A Magian, we are told, usurped the Persian throne, pretending to be the younger son of Cyrus, escaped from assassination, by which, at the command of Cambyses, the real prince had perished. It will not be necessary to repeat the well-known story of the conspiracy of the seven chiefs, the death of the usurper, and the elevation of Darius to the throne by the neighing of his horse. It suffices for the purpose of this history that Darius, said to have been of the royal family of Persia, but not descended from Cyrus, became sovereign of the empire.<sup>12</sup>

This prince was a successor not unworthy of that great monarch. His principal object seems to have been to complete and improve the plan traced by Cyrus for the administration of his vast dominion. What we ought to attribute to one, and what to the other, cannot now be ascertained; nor do we learn, with the accuracy that might be desired, the particulars of the system finally established. But many circumstances contribute to show that, upon the whole, it was directed with admirable wisdom; insomuch that those nations, to whom despotic

Æschyl.  
Pers. Plat.  
de Leg. l. 3.  
p. 694. t. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, gives a more numerous catalogue of kings, reigning between Cambyses and Cyrus, than Herodotus, whose account has been generally followed. Possibly among the names are those of pretenders who never were acknowledged sovereigns of the empire.\* Thucydides, on the contrary, and Plato, omitting all mention of the usurpation, speak of Darius as reigning next after Cambyses.†

\* Plat. on Legisl. b. 3. p. 695. v. 2.

† Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14. Plat. Menex. p. 239. t. 2.

government seems congenial, have perhaps never since been so happy as under Persian rule. The original Persian constitution, according to Plato, was a mixed monarchy.<sup>13</sup> The Median was probably more despotic. The conquered were however of course to obey the conqueror. To provide for due obedience, the whole empire was divided into large provinces, called satrapies, each under the superintendency of a great officer entitled satrap, to whom all governors of towns and smaller districts were responsible; but without being dependent on him for their appointment or removal, which were immediate from the monarch. Thus the superior and inferior governors were each a check upon the other. That the affairs of the empire might be administered with regularity and certain dispatch, and that information might constantly and speedily pass between the capital and the remotest provinces, an establishment was made, imperfectly resembling the modern post: the business of government alone was its object, without any regard to commercial intercourse, or the convenience of individuals. This appears however to have been the first model of that institution which now, through the liberal system of European politics, and the ascendant which Europe has acquired in the affairs of the world, extends communication so wonderfully over the globe. Judging from what we learn of the Grecian cities under the Persian dominion, and Plato in a great degree confirms it, the provinces generally were allowed, for their interior administration, each to retain its own municipal law. The Persian laws, pervading the empire, were probably few and simple; more in the nature of fundamental maxims than of a finished system of jurisprudence. Thus that inflexible

<sup>13</sup> Πέρσαι γὰρ, ὅτι μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἤγον ἐπὶ Κόρου, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσπότηται. Ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἄρχοντες μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον ἄγοντες, μᾶλλον φίλοι τε ἦσαν στρατιῶται στρατηγοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694. t. 2.

rule, that the Persian law was never in any point to be altered, might be a salutary restraint upon despotism, upon the caprice of the prince, and upon the tyranny or avarice of his officers, without preventing entirely the adapting of practice to changes of times and circumstances.

Darius regulated the revenue of his empire, composed of the richest kingdoms in the world. In apportioning the imposts and directing their collection, he is said to have shown great ability and great moderation ; yet, so difficult is it for rulers to avoid censure, whenever private convenience must yield in the least to public necessity, the Persians, forming a comparison of their three first emperors, called Cyrus the father, Cambyses the master, Darius the broker of the empire. Master, it must be observed, among the ancients implied the relation, not, as with us, to hired servants, but to slaves.<sup>14</sup>

Herodot. 1. 3.  
c. 89.  
Plutarch.  
Apophth.

<sup>14</sup> Æschylus, throughout his tragedy of the Persians, bears most honourable testimony to the character and administration of Darius, particularly in the chorus, p. 166. ed. H. Steph.

ὦ Ἄποποι, ἦ μεγάλας  
Ἄγαθῶς τε πολισσονόμου βιοτῶς  
Ἐπικύρσαμεν, εἴθ' ὁ γηραιὸς  
Πανταρχῆς, ἀπάκας,  
Ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς ἰσθθεὸς  
Δαρεῖος ἄρχε χώρας.  
Πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμου  
Στρατιῶς ἀπιφαινόμεθ', ἠδὲ νόμι-  
μα τὰ πύργινα πάντ' ἐπιύθνον, κ. τ. λ.

and Plato speaks of him in nearly corresponding terms, in Menexenus, p. 339. t. 2., and the third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 895.

Herodotus has undertaken to give an account, in some detail, of the produce of the Persian taxes : on what authority we are not informed. But we know that it is even now, with all the freedom of communication through modern Europe, extremely difficult to acquire information, at all approaching to exactness, of the revenue, and, still more, of the resources of neighbouring states. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, has observed that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus's account, was very unequal to the expenses of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes ; and therefore, he says, Herodotus must stand convicted of falsehood in one case or the other. Unprejudiced persons will have little difficulty to choose their belief. The principal circumstances of the expedition fell necessarily under the eyes of thousands. The revenue could be known to very few, and

The Persians were by nothing more remarkably or more honourably distinguished from surrounding nations, and particularly from the Greeks, than by their Religion. It were beyond the purpose of a Grecian history to enlarge upon the theology of Zoroaster, which, as a most ingenious and indefatigable inquirer has observed, “was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples.” It were equally beyond our object here to discuss the much disputed questions. When Zoroaster lived, and whether he was really the founder of the religion, the author of its sublime precepts and enlarged view of the Divine nature, or only the regulator of the Magian worship, and institutor of the innumerable ceremonies with which it became encumbered and disgraced. It may however be proper to advert briefly to the strong contrast between the Persian religion and the Greek, which, as the same able writer remarks, was such that it could not escape the most careless observer. It appears to have struck forcibly the inquisitive mind of Herodotus, who, with all the prejudices of polytheism about him, has in few words marked it so accurately that, after every subsequent account of ancient authors, and every discussion of modern, very nice distinction only can convict him of any error. “These,” says Herodotus, “I have found to be the tenets of the Persians. They hold it unlawful to erect images, temples, and altars, and impute to folly such practices in others: because, as it appears to me, they do not, like the Greeks, think the gods of the same nature or from the same origin with men. The summits of mountains they esteem the places most proper

Gibbon's Hist.  
of the Roman  
Empire, vol. 1.  
c. 5.

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 131, 132.

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the resources probably to none. Yet a very acute inquirer into ancient politics has observed, that valuable information is derived from Herodotus's account of the Persian revenue. Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, vol. 1. c. 8. note 1., and vol. 2. c. 24.



for sacrifice to the supreme Deity ; and the whole circle of the heavens they call God. They sacrifice besides to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. In addressing the Deity it is forbidden to solicit for blessings to themselves individually ; the prayer must extend to the whole Persian nation.” Strabo adds, among Strab. l. 16. matters distinguishing their religion from the Greek, that the meat of animals sacrificed was wholly distributed among the attending people ; it being reckoned that the Deity required nothing but the soul. Such indeed are the religious tenets which have been commonly attributed to the Persians. But the Persians themselves, of every age, as the historian of the Roman empire proceeds to observe, have denied that they extend divine honours beyond the One Supreme Being, and have explained the equivocal conduct which has given occasion to strangers continually to charge them with polytheism :—“ The elements, and Gibbon's History, vol. 1. c. 8. more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, were the objects of their religious reverence, because they considered them as the purest symbols, the noblest productions, and the most powerful agents of the Divine Power and Nature.”

### SECTION III.

*Conquest of Thrace, and Invasion of European Scythia by Darius.*  
 — *Submission of Macedonia to the Persian Empire.* — *State of the Ægean Islands, and History of Polycrates Tyrant of Samos.*  
 — *Situation of the Grecian People under the Persian Dominion.*

THE great states which had hitherto swayed the politics of the civilised world, and balanced one another, were Assyria, Media, Lydia, Egypt. Armenia had also sometimes been of consequence ; and Tyre, with a territory of small extent, yet respectable through wealth acquired by commerce, and

naval strength, the consequence of commerce, like Holland in modern times, had been usually courted by the greatest monarchs. Carthage was already a rising power, but distant. Greece was yet of little political consideration. Separated into so many small independent states, often hostile to each other, and never united by any effectual and lasting tie, each by itself, among the transactions of great nations, appeared utterly insignificant. Assyria, Media, Lydia, Armenia, Egypt, Tyre, with all their dependencies, were now united under one vast empire. There appeared thus in the world scarcely an object for the Persian arms; and it might be expected that a prince, wise like Darius, yet not particularly endowed with the genius of a conqueror, would remain satisfied with such dominions, without desiring more, or fearing that any foreign power could make them less.

But such is the nature of man that prosperity itself produces disquiet. Peace, internal and external, is not always within the power of the wisest prince; the choice of evils only is left to him; and, though despotic chief of a state the most dreaded by neighbouring nations, he may be under a necessity to make war. Thus it seems to have been with Darius. The Persians had been accustomed to respect, in their sovereigns, first their right of inheritance, then their character as conquerors. Ambitious spirits, long used to military activity, could ill bear rest: and the gains of conquest would not soon be forgotten by the greedy. All circumstances therefore considered, it may have been much more a matter of necessity than of choice for Darius to seek for a war to wage.

Thucyd. 1. 2.  
c. 97.

Of all the nations surrounding the Persian empire, the wild people of the frozen regions of Scythia could alone be esteemed formidable to it. Darius resolved to lead an army against them by the western side of the Euxine sea. The pretence for the war is said to have

been the invasion of Asia by that people above a hundred years before, when they overran Media. But if we may guess at the real inducement to undertake this expensive and hazardous expedition, without necessity, and without any obvious allurements, it was to lead as far from home as possible the restless spirits of the nation; and by a rough and unprofitable warfare to make their wishes and desires revert, and become fixed on the peaceable enjoyment of those rich homes which the valour and fortune of their fathers had acquired for them. An immense army was collected. The Asian Greeks formed a naval force Herodot. l. 4. c. 1. & seq. to attend it. They were ordered to the mouth of the Danube. All the nations as far as that river submitted without resistance. Darius crossed it: but when engaged in the vast wilderness beyond, though no enemy appeared capable of opposing his force, want of subsistence soon obliged him to retire to more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Like the modern Tartars, they fought mostly on horseback: like them also, daring and skilful skirmishers, though incapable of order, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually harassing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general engagement; to which, on account of their quick motion, and total disencumbrance from baggage and magazines, it was impossible to force them. Herodotus's account of this expedition exactly resembles what has been experienced in the same part of the world several times within the last century. The Persian cavalry, he tells us, shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge: yet the Scythians could make no impression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat however through such country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was highly difficult and hazardous. After great sufferings and much loss the Persians reached the Danube. Having put that river

between themselves and the enemy, the march was continued quietly to the Hellespont. Leaving a large force there under Megabazus, Darius proceeded to Sardis.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Herodotus's account of this expedition affords remarkable proof both of his propensity to relate wonderful stories which he had heard, and of his honest scruple to invent what he had not heard, and at the same time it adds powerfully to the instances before occurring of his having information of distant countries and distant transactions beyond what, for his age and circumstances, might be expected. Nothing can be more improbable and inconsistent, not to say impossible, that his story of the Persian monarch's cruelty to Megabazus and his sons. All the most authenticated circumstances of the life of Darius mark him as a politic yet a humane prince. But that execution, as it stands reported by Herodotus, appears hardly less absurd in its impolicy than abominable for its cruelty. Yet that, about the time of Darius's march for Scythia, there may have been executions in Persia in a family of rank, is by no means impossible: and while the policy of a despotic government would conceal the real circumstances of the crime, perhaps also forbidding conversation upon it, the absurd tale, which Herodotus has transmitted to posterity, might pass in whispers as far as Asia Minor. The closet conversations between the Persian monarch and his brother, together with other circumstances of private communication, which the historian has undertaken to detail, must be otherwise considered. A propensity to the dramatic manner appears strong in all very ancient history, and particularly in the oriental. It is indeed still observable in the narration of uneducated people in the most polished countries. This was not so far obsolete among the Greeks, after the age of Herodotus, but that the judicious and exact Thucydides thought it necessary to diversify his narrative by the frequent introduction of speeches; which he has used as a vehicle of political discussion of highest advantage to his history. But though he bears with the critics the principal credit of this management, it appears that the design was not original with him: he found the example already set by Herodotus; of which a very valuable specimen occurs in the debate of the Persian chiefs concerning the form of government to be established after the death of the Magian usurper: valuable, as not the sentiments of Persians confined to a despotic court, but the result of extensive observation by a Greek among various governments is there related. The pretended debate in the cabinet of Xerxes concerning the expedition into Greece, considered as an exposition of the state of Greece at the time, is also well worthy attention. But the account which Herodotus has left us of so singular a people as the Scythians, so little generally known to the Greeks, when we find it confirmed by all subsequent testimony, and at length by the deep and acute researches of the historian of the Roman empire, cannot but do him great credit. It has been a kind of fashion, to which Plutarch principally has given vogue, to sneer at his authority. An attentive examination of his narrative, and a careful comparison of it with all the ancient writers nearest to him in age, will lead to assurance of its merit. His place in ancient history can be supplied by no other author; and it has therefore been highly satisfactory to find him so well stand the test of Mr. Gibbon's very extensive and very trying inquiries.

It has been common, among later historians, to speak of the event of this expedition as highly disgraceful to Darius; seemingly with as little reason as the virtues, and even the wisdom, of the savage Scythians have been extolled; whose virtues and whose wisdom appear to have been more nearly the same from the age of Darius to the present day than those of perhaps any other people. Certainly his reputation and consequence among nations were not sunk by it.<sup>16</sup> On his return, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks vied in paying court to him. The force left under Megabazus sufficed to extend the Persian dominion westward. All was subdued as far as Macedonia; and Amyntas, king of that country, acknowledged subjection to the Persian monarch by the delivery of earth and water. The Grecian islands also began to feel the overbearing influence of the Persian power. The history of Samos, which had been acquired in the reign of Cambyses, as it tends to explain the state of those islands and seas, may deserve some detail.

Herodot. l. 5.  
c. 18. Plat.  
Men. p. 239.  
t. 2.

Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, had, in conjunction with his two brothers, acquired the supreme authority there. Procuring then the death of one, and the banishment of the other, he remained monarch of the island. He seems to have been the Machiavel of his time, with the advantage of possessing the means to prove the merit of his theory by practice. It is said to have been his favourite maxim, that by avoiding to injure he gained nothing, but by repairing injuries he conciliated friends. With a hundred trireme galleys in constant pay, he exercised universal piracy in the Grecian seas. But he cultivated the friendship of Amasis king of Egypt; who

Herodot. l. 3.  
c. 39. & seq.  
Strab. l. 14.  
p. 637, 638.

<sup>16</sup> The testimonies of Æschylus and Plato to this point are still stronger than that of Herodotus. For this the chorus quoted in note <sup>14</sup>, p. 27. of this volume, and Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695. t. 2., may be seen.

being, like himself, both a man of abilities and a usurper, would naturally incline to the connection. He acquired possession of many of the smaller islands of the Ægean, and of several towns on the continent of Asia Minor. In a war with the Milesians, defeating their allies the Lesbians in a sea-fight, he destroyed or took the whole fleet; and, so little consideration had he for the Grecian name, the prisoners were made slaves, and the ditch surrounding the walls of Samos in Herodotus's time was formed by their labour. Little however as he cared for justice or humanity, he studied elegance in luxury. He encouraged arts and learn-

Herodot. l. 3.  
c. 121.

Isocr. Bus.  
encom.

ing, which were already beginning to flourish among the Asian Greeks, and the poet Anacreon was his constant guest. But the philosopher Pythagoras is said to have avoided such patronage, and, after passing some time in Egypt and Babylon, to have settled at Crotona in Italy.

Strab. l. 14.  
p. 638.

Polycrates at length began to be remarked for a prosperity which, among many trying circumstances, in no one instance had ever failed him. This very prosperity is said to have lost him the friendship of the king of Egypt. The anecdote, considered relatively to the history

Herodot. l. 3.  
c. 40, 41.  
Strab. l. 14.  
p. 637, 638.

of the human mind, is remarkable. Amasis thought it in the nature of things that the tide of human affairs must unfailingly, sooner or later, bring a violent reverse of fortune; and in this belief he advised Polycrates to seek some loss, which might appease that disposition, apparent in the gods, disposers of worldly things, to envy human happiness.<sup>17</sup> Polycrates, whether believing with his royal friend, or merely humouring popular prejudice, determined to follow the advice. He had a remarkable seal, highly valued, an emerald,

Herodot. &  
Strab. ut sup.

<sup>17</sup> Ἐμοὶ δὲ αἰ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, ἐπισταμένα τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. Epistle from Amasis to Polycrates, in Herodot. b. 3. c. 40.

cut by Theodorus, a celebrated Samian artist. This seal he threw into the sea. A few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him for a present, the seal was found in its belly. Polycrates, supposing this must be esteemed a manifest declaration of divine favour, wrote a particular account of it to Amasis; whose superstition led him to so different a theory that he sent a herald formally to renounce friendship and hospitality with one whom he thought marked for peculiar vengeance by the gods. Whether the circumstances of this story be simply true, or whether so deep a politician as Polycrates might think it worth while to impose the belief of the more extraordinary of them on a superstitious people, for the purpose of confirming the idea that he was peculiarly favoured by the Deity (an idea then of high political importance), or whether we suppose the whole a fiction, which is not likely, it assists at least to characterise the age in which it was written, and many following ages, in which it was thought worth repeating and animadverting upon.

A deep stroke of policy, which occurs next in the history of Polycrates, perfectly accords with his general character. He feared sedition among the Samians. Cambyses was then collecting a naval force from the Asian Greeks for his Egyptian expedition. Polycrates sent privately to desire that the Persian monarch would require, Herodot. 1. 3. c. 44. & seq. from him also, a contribution of force to the armament. Such a request was not likely to be denied: the requisition was made; and Polycrates in consequence manned forty .  
 trireme galleys with those whom he thought most inclined and most able to give him disturbance. He had determined that they should never return to Samos; but, after the conquest of Egypt, failing in intrigue to procure their detention by the Persians, he opposed them with open hostility. Thus excluded from their country, they applied to Lacedæmon for

assistance. The Spartan government, always disposed to interfere in the internal quarrels of neighbouring states, received them favourably. Some old piracies of the Samians were a farther pretence for war, and induced the Corinthians to join in it. The united force of Lacedæmon and Corinth besieged Samos forty days without making any progress, and then returned to Peloponnesus. The expelled Samians had now again their fortune to seek; and piracy was the resource on which they determined. The island of Siphnus, small and otherwise of little value, had gold and silver mines, by which its inhabitants became remarkable among the Greeks for riches. The Samians went thither, and desired to borrow ten talents, about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Being refused, they landed, and began to plunder the country. The Siphnians, giving them battle, were defeated; and, in retreating to their town, a large body was cut off. A treaty was then proposed, and the Siphnians bought the departure of the Samians at the price of a hundred talents, nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. These freebooters then sailed to Crete, and seizing a territory, founded the town of Cydonia, where they prospered greatly for five years; but in the sixth, quarrelling with the Æginetans, more powerful pirates than themselves, they were defeated in a sea-fight. The Æginetans then landed in Crete; and, being joined by the Cretans in attacking the Samian town, they took it, and reduced all the inhabitants to slavery.

Such being the state of the Grecian islands and Grecian seas, and such the mutual treatment of the Greeks among one another, what they experienced from the Persians will the less be matter for wonder. The ambition of Polycrates was not inferior to his abilities. He is supposed to have aimed at no less than the command of all the islands of the Ægean, together with all Æolia and Ionia. His power, particularly his naval power,

Herodot. l. 3.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 13. Strab.  
l. 14. p. 637,  
638.



his known talents, and his suspected views, probably all gave umbrage to Oroëtes satrap of Sardis. What other cause of offence there was, Herodotus confesses that he could not certainly learn. The Persian invited him to his court. Polycrates went with a large retinue. He was immediately arrested, and put to death by a public crucifixion; esteemed the most ignominious, as it was the most cruel, of all usual modes of execution. His subjects appear to have submitted without resistance to the satrap's authority.

Samos thus was the first Grecian island of the Ægean sea brought under the Persian dominion. But, after the return of Darius from Scythia, Lesbos, Chios, and other islands on the Asiatic coast were, some voluntarily, others by compulsion, added to his vast empire. Tyrants in general, and all who aimed at tyranny, not unwillingly submitted to a supremacy which either placed them above their fellow citizens, or secured the superiority obtained. It was a common policy of the Persians, which we find practised by the great Cyrus, and perhaps not less advantageous than liberal, to appoint the son of the conquered prince, or some other principal person of the country itself, to be governor of the conquered country; always however under the superintending control of a Persian satrap. Most of the Grecian towns were therefore left to their own magistrates and laws; some citizen presiding as governor, whom in that elevated situation the Greeks always entitled Tyrant. Thus the Mitylenæan Coes, for services in the Scythian expedition, was raised to the tyranny of Mitylene. Darius, having settled the administration of Asia Minor, and of his new acquisitions in Europe, committed the superintendency of the whole to his brother Artaphernes, and returned to Susa his capital.

Probably the principal purposes of the Scythian expedi-

tion were accomplished.<sup>18</sup> The ambitious spirits among the Persians had been diverted from domestic disturbance. If the army suffered in the Scythian wilds, yet a large extent of valuable country, inhabited by different nations, was nevertheless added to the empire. New honours and new employments were thus brought within the monarch's disposal. And the acquisition was perhaps not the less valuable from the circumstance that both the people of the newly acquired territory, and the people still unsubdued bordering on it, were in disposition restless and fierce; and therefore likely to furnish employment for those whom the prince, himself safe in his distant capital, might desire to employ.

<sup>18</sup> This seems a conclusion warranted by the whole narrative of Herodotus. The testimonies last referred to of Æschylus and Plato speak still more strongly to the same purpose.

## CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE DURING THE  
REIGN OF DARIUS KING OF PERSIA.

## SECTION I.

*Immediate Causes of the Wars between Greece and Persia. — Persian Expedition against Naxos. — Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian Government.*

THE Persian dominion now extended over a large portion of the Grecian people, and bordered on Greece itself. The Asiatic colonies indeed, natural and almost necessary objects for Persian ambition, could hardly anyhow have avoided falling under its overwhelming power: but Greece, separated from all the world by lofty mountains and dangerous seas, had little to attract the notice of the mighty monarch who lived at Susa; while the nearer provinces of India presented a far more tempting field for his arms, and the Scythians, who ranged the long extent of his northern frontier, from the borders of China to the borders of Germany, might still be deemed formidable neighbours. Had therefore inactivity been in the temper of its people, Greece might have lain long in obscurity, peaceful, free, and unregarded. But inactivity was in the temper neither of the people nor of the governments of Greece. Touching upon the Persian provinces, to clash was scarcely avoidable; and some transactions, at first seemingly insignificant among the concerns of a vast empire, led shortly to those wars which,

by events contrary to all human expectation and foresight, raised the Grecian name to the summit of military glory; and, giving thus a new and powerful spring to the temper and genius of the people, contributed greatly to those astonishing exertions of the mind in every path of science and of art, which have made the Greeks of this and the next age the principal ornaments of the history of mankind. To borrow therefore the words of a great man, who has treated Grecian history, though briefly, yet with superior penetration and judgment, "I shall not hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched until in the ruin of this great Persian monarchy."<sup>1</sup>

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 11. & seq.

Among the Grecian governors under the Persian dominion, Histiaëus tyrant of Miletus was eminent for abilities, and for favour with the Persian king. In the pompous seclusion in which the Persian kings, at least those after Darius, commonly lived, knowledge of either their sentiments or their personal commands could rarely reach the Greeks; so that what writers report of them must generally be considered as those sometimes of the court of Susa, but often, though in the king's name, as only from a satrap of the western provinces. But Histiaëus, according to the historian, was known to the king personally: having rendered considerable services in the Scythian expedition, he had been rewarded with a grant of territory on the river Strymon, in the new province of the Persian empire, Thrace, Darius's conquest, where he proposed to plant a colony.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, book 3. c. 5. sect. 7. It is to be regretted that this extraordinary man, who, by that union of characters, common among the ancients, but almost singular in modern ages — soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher — was so peculiarly qualified to unfold ancient history to modern apprehension, should have allowed himself so little scope for the affairs of Greece and Rome. Hume has noticed his superior manner of treating them, in his History of England, in the Appendix to the Reign of James the First.

The mines of gold and silver in that country, and the ship-timber with which it abounded, were great objects for Greeks; while, in the extent of the Persian empire, to give a corner of a newly acquired province was a trifle for the prince's bounty; nor would the circumstances of the spot, in themselves, perhaps be thought worth inquiry. But the busy temper of the Greeks, their forms of government, so new to the Persians, and particularly their skill in naval affairs, which gave them importance with their conquerors, were likely to excite jealousy. The settlement therefore was scarcely begun, when it was suggested that Histiaëus, by means of his colony, so favourably situated both for acquisition of wealth and increase of naval power, might hereafter have means, together with inclination, to assert independency. Miletus, where he governed, was in riches and population the first of the Asiatic Grecian cities: his influence was extensive among the others; and should he acquire the command of the whole maritime force of the Asian Greeks, with increased means from his new colony, he might become formidable. Quietly therefore, and without apparent injury, to obviate any such project, it was pretended that Darius greatly desired his advice and assistance at Susa. Histiaëus, flattered by the distinction, gladly consented to attend the king. He was received with honour; no interference with his Thracian settlement ensued; and completely to prove that only favour was intended, the government of Miletus, during his absence, was committed to his kinsman Aristagoras.

About the time of this arrangement, a contest of factions in Naxos, one of the populous and flourishing islands of the Ægean, came to extremity; and the democratical party prevailing, all the men of principal rank and property were expelled, as usual in such convulsions. In these untoward circumstances they solicited the support

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 28. & seq.

of the new governor of Miletus, as the person of greatest power and influence among the Asian Greeks. Aristagoras, taking into consideration that, if through his means they were restored, they must depend on him for future safety, and desiring to add Naxos to his own command, received them favourably. The force indeed, he told them, under his immediate authority was unequal to the reduction of those who now held their island; for he was informed they were eight thousand strong in regular heavy-armed foot, and had many galleys; but his interest was good with Artaphernes the Persian satrap, brother of the great king; and with his assistance, who commanded a powerful fleet as well as a numerous army, what they desired might easily be effected. That case of a party in a Grecian republic driven into exile appears to have been generally wretched in extreme, and in Grecian minds revenge was commonly a powerful passion. To recover therefore their property and their civil rights, and to revenge themselves on those who had robbed them of both, they readily consented to guide a Persian army against a Grecian island. Artaphernes approving the proposal, two hundred trireme galleys were prepared in the winter to act with a competent land force; and Megabates, of the blood royal of Persia, was, in conjunction with Aristagoras, appointed to the command. To deceive the Naxians, report was spread that the armament was intended for the Hellespont; and accordingly, when the fleet sailed in spring, its course was first directed that way; but it stopped at Chios, to wait for a northerly wind, which would carry it in one day and a night to Naxos.

For the ancient galleys of war, as it has been before observed, an open beach upon which they might be hauled, served as a port; and as their scanty width and depth afforded little convenient shelter for the numerous complement, which the ancient mode both of navigation and of naval action

required, the crews, for health as well as for convenience, were at every opportunity encamped or quartered ashore; a guard only, proportioned to the exigency of the situation, being mounted on every ship. It happened that Megabates, visiting the fleet, found a Grecian galley without its guard. Incensed at such dangerous neglect of discipline, he sent for the captain; and, with the haughty and undistinguishing imperiousness of a modern Turkish bashaw, immediately ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window.<sup>2</sup> Information was presently carried to Aristagoras; who hastened to Megabates, and begged that a man in such a command, and his friend, might not be so opprobriously treated. The Persian refused to relax. Aristagoras was thus reduced to difficulty. All the Greeks would be alarmed by such tyranny, and his own consequence among them could hardly fail to suffer if his interference wholly failed of efficacy. Depending then, apparently, on the importance of the Grecian part of the naval armament to the Persian interest, he took the hazardous course of assuming authority himself, and set the captain free. Megabates was of course violently offended. Aristagoras, far from making any submission, insisted that the whole business of the expedition was committed to his direction. With such dissension between the leaders, affairs were not likely to be well conducted. If Herodotus should be believed, though for such matters his own caution to his readers, formerly noticed, should be regarded, Megabates himself, as soon as night came on, sent a vessel to Naxos to give information of the object of the armament. The Naxians, who from a force professedly designed for the Hellespont, and known to have

<sup>2</sup> Διὰ θαλαμῆς διελόντας τῆς νιός. Herod. l. v. c. 33. "Vincire trajectum per thalamium navis, id est, foramen per quod infimi remi extant." Wesseling. Not doubting the absurdity of this, the notion evidently of one utterly ignorant of navigation, I do not know that I can support the different interpretation which I have given; but it is here of little consequence.

begun its course northward, had apprehended nothing, immediately drove their cattle, brought all their moveables into the city, and made every preparation for vigorous defence. The fleet at length arriving, the disappointment at the failure of opportunity for surprise, he adds, was great. Siege however was laid to the city of the same name with the island; but the defence was such that, after four months, little progress being made, and not only the sums allowed by Artaphernes consumed, but much besides from the private fortune of Aristagoras, it became necessary to abandon the enterprise. A post within the island was fortified, in which the Naxian refugees might maintain themselves as a garrison, and the armament, which had suffered considerably, returned to the continent.

Herodot. l. 5.  
c. 35.

Aristagoras now found himself very critically situated. Sure of the enmity of Megabates, and reasonably fearing the displeasure of Artaphernes, he expected deprivation of his command at Miletus as the least evil that could ensue. The distress in his private affairs therefore, from his great expenses on the expedition, added to the loss of his credit at the satrap's court, the disappointment of all his former hopes, and apprehension of still worse consequences, made him desperate. His credit was yet high, not only in Miletus, but through all the Asiatic Grecian cities; and, among projects occurring to him, one was to excite a general revolt against the Persian government. In this crisis a messenger reached him from Histiaëus at Susa. That chief, highly uneasy under all the honours he received at the Persian court, while he found himself really an exile and a slave, began to see it was intended that his banishment from his native country should be perpetual. In revolving therefore the circumstances which might possibly obtain him the means of returning, none appeared so likely to be efficacious as a revolt in Ionia; and he determined upon the dangerous



measure of endeavouring to excite one, hoping that he should infallibly be among those who would be employed to quell it. To convey to Aristagoras his wishes on a subject so hazardous to communicate upon, he is said to have written with an indelible stain on the shaven head of a trusty slave, and waiting till the hair was sufficiently grown again to hide the letters, he dispatched the slave to Miletus. The wavering resolution of Aristagoras was thus determined. He sounded the Milesians, and found many well disposed to his purpose. He then called them together, and made his proposal in form. The restoration of democracy was the lure; Aristagoras offered to resign the tyranny. Of the persons whom he had assembled, Hecataeus the Herodot. 1. 5. c. 36. historian, remarkable as one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any reputation with posterity, but from whom nothing remains, is said alone to have dissuaded the revolt; arguing from the extreme disproportion of any force they could possibly collect and maintain to that of the Persian empire. Not prevailing, he then recommended particular attention to their marine; for the command of the sea, he said, alone could give them a chance for success, or indeed for escape from utter destruction. For this however, he observed, their public revenue was very unequal; and he therefore advised the application of the treasures which had been deposited by Cræsus in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, otherwise a ready prey for the enemy, to that important purpose. This was disapproved, but the resolution to revolt nevertheless prevailed, and measures decisive and vigorous were immediately taken in prosecution of it. Aristagoras resigned the supreme command, and republican government was re-established in Miletus. The Grecian forces, returned from Naxos, lay still encamped at Myus, under the command mostly of the tyrants of the several cities. Iatragoras, a man of influence, under commission from the new Milesian

government, hastening thither, arrested most of those commanders, and sending them to their several cities, delivered them to the party adverse to the existing government. In general they were banished, but Coes, who had been raised by the favour of Darius to the tyranny of Mitylene, was put to death. Thus, through a general restoration of democratical government, all Ionia and Æolia were quickly engaged in revolt.

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 38.

Aristagoras was active and diligent in whatever might contribute to the success of the very hazardous enterprise in which he had engaged himself and his country. He undertook an embassy to Greece, with the hope of gaining the parent states to the cause of the colonies. Going first to Lacedæmon, he endeavoured to rouse the Spartans by urging the shame which redounded to all Greece, and especially to the leading state, from the miserable subjection of a Grecian people. He magnified the wealth, and made light of the military force of the Persian empire. He animadverted upon the inferiority of Asiatic courage, of Asiatic arms, and of the Asiatic manner of fighting. He drew an alluring picture of the great and glorious field which Asia offered for the exercise of that military virtue, in which the Spartans so greatly excelled all other people; and he observed how much more worthy it was of their ambition than the scanty frontier, for which they had been so long contending with their neighbours, the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives, whose nearer approach to them in valour and discipline yet made success more doubtful. He concluded with mentioning no less than the conquest of Asia, and the plunder of Susa itself, as attainable objects for the Lacedæmonian arms. But the cautious government, wholly directed by a few aged men, was not yet ripe for such allurements. Aristagoras was asked, how far it was from Miletus to Susa. He answered,

incautiously, "A three months' journey." Nothing more was wanting to procure him a firm denial. It was replied, that he could not seriously call himself a friend to the Lacedæmonians who wanted to lead them on a military expedition to the distance of a three months' journey; and he was commanded to leave Sparta. Finding he could avail nothing publicly, he is said to have attempted to gain king Cleomenes by bribes: but failing in this also, he passed to Athens.

## SECTION II.

*Affairs of Athens. — Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. — Assistance from Athens to the Ionians against Persia. — Reduction of the Asiatic Grecian States again under the Persian Dominion. — History of the Athenian Colony in the Thracian Chersonese. — Liberal Administration of the conquered Provinces under the Persian Dominion.*

THE Athenians, then just restored to nominal liberty, were in no flourishing circumstances. By turns distracted with domestic faction, pressed by the tyranny of Lacedæmon, and urged by the apprehension of a most formidable attack with which Cleomenes threatened them, they had, by their ambassadors at Sardis, submitted to the humiliation of acknowledging subjection to the Persian king, in hope of obtaining his powerful protection. The conduct of those ambassadors, we are told, was strongly reprobated on their return; and it does not appear that any Persian assistance was either given, or farther desired. Yet the danger which hung over Athens might have justified a treaty for protection upon almost any terms. Cleomenes was bent upon revenge. He collected forces from all Peloponnesus, not informing the allies what was his object. At the head of a large army he landed at Eleusis. At the same time, according to previous

Ch. 5. sect. 5.  
of this Hist.

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 73.

c. 74. & seq.

agreement, the Thebans, by a sudden attack, took Œnoe and Hysiæ, Attic boroughs bordering on Bœotia, while the Chalcidians of Eubœa also invaded Attica on their side. It is the common effect of public danger and public misfortune to bring forward great characters, and to excite even ordinary men to great exertion. No individual among the Athenians is particularly noticed by history upon this occasion; but the administration of the commonwealth appears to have been wise and spirited. Neglecting, for the present, the Thebans and Eubœans, the Athenian leaders directed their whole force against the Peloponnesians, the more formidable enemy. A battle, upon which the fate of Athens depended, was on the point of being fought, when the Corinthians, angry that they had not been previously consulted concerning the object of the armament, ashamed to be made the tools of the revenge of Cleomenes and the ambition of Sparta, and utterly adverse to the addition of Athens to Spartan dominion, withdrew their forces. Demaratus king of Lacedæmon, dissatisfied with his colleague, and willing to preserve his interest with the Corinthians, retreated with them; and these examples sufficed for the other Peloponnesian allies. All withdrew; and Cleomenes was thus reduced to the necessity of hastily, and not without shame, retiring with the small force remaining under his command. The Athenians immediately turned against their other enemies. At the Euripus they overtook the Bœotian army retreating to join the Chalcidians, who had withdrawn into Eubœa. They defeated it; took seven hundred prisoners; and, crossing the Euripus the same day, gained a second victory over the Chalcidians, so complete that they became masters of a tract in Eubœa sufficient to divide among four thousand families of their fellow countrymen, whom they established as a colony there. The Athenian treasury was enriched by the ransom of the prisoners, at two minæ, about

eight pounds sterling, a head; and in the largest island of the Ægean sea an Athenian interest was established which became important.

Overagainst Athens, on the southern side of the Saronic gulf, lies the little barren island of Ægina, formerly subject to the neighbouring little state of Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, which was itself originally but a member of the Argive commonwealth. Though an extent of fruitful territory only can be the foundation of lasting power, yet opportunity of situation was often to the active and restless temper of the Greeks more important. This island, or rather rock, was a convenient resort for sea-faring people, whether merchants or pirates; and, between the two, growing populous and wealthy, had not only shaken off its dependency upon Epidaurus, but was become one of the principal naval powers of Greece.<sup>3</sup> Some old causes of enmity subsisted between Ægina and Athens. The Thebans therefore, anxious for revenge against the Athenians, but unable, since the defection of their allies, to prosecute it by their own arms, endeavoured to engage the Æginetans in their confederacy; and, with the help of an unintelligible response from the Delphian oracle, they succeeded. Those islanders surprised and plundered the port of Phalerum, and extended their ravages along a considerable tract of the Attic coast. The Athenians, who had hitherto applied themselves little to naval war, were without means for immediate revenge, and weightier matters soon required their attention.

Cleomenes was not of a temper to rest under the disappointment and disgrace of his late miscarriage. He left nothing untried to excite a fresh league against

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 83. Chan-  
dler's Travels in  
Greece, c. 3.  
& 4.

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 90. & seq.

<sup>3</sup> Setting aside the unfavourable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was to the continent of Greece what Jersey and Guernsey formerly were to England.

Athens. In the Spartan senate he asserted that, when he was besieged in the Athenian citadel, the archives of the republic being then open to him, he had discovered the collusion of the Delphian priests with the Alcæonidæ in regard to the pretended responses of the god, commanding the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. He urged that the Spartan government had therefore acted not less unjustly and irreligiously than imprudently in expelling Hippias. To him they were bound equally by the sacred laws of hospitality and by the political interest of their country: nor could they do their duty to gods or men otherwise than by restoring him. In truth the Athenian government seems already to have become formidable to other states by the political principles which its leading men, flattering the Many to promote their own power, put forward. The Spartan government, infected with this jealousy, consented that Hippias should be invited into Peloponnesus. But Cleomenes had learnt from his late failure that the forces of the allies were not so at his disposal, but that he must have some deference for the ruling powers in the cities whose troops he would employ. A convention of deputies from those cities was therefore summoned to Lacedæmon: among whom the measure was found so generally unpopular, and the Corinthian deputy particularly condemned it in such strong terms, that Cleomenes thought proper to desist from urging his design farther.

Hippias, disappointed of the hope thus held out to him, found yet resources in his private character, and the long established reputation of his family. Returning to Sigeum he received invitations from Amyntas king of Macedonia, and from the Thessalians; the former offering Anthemus, the others Iolcus, for places of settlement for himself and his partisans. But he had views which induced him to prefer his residence in Asia.

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 94.

We have now seen Persia attracting the attention of the Greeks of Asia and the islands; much as a tremendous enemy, but sometimes too as a valuable friend. We have seen the democracy itself of Athens setting the example, among the states of Old Greece, of soliciting Persian protection. Will then the liberal spirit of patriotism and equal government justify the prejudices of Athenian faction, and doom Hippias to peculiar execration, because at length he also, with many of his fellow citizens, despairing of other means for ever returning to their native country, applied to Artaphernes at Sardis? He found the attention which his rank and character might claim. Such was the resort of Greeks, from various parts, to the satrap's court and capital, some with political, some with mercantile views, that the Athenian government would not be likely to remain uninformed of what publicly passed there concerning them. Reasonably apprehensive then of the consequences, they sent to request that Artaphernes Herodot. 1. 5. c. 96. would not countenance their banished citizens. The Persian prince gave for his final answer to their ambassadors, "That if the Athenians would be safe they must receive Hippias." The return of these ambassadors put Athens in a ferment. General indignation ensued, but not without mixture of great alarm. At this critical moment Aristagoras arrived from Sparta, to solicit assistance for the Ionian c. 97. confederacy against the oppression of Persia. Being introduced into the assembly of the people, he repeated those arguments which at Lacedæmon had been unavailing; adding that Miletus, an Athenian colony, might reasonably claim assistance in its distress from a parent state so powerful. Omitting nothing that could flatter, allure, or excite commiseration, and having, as Herodotus observes, every thing at stake, there was nothing that he was not ready to promise; and he prevailed. Twenty ships were

voted to assist the Ionians; and these ships, adds the historian, were the beginning of evils to Greeks and barbarians.

The administration of Artaphernes appears to have been negligent and weak. The Athenian ships arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians of Eubœa. The combined fleet sailed to Ephesus; and, to profit by a bold stroke from the Persian remissness, the land forces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, distant about sixty miles. So totally was Artaphernes unprepared for suppressing the revolt, and so little even for his own security, though he commanded a considerable force, he abandoned the town, and shut himself within the castle. The town was of course in universal tumult: the Grecian troops entered unopposed: plunder became their object, and in the confusion presently a house was set on fire. For security in frequent earthquakes, to which that country is subject, light materials were preferred, as for the same reason they continue to this day to be there, as in our West Indian islands, for the construction of dwellings. Most of the houses of the wealthy capital of Lesser Asia were merely frames of timber with panels of reed: and though some had their walls of brick, yet the roofs were universally of thatch. The flame spread rapidly through a town so built. The inhabitants, Persian as well as Lydian, before without order or compact, solicitous every one for his own, were

<sup>4</sup> Usher has placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier, clearly in opposition to the account of Herodotus; which is the authority here preferred, as it has been also by Dodwell, for his *Annales Thucydidei*. Herodotus expressly says, that the war lasted but six years.\* From the end of it he very clearly marks three to the second year of the satrapy of Mardonius †; and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Datis ‡, who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Usher, with all other chronologers, places 490 years before the Christian era.

\* b. 6. c. 18.

† c. 13. 43. & 46.

‡ c. 94.

Ol. 70. 1. 4.  
B. C. 500.  
Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 99. & seq.



thus driven to assemble in the agora, and in the course of the torrent Pactolus which ran through the middle of it. Accident and necessity having collected them, they found themselves strong enough to attempt defence. The Greeks, stopped by the flames in their career of plunder, their principal object, and finding a large body of men to engage, whose numbers were continually increasing, amid the hesitation of disappointment hastily determined to retire to mount Tmolus, and thence, in the night, they prosecuted their retreat toward their ships. News of the transaction was quickly conveyed through the provinces within the river Halys. Troops hastened from all parts to Sardis; and the Persians, not yet accustomed to yield, marched immediately to seek the enemy, whom they found under the walls of Ephesus. A battle ensued, in which the Greeks were entirely defeated; many of their principal officers were killed; and those of the survivors, who avoided captivity, dispersed to their several cities. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships; and, though strongly solicited, would no more take part in the war.

The Ionians nevertheless continued to prosecute vigorous measures. Wisely avoiding farther attempts by land, they confined their offensive operations to the sea. Their fleet, sailing first to the Hellespont, brought Byzantium, and the other Grecian towns on the Propontis, either under their subjection or into their alliance. Then directing their course southward, they were equally successful with most of the Carian cities. About the same time Onesilus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, in pursuit of his own views of ambition, had persuaded all that island to revolt against the Persians, except the city of Amathus, to which he laid siege. Receiving information that a Phenician fleet was bringing a Persian army to its relief, he sent to desire alliance with the Ionians, and assist-

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 103.

1. 5. c. 104.

ance from their navy, as in a common cause. The Ionians, without long deliberation, determined to accept the alliance offered, and to send the assistance desired. The Persians however had landed their army before the Ionian fleet arrived; and on the same day, it is said, two battles were fought; between the Persians and Cyprians by land, and between the Ionians and Phenicians at sea. In the sea fight the Greeks were victorious, the Samians particularly distinguishing themselves; but by land they were defeated; Onesilus was killed, and the Persians quickly recovered the whole island.

Herodot. c. 106.  
& seq. ut while victory thus attended the fleet of Ionia, the country was exposed to the superior land force of the enemy. The Persian general Daurises, leading an army to the Hellespont, took the four towns Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Pæsus, in as many days. Informed that the Carians had engaged in the revolt, he marched southward, and defeated that people in a great battle. The routed troops, joined by the Ionian army, ventured and lost a second battle, in which the Ionians principally suffered. But Heraclides of Mylassa, general of the Carians, was one of those superior men who, acquiring wisdom from misfortune, can profit even from a defeat. The Persian army proceeded, with that careless confidence which victory is apt to inspire, as if nothing remained but to take possession of the Carian towns. A mountainous tract was to be passed. Heraclides, well acquainted with the country, pre-occupied the defiles. The Persians, entangled among the mountains, were attacked by surprise: Daurises fell, with many officers of high rank, and his army was completely defeated.

The resources of a vast empire nevertheless enabled the Persians to act in too many places at once for the Ionians to oppose them with final success. When Daurises marched

toward Caria, Hymeas had turned from the Propontis toward the Hellespont, and quickly recovered all the northern part of Æolia. At the same time Artaphernes himself, Herodot. 1. 5. c. 123. & seq. leading an army to the confines of Æolia and Ionia, took Cuma and Clazomenæ. Then [assembling the bodies which had hitherto been acting separately, it became evidently his design to form the siege of Miletus, the head of the rebellion, by taking which he might finish the war. Aristagoras saw the gathering storm, and could see no means of withstanding it. Herodotus accuses him of pusillanimity, apparently without reason. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, no pardon could be for him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's revenge. He determined therefore to quit Miletus. Communicating this resolution to his fellow citizens, and waiting to see Pythagoras, a man high in rank and esteem among them, appointed to the chief command in his room, he sailed with as many as chose to follow his fortune, to that territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, which Darius had given to Histæus. Under his able management this colony was prospering when he was killed in besieging a Thracian town.

Histæus, meanwhile, having obtained his release from his honourable imprisonment in the Persian 1. 5. c. 106, 107. 1. 6. c. 1. & seq. court, was allowed to go to Sardis to assist in quelling the rebellion. But the Persian officers there, better informed than the ministers at Susa, were not disposed to trust him; so that Histæus, finding himself suspected, fled by night into Ionia, and passed to Chios. But the Ionians however were not generally well inclined to him: some viewing in him the former tyrant, others adverse to him as the author of their present calamities and danger. His fellow citizens the Milesians absolutely refused him ad-

mission into their town : but he found more favour at Mitylene, where he obtained a loan of eight ships, with which he sailed to Byzantium. Apparently he had previous connection with the ruling party there. From that advantageous station he carried on piratical hostility against Greeks and barbarians, seizing the vessels of all states with which he had not some friendly engagement.

It was now the sixth year of the war, when the Persian arms sat down before Miletus. To assist its operations, which otherwise might have been ineffectual, a large fleet was collected, chiefly from Phenicia ; but Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt contributed. On the other side, the Panionian assembly was summoned, to deliberate on measures to be taken in circumstances so critical. It was there determined not to oppose the Persian army in the field ; but to leave Miletus to its own defence by land, while every possible exertion should be made to increase their force at sea ; and it was ordered that all the ships of war, which every state of the confederacy could furnish, should assemble at Lade, a small island overagainst the port of Miletus, and try the event of a naval engagement.<sup>5</sup> The enumeration given by Herodotus, of the trireme galleys sent by each state, probably not unfounded, may show in some degree the comparative strength of the Ionian cities. From Miletus they were eighty, Priene twelve, Myus three, Teos seventeen, Chios a hundred, Erythræ eight, Phocæa, weak since its capture by Harpagus, and the emigration of its people, only three, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty ; in all three hundred and fifty-three. This indeed appears a very

<sup>5</sup> The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Lade to be an island. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the sand brought down by the river Latmus, and Lade is an eminence in a plain. For this Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor may be seen, or rather the Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, par Choiseuil Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Mæander, had undergone earlier the same fate. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

Ol. 71. 3.  
B. C. 493,  
Dodw. Ann.  
Th. Herodot.  
l. 6. c. 6.  
& seq.

great naval force for those little states to assemble and maintain; the ordinary complement for a trireme galley in that age, or very shortly after, being two hundred men. The crews of the Ionian fleet would thus be above seventy thousand. The number of the enemy's ships was much greater; Herodotus says it amounted to six hundred. Yet the Persian leaders had so little confidence in an armament of which little or no part was Persian, that they feared to risk a naval engagement. But command of the sea was absolutely necessary to their final success by land. They had with them most of the Ionian and Æolian tyrants, who had been expelled from their several cities at the beginning of the revolt, and through these they endeavoured to practise separately upon the squadron of each hostile state. Complete pardon was promised to any who would quit the confederacy for themselves and their city; and threats indeed terrible were held out to those who should persevere in it. The men, they said, should be reduced to slavery, the boys should be made eunuchs; the virgins should be carried into Aactria, and the towns and territories should be given to others. Neither the offered favour, however, nor the threats were at first regarded. But disunion in command, the common effect of confederacies, prevailed in the Grecian fleet. A general relaxation of discipline ensued; and at length the Samian leaders, foreseeing nothing but ruin to the cause in which they were engaged, began to listen to the proposals made to them from Æaces the expelled tyrant of their island. Weighing the resources of their confederacy against those of the Persian empire, as Herodotus says for them, they judged that the contention on their part must in the end prove vain; since, should they, with all their disadvantage in numbers, prevail in the approaching action, still another fleet would unfailingly soon

be raised against them. Urged by these considerations, they privately concluded a treaty.

The Persian leaders then no longer scrupled to quit the port and risk an engagement. The Grecian fleet advancing to meet them, the Samian commander gave the signal for his squadron to set their sails. This clearly indicated intention to fly; for the ancients in action used oars only. The captains of eleven galleys disobeyed the signal, and stood the battle; the rest sailed away. The line of battle of a fleet, among the ancients, was that alone which in our sea phrase is called the line of battle abreast: they met prow opposed to prow.<sup>6</sup> The station of the Samians had been in the extreme of one wing. The Lesbians, next in the line, disconcerted by the unexpected exposure of their flank, as well as by the alarming desertion of their allies, presently fled. The Chians remained firm; and, fighting with the most determined bravery against unequal numbers, suffered greatly. Even in their defeat however it appeared that, though the Phenician ships excelled in swiftness, and their seamen in maritime skill, yet the Greeks were advancing to a superiority in naval actions above other nations. The Phocæan commander Dionysius, having with his three galleys taken three of the enemy's, when he found the battle irrecoverably lost, and the Ionian affairs consequently desperate, would return no more to Phocæa; but, directing his course to the coast of Phenicia, made prize of a number of merchant ships. Having thus enriched himself and his crews, he sailed to Sicily to enjoy himself there; and thence, as necessity or thirst of gain impelled, he exercised piracy against the Carthaginian and Tuscan commerce.

The Persians now, masters of the sea, pressed the siege

<sup>6</sup> Ὅσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στήφουσι. Xenophon, Lac. Polit. c. 11.

of Miletus, and at length succeeded in assault. Most of the men within the place were killed: the rest, with the women and children, were led to Susa; testimonies to the great king of the diligence of his officers, and examples of terror to other conquered provinces. Darius however, according to the honourable testimony borne him by Herodotus, did them no other ill<sup>7</sup>, such is the historian's phrase, than to settle them at Ampe on the Euphrates, near where that river discharges itself into the Persian gulf. The rich vale of Miletus was divided among Persians: Carians were established in the mountainous part of its territory. Æaces, in reward for his service, was restored to the tyranny of Samos: but a large proportion of the Samian people emigrated to Sicily. In the time of Herodotus, when other revolutions had restored authority to the party adverse to tyranny and Persia, there stood a column in the agora of the city of Samos, with an inscription in honour of the eleven captains who had bravely fought in the common cause at the risk of punishment for disobedience to their immediate commander.

Histiæus, on the reduction of Miletus, moved from Byzantium to Lesbos, where he seems to have had great interest. Thence he carried on a piratical war against the Greeks no less than against the Persians, in a manner which, notwithstanding numberless instances of extreme readiness in the Greeks at all times to make petty war among one another, appears, according to the historian's account, somewhat extraordinary. At length, venturing to land on the coast of Asia Minor for plunder, he was made prisoner by the Persian general Harpagus, and, being sent to Sardis, was there crucified.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus. Sailing in spring, the islands Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 26.

c. 31. 32. 01.  
71. 4. B. C.  
493.

7 . . . . κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας. Herod. 1. 6. c. 20.

immediately submitted. The army at the same time proceeded against the Ionian towns; and the generals, far otherwise disposed than their master, executed the full vengeance which they had threatened: the handsomer Grecian boys were made eunuchs, the most beautiful girls were carried off; the towns, and as the Grecian writers particularly remark, without sparing the temples, were burnt.

After the reduction of the islands the fleet sailed to the Hellespont. All on the Asiatic side was already  
Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 33. subject to the Persians, and now on the European shore nothing stood against them. Devastation was spread by sword and fire. The Byzantines and Chalcedonians best avoided the storm, flying betimes with their most valuable effects, and planting the territory of Mesambria, far within the Euxine sea. The Phenicians burnt the empty towns. Returning then to the Hellespont, all the Thracian Chersonese immediately submitted to them, except the town of Cardia.

c. 34. & seq. This peninsula, often called, by way of eminence, simply the Chersonese, had been planted by a colony of Athenians, whose history is not unimportant among the transactions of Greece and Persia. During the tyranny of Pisistratus at Athens, the Doloncian Thracians, ancient inhabitants of the Chersonese, pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their chiefs to ask advice of the god of Delphi. The oracle directed them to invite into their country, to found a colony there, the first person who, after their quitting the temple, should ask them to the rites of hospitality. The Doloncians, directing their journey homeward, passed through Phocis and Bœotia without receiving any invitation. Turning then into Attica, their way led them by the country-house of Miltiades son of Cypselus. That Athenian happening to be in his portico, and seeing men pass in a foreign dress and carrying spears, accosted them, and offered refreshment. They accepted the invitation;



and, being hospitably entertained, they related the oracular response which they had received. Miltiades was of a very ancient, honourable, and wealthy family of Attica. Herodotus mentions, as a circumstance to ascertain its eminence, that it was a family accustomed to keep a chariot with four horses; probably meaning, as the critics have explained it, that the family of Miltiades had been accustomed to contend at the Olympian festival in the race of chariots with four horses; which would imply considerable wealth in a country like Attica, little naturally adapted to breeding and keeping horses. Miltiades, himself popular and ambitious, and not friendly to Pisistratus, was thence the more prepared to accept the invitation of the Thracians. Collecting therefore a number of Athenians, either disposed to his interest, or averse to the prevailing power, all of whom Pisistratus would gladly see depart from Athens, he established his colony, and was raised to the tyranny of the Chersonese. Dying childless, his authority passed, as a part of his estate, to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon his brother by the mother. Stesagoras also died childless. His younger brother Miltiades was then at Athens, in favour with Hippias and Hipparchus<sup>8</sup>; who, whether with any idea of legal claim of authority of the mother-country over the colony, or merely to extend their own power, sent young Miltiades at the same time to collect his inheritance and to take upon him the public administration of the affairs of the Chersonese. It appears that the young chief carried his authority with a high hand: he kept a body of five hundred guards in constant pay; to strengthen his interest in the country, he married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus a Thracian prince; and Tyrant of the Chersonese is the title of Miltiades among all the earlier Greek historians.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Pisistratidæ. Herod. l. 6. c. 39.

<sup>9</sup> "Chersonesi, omnes illos quos habitarât annos, perpetuam obtinuerat

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 137.  
Corn. Nep. v.  
Miltiad.

Such was the state of things when Darius led his army into Europe. Miltiades then, yielding to a power which he was unable to resist, followed the Persian monarch's orders on the Scythian expedition. He is celebrated for having proposed among the Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge over the Danube, which had been intrusted to their care while Darius was in Scythia; hoping that so the prince and his army, between famine and the Scythian sword, might perish, and the Grecian states might thus be delivered from the Persian power. How far this proposal, certainly perfidious, can be justified upon Grecian principles either of philosophy or of patriotism, may be difficult to determine. Credit however may apparently be given to the assertion of Herodotus and Nepos, that interest more than integrity induced the other Grecian tyrants to oppose it: for they esteemed the supremacy of Persia the best security to their own authority against the democratical disposition of their

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 40. & Plut.  
de serâ Num.  
Vind.

people. Herodotus reports that an army of Scythians, bent upon revenging the Persian invasion, obliged Miltiades to fly the Chersonese. According to the same historian however he must have been popular in his government, at least among the Thracians, since, on the departure of the Scythians, they recalled him. That he took any active part in the Ionian revolt is not said, but remains indicated by his flight from the Chersonese, after the defeat of the Grecian fleet off Miletus, which shows that he knew himself obnoxious to the Persians. Putting his effects aboard five trireme galleys, he steered for Athens, pursued by the Phenician fleet, which took one of his galleys commanded by his eldest son. Here again Herodotus

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dominationem, Tyrannusque fuerat appellatus." Corn. Nep. vit. Milt. The biographer adds, *SED JUSTUS*, and proceeds to explain the early Grecian sense of the term *TYRANT*.

bears very honourable testimony to Darius. The son of Miltiades, as a prisoner of rank and consequence, was sent to receive his doom at Susa. But instead of punishment as a rebel, which his captors expected, Darius was liberal of favour to him, giving him an estate and a Persian lady for his wife, by whom he had a family which became numbered among the Persians. If Herodotus had authority for this anecdote, it may, together with the treatment of the captive Milesians, justify the opinion which he advances, that Darius would have pardoned even Histiaëus, had he not been prevented by the jealous haste of his officers, who executed that unfortunate, but apparently little meritorious chief, without waiting for orders from the king.

From the same impartial historian however we learn, that the superintendency of the Persian government over the conquered people was, in general, correspondent to the disposition of the monarch, liberal and mild. The first vengeance for the rebellion being over, the Ionians remaining in the country became again objects of care and protection. No mark of enmity was shown during the rest of that year, but very beneficial regulations, says the historian, were made.<sup>10</sup> Deputies from the cities were assembled, to advise about means for keeping the peace of the country, and it was required of the several cities to pledge themselves to one another that they would abstain from that piratical, thieving, and murdering kind of petty war, to which the Greeks at all times and in all parts were strongly addicted; and that all controversies between their little states, as between individuals, should be determined by regular course of law.<sup>11</sup> It behoved Artaphernes then, for his own sake, to provide for the regular payment of the tribute to the Persian empire. But no new

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 30.

<sup>10</sup> . . . οὐδὲν ἐς νείκος φέρον, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πάρετα. Herodot. 1. 6. c. 42.

<sup>11</sup> . . . ἵνα δασίδικοι εἴεν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιν τε καὶ ἄγοιν. Herodot. *ibid.*

burthen was laid upon the conquered people ; and to obviate that oppression which might arise from partiality, whether in the king's officers, or in the municipal governments, the whole country was carefully surveyed, and the extent of every state taken in the Persian measure of parasangs. The tribute, really but a kind of quit-rents for lands not originally belonging to the Greeks, was then equitably assessed on all ; and to the historian's age the Ionians continued to profit from this beneficial arrangement.

### SECTION III.

*First Persian Armament against Greece under Mardonius : proceeds no farther than Macedonia. — The Grecian Cities summoned by Heralds to acknowledge Subjection to the Persian Empire. — Internal Feuds in Greece : Banishment of Demaratus King of Lacedæmon : Affairs of Argos : Banishment and Restoration of Cleomenes King of Lacedæmon : Death of Cleomenes : War of Athens and Ægina.*

Ol. 72. 1.  
B. C. 492.  
Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 43.

IN the second spring after the reduction of Miletus a great change was made in the administration of the Persian provinces bordering on the Grecian seas. Artaphernes was recalled, with most of the principal officers of his satrapy, and Mardonius, a young man of highest rank, who had lately married a daughter of Darius, was sent to take that great and important command. He led with him a very numerous army. On the coast of Cilicia he met a large fleet attending his orders ; and, going aboard, he sailed to Ionia, leaving the army to be conducted

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 44.  
Plat. Men.  
p. 240. t. 2.  
ed. Serran.

by the generals under him, to the Hellespont. Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis was the avowed purpose of this formidable armament. But, considering all the best information remaining of the character of Darius and of the circum-

stances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same necessity for employing restless spirits, which had urged to the Scythian expedition, was the principal motive also to the permission of this enterprise.

Mardonius seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary measures. Arriving in Ionia, he deposed all the tyrants, and established democratical government in every Grecian city; a course so opposite to the general policy of Persia, that Herodotus speaks of it as a wonder next to incredible among the people of European Greece. Possibly Mardonius was a better politician than most of the Persian great. Whatever might be the form of municipal government, the city must equally obey his commands, and perhaps he might gain the willing and zealous service of greater numbers, whose service he wanted, by the measure that surprised the father of history. Collecting then, from the Ionians and Æolians, a considerable addition to his forces, both of sea and land, he proceeded to the Hellespont, and passed into Europe.

Excepting some wild hordes of Thracian mountaineers, all to the confines of Greece already acknowledged subjection to Persia. Macedonia had formerly bought its peace by submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the delivery of earth and water. Tribute being now demanded, the Macedonian prince feared to refuse. But the elements and the barbarians, this time, stopped the progress of the Persian arms. The fleet, assailed by a storm in doubling the promontory of Athos, lost no less, it was reported, than three hundred vessels and twenty thousand men. In a sudden attack from the Brygian Thracians, the army suffered considerably, and Mardonius himself was wounded. The march could not then be safely prosecuted without subduing that people. This was effected; but the season being far advanced, and the fleet so shattered,

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 44. & 1. 7.  
c. 108.  
Ch. 6. sect. 3.  
of this Hist.

it was judged expedient for the whole armament to return into Asia for winter quarters.

The first object in the next spring was the little island of Thasos, formerly the seat of the principal Phenician factory in the Ægean sea; barren in its soil, but rich by its gold mines, and still more by those which its inhabitants possessed on the neighbouring continent of Thrace. To secure themselves, rather than to offend others, the Thasians had lately employed a part of their wealth in building ships of war, and improving the fortifications of their town. An order came to them, in the name of the Persian king, to raze their fortifications, and to send all their ships of war to the Persian naval arsenal at Abdera. They obeyed. Then heralds were sent into Greece, demanding of every city acknowledgment of subjection to Darius, who was styled in their proclamations Lord of all men from the rising to the setting sun, by the delivery of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the islands.<sup>12</sup>

Greece was at this time so divided by internal feuds that, had its united force been nearer in proportion to that of the Persian empire, still its circumstances would have seemed to invite the ambition of a powerful neighbour. The Thesalians, who should have guarded the northern frontier, and the Phocians, occupying the centre of the country, bore toward each other a hatred so sharpened by the hostilities of successive generations that no interest could induce them to coalesce. The Thebans, and with them almost all Bœotia, careless of an independency, among the numerous republics, adverse to peace, and little producing

<sup>12</sup> Herodotus says ALL; but he afterward excepts the little islands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos.\* Apparently he should also have excepted Eubœa and Crete; or at least most of their towns.

any happiness, submitted even zealously to the Persian commands. Athens, at declared war with Ægina, still nourished animosity against Lacedæmon; while, within Peloponnesus, the ancient enmity of Lacedæmon and Argos had been revived and heightened by late events.

It is an old observation, which the history of nations gives frequent occasion to repeat, that circumstances in themselves the most trifling often lead to the greatest consequences. The ancient enmity between Athens and Ægina, Herodot. l. 5. c. 82. & l. 6. c. 49. said to have originated about a wooden statue, appears to have contributed not a little to lead the Athenians to that determined opposition to Persia, and to that alliance of their state with Lacedæmon, which together, in saving Greece from subjection, gave the Grecian people to be what they afterward became. As soon as it was known at Athens that the Æginetans had acknowledged themselves subjects to Persia, ministers were sent to Sparta to accuse them as traitors to Greece. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprise, but unshaken in principle, firm in resolution, and immoveable by danger. Independency on any foreign state was the great object of all its singular institutions; and, far from bowing to a superior power, it had for some time been not unsuccessfully aspiring to dominion over others. The haughty demand of Persia therefore could not but find at Lacedæmon a determined opposition. Both there and at Athens the public indignation vented itself in barbarian inhumanity; the Persian heralds being with ignominy and scoffing put to death; at one place thrown into a pit, at the other into a l. 7. c. 135. well, and told there to take their earth and water. But the power of that vast empire was so really formidable, and in general opinion so nearly irresistible, that the disposition of Athens to alliance in opposition to it would be esteemed by

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 50.

the Lacedæmonians the more fortunate, as the late enmity between the two commonwealths had been extreme. The Athenian ambassadors accordingly were very favourably received at Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, vehement in all his undertakings, went himself to Ægina, intending to seize the persons of those who had been forward in leading the people of that island to the obnoxious measure. He was opposed, and so effectually that his purpose was prevented; yet not without a remarkable acknowledgment of the authority of the Spartan state. It was replied to him, "that he came merely as an individual; the Æginetan people would have obeyed a regular order from the Lacedæmonian government."

c. 51. & seq.

But the dissensions of the Grecian republics among one another were not more adverse to the general defence against a foreign enemy than the spirit of party which divided each internally. Lacedæmon itself was violently distracted. The two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, had been long at variance. The former endeavoured to excite the leading men against his colleague, absent on public service: the latter, on his return, no longer keeping any measure, asserted that Demaratus was illegitimately born; and encouraging Leotychides, the next in succession of the Proclidean family, to claim the crown against him, supported the pretension with all his interest. The legitimacy of Demaratus's birth was brought into real doubt; and, where the judgment of men could not decide, recourse

1. 6. c. 66.

was had to the Delphian oracle. Herodotus, who is not scrupulous of speaking freely of oracles, tells, upon this occasion, a very circumstantial story of bribery practised by Cleomenes to procure a response from

Pausan. 1. 3.  
c. 4.

the Pythoness favourable to his views, report of which indeed appears to have found general credit in Greece. Demaratus, in consequence of that response,



was deposed. Finding then his situation irksome, and perhaps unsafe, in Sparta, he retired to the island of Zacynthus. Persecution then following him thither, he fled to the Persian court.

Cleomenes, now unopposed in his measures, went to Ægina, accompanied by Leotychides; and, such was the authority which reputation had acquired to their state, the Æginetan government, generally haughty enough through presumption in its naval force and the security of its insular situation, submitted implicitly to their commands. Ten of the principal men of the island were arrested and sent to Athens, there to remain pledges of the fidelity of the Æginetan people to the Grecian cause.

The highly valuable early historian, to whom we owe almost all detail of occurrences in this age, little generally careful of the order of events in his narration, has left it uncertain to what precise time should be assigned some transactions, important in the consideration of the state of Greece. Cleomenes, he informs us, led a Lacedæmonian army into Argolis, surprised the Argives in their camp, and routed them with great slaughter. The fugitives took refuge in a consecrated wood, surrounding a temple. Such sacred groves, frequent in Greece, were generally held in scrupulous veneration. Cleomenes himself hesitated at the profanation which he meditated. But, conformably to the superstition derived from ages before Homer, he regarded only the affront to the gods, as unconnected with any crime against man, about which he had no scruple. Alluring some of the Argives from their asylum with a promise of ransom, he put them directly to death; and when his treachery was discovered, so that he could allure no more, passion overbearing superstition, he set fire to the grove, and thus the rest were destroyed. Between the battle and the massacre so large a portion of the Argive

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 74. & seq.

people perished that the slaves rose upon the scanty remainder, overpowered them, and for some years commanded the city. The sons however of those slain by the Lacedæmonians, by whatever good fortune escaping, when they had in sufficient number attained manhood, expelled the usurpers. These nevertheless possessing themselves of Tiryns, a negotiation ensued, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded. From the tenor of Herodotus's account the new citizens of Tiryns seem to have deserved a better than their final fate. War being renewed against them, they were some put to the sword, some again reduced to slavery, the rest finding only a miserable resource in exile.

It was supposed that Cleomenes, after the destruction of the Argive army, might have taken the city, but his wild fancy led him another way.<sup>13</sup> Sending home the greater part of his forces, he went, attended by a chosen escort, to the celebrated temple of Juno, near Mycenæ, to sacrifice there. The high priest of the temple remonstrated that the holy institutes forbade such intrusion of a stranger. Cleomenes, in the extravagance of his indignation that he, of the blood of Hercules, king and priest, should be so denied, caused the high priest to be scourged by his attending Helots, performed the sacrifice himself, and then returned to Sparta. The party in opposition to him there were loud in complaint, not of his violation of the laws of war and of nations, but of his omission to attack Argos, which they imputed to corruption. The clamour however was stopped by a story of a miraculous effulsion from the breast of the statue of the god whose grove Cleomenes

Herod. l. 6.  
c. 82.

<sup>13</sup> A romantic story is told by later writers, of a poetess, Telesilla, who, at the head of the women, assisted by the boys and old men of Argos, repelled the assault of the Lacedæmonians.\* Had such a story had any credit in Herodotus's age, he was not of a temper to leave it unnoticed.

\* Pausan. l. 2. c. 20. Polyæn. Strat. l. 7. c. 33.

burnt; an omen, it was insisted, clearly indicating that Argos was not to be taken. But the friends of Demaratus procured evidence so convincing of the corruption by which the oracle from Delphi had been obtained which occasioned his dethronement, that Cleomenes in alarm fled into Thessaly. The contest of factions however gave him opportunity soon to return into Peloponnesus, and in Arcadia he found or formed a party so strong that he proposed to excite war against his country. Fortunately his party in Lacedæmon, regaining the superiority, prevented that evil by procuring his recal to the throne.

That wildness of Cleomenes, which had often approached frenzy, at length became lasting madness, and he was put under confinement. In this situation, obtaining a sword from a Helot appointed to guard him, he deliberately cut himself piecemeal. The superstition of all Greece took an interest in this shocking deed. It was very generally attributed to the vengeance of the deity; but for different crimes, according to the various feelings and prejudices of the people of different states. With the Athenians, the injury done to a temple and its sacred precinct, in the invasion of Attica, was the offensive impiety. The Argives ascribed the divine wrath, most reasonably, to the treacherous massacre of their troops; but, more confidently, to those offences, in the general opinion of the age, more apt to excite divine indignation; the burning of the sacred grove, and the affront done to their protecting deity Juno, in performing sacrifice contrary to the sacred institute, and in the injurious indignity to her priest. The other Greeks, less anxious about these injuries and offences to particular people and their peculiar deities, held the sacrilegious collusion with the Pythoness, which ruined his colleague Demaratus, to have been, among the many atrocious acts of Cleomenes, what most called for the

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 75. Pausan.  
l. 3. c. 4.  
Plutarch.  
Apoph. Lac.

vengeance of the powers above. But the Lacedæmonians, with whom, according to a common principle of Grecian patriotism, any breach of their own institutions was a greater enormity than the grossest violation of laws human and divine affecting other states only, imputed the fatal frenzy to mere drunkenness; a vice highly reprobated and rarely seen at Sparta, but to which Cleomenes was addicted.

These circumstances will not be deemed unworthy objects of history when considered as they tend to mark the state of Greece, and the temper of its people, at that important period when her little commonwealths were first assailed by the tremendous might of Persia. With the same view a petty war which ensued between Athens and Ægina will deserve attention. The reader should cast his eye upon

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 85. & seq. the map, and see there what Ægina is: Ægina was a formidable foe to Athens. Its rulers, having made their peace with Leotychides, so as to obtain his mediation with the Athenian government, were still denied the restoration of their hostages. Bent therefore upon revenge, they intercepted a large galley in which many Athenians of rank were going to an annual religious festival at Delos. But Ægina, like all other Grecian states, had its factions. The oligarchal now prevailed; and Nicodromus, a considerable man of the opposite party, had found it prudent to retire from his country. The present opportunity invited to connect his interest with that of Athens, where the democratical spirit prevailed. A plan of surprise was concerted with the Athenian administration, and Nicodromus, who had many friends in the island, made himself master of that called the old town of Ægina. The Athenians, not possessing a naval force sufficient to cope with the Æginetan fleet, had obtained from Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 41. Corinth, then in close alliance with them, a loan

of twenty ships. But these arriving a day too late, the whole project failed, and Nicodromus, with many of his adherents, fled to Attica. The Athenians allotted them a settlement near the promontory Sunium: whence they made continual assaults and depredations upon the Æginetans of the island. The prevailing party in Ægina meanwhile vented revenge against the remaining persons of the opposite faction, so shocking that in these times it appears hardly credible; yet one circumstance only, of particular affront to a goddess, seems to have struck either the Greeks of that age, or the historian in the next, as any peculiar enormity. Seven hundred citizens were led out at once to execution. One of them, freeing himself from his bonds, fled to a temple of Ceres, and laid fast hold on the gate. His pursuers endeavoured to pull him away; but, his strength baffling them, they chopped off his hands, and, thus mangled, led him to suffer death with his fellows. The Æginetans were soon after defeated in a naval engagement. The Athenians then landed on the island, and the Æginetans from Sunium were not likely to be advocates for mercy to their fellow countrymen, while of a thousand Argives, who had come to assist the Æginetans of the island, the greater part were slain. Still, with their shattered navy, the Æginetans attacked the Athenian fleet by surprise, and took four galleys.

#### SECTION IV.

*Second Persian Armament against Greece under Datis and Artaphernes: Conquest of the Islands of the Ægean: Invasion of Attica. — Battle of Marathon.*

SUCH was the virulence of enmity among the Greeks toward one another, reported by their own historians, at the very time when the great storm was approaching from the East, which threatened a final period

to that independency of their little republics whence arose incitement and licence for those horrid violences. The small success of Mardonius, in his expedition, had probably afforded means for intrigue to take effect to his disadvantage in the court of Susa. He was recalled, and the command at Sardis was given to Artaphernes, son of the late satrap of that name, with whom was joined Datis, a Median nobleman, probably of greater experience. These generals, leading a land force from the interior provinces, met the fleet on the coast of Cilicia. The conquest of Greece being the object, it was determined to avoid the circuitous march by Thrace and Macedonia. A sufficiency of transports having been collected, the whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, were embarked, and coasted Lesser Asia as far as Samos. Thither the Ionian and Æolian troops and vessels were summoned. All being assembled, the generals directed their course across the Ægean sea, first to Naxos. The inhabitants of that island, notwithstanding their former successful defence, dared not abide this formidable armament: quitting their city they fled to their mountains. The Persians burnt the town, with its temples: the few Naxians who fell into their hands were made slaves. The fleet proceeded to the neighbouring islands, receiving their submission, and taking everywhere the children of the principal families for hostages. No opposition was found till they arrived at Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians, with more spirit than prudence, declared they would neither join in hostility against their neighbours and fellow countrymen, nor give hostages. Waste of their lands and siege laid to their town soon reduced them to compliance with whatsoever the Persian generals chose to command.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 94. & seq.  
Plat. Men.  
p. 240. t. 2.  
& de Leg. 1. 5.  
p. 698. t. 2.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 100, 101.

The storm now approached Eretria. Punishment to that city was one of the declared objects

of the armament. Little hope therefore could be entertained of good terms for the community. In this desperate situation of public affairs temptation was strong for individuals to endeavour, by whatsoever means, to secure themselves. While therefore a deputation was sent by public authority to request assistance from Athens, many of the citizens were for flying to the mountains; others were disposed to betray the city to the enemy; some of them thinking, perhaps not unreasonably, that, beside gaining for themselves favourable terms, they might even lessen the horrors of capture to the city at large,\* by preventing the shock of arms and the further irritation of an irresistible foe. The Athenians so far complied with the request made to them as to direct that the four thousand colonists, lately sent from Athens into Eubœa, should assist in the defence of Eretria. The aid would have been important had the Eretrians been united in council, and prepared for a siege, or had there been any reasonable prospect of farther relief from the rest of Greece. But Æschines son of Nothion, one of the principal citizens, seeing defence hopeless, advised the colonists, by a timely retreat, to reserve themselves for the protection of their native country, which would next be attacked; and which, if saved, might still afford, possibly even to the Eretrians, a refuge from Persian oppression. The colonists accordingly crossed to Oropus in Attica. Soon the Persians appeared off the Eretrian coast. The little seaport towns of Chœreas and Ægilia were immediately abandoned, and there the army debarked. Among the Eretrians, the resolution had finally prevailed to defend the city. During six days the Persian assaults were vigorously opposed. On the seventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt: the inhabitants were condemned to slavery.

The Persian generals allowed but a few days' rest to their

forces, before they crossed into Attica: having Hippias, formerly tyrant of that country, now of advanced age, it being the twentieth year from his expulsion, for their guide and counsellor. In this alarming situation of Greece no measures had been concerted for general security. The Asian Greeks had been subdued. The Persian dominion was extended then into Europe as far as the confines of Thessaly. All the islands had now fallen. Eubœa, which might be reckoned an appurtenance of the Grecian main, was conquered. The Persian army passed the narrow channel which separates them, and still no league for common defence appears even to have been proposed. On the capture of Eretria a messenger was sent from Athens to Lacedæmon with the news, and a request

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 105. Strab.  
l. 9. p. 399.  
Plat. de Leg.  
p. 698. t. 2.

for assistance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time pressed by one of those rebellions in Messenia, so often resulting from their illiberal policy for the maintenance of their sovereignty over that country. Nevertheless they promised their utmost help: but their laws and their religion, they said, forbade them to march before the full moon, of which it wanted five days. As things now stood indeed, probability of successful opposition was so small that any base or unreasonable selfishness perhaps ought not to be imputed to the caution of the Lacedæmonian government, though policy or irresolution, more than religion, may have detained their army. The messenger however, Phidippides, a runner by profession, having performed his journey with extraordinary speed, related a story on his return which might be not unavailing to inspire confidence into the Athenian populace. As he was going, he said, over the

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 105.

Parthenian mountain, above Tegea in Arcadia, the god Pan called to him by name. He stopped in obedience to the voice; when it proceeded, commanding him



to tell the Athenians, "That they were wrong in paying no worship to a deity so well disposed to them, who had often served them, and intended them farther favour." The worship of the god Pan was in consequence introduced at Athens.

Fortunately at this time, among the principal Athenians, there was a man qualified both by genius and experience to take the lead on a momentous occasion, Miltiades, the expelled chief of the Chersonese. Miltiades, on his retreat to Athens, had not found it immediately a place of secure refuge: a prosecution was commenced against him for the crime of tyranny.<sup>14</sup> In another season, however indefinite the crime, and however inapplicable every existing law to any act of the accused, a popular assembly might have pronounced condemnation. In the present crisis he was not only acquitted, but, after the common manner of the tide of popular favour, raised by the voice of the people to be first of the ten commanders in chief of the army.<sup>15</sup> Immediate assistance from Sparta being denied, it became a question with the ten generals, whether the bold step should be ventured of meeting the enemy in the field, or whether their whole diligence should be applied to prepare for a siege. It happened that opinions were equally divided; in which case, by ancient custom, the polemarch archon was to be called in to give the casting vote. The argument attributed by Herodotus to Miltiades, upon this occasion, not only tends very much to explain both the politics and the temper of the times, but accounts satisfactorily why that able commander, contrary to every common principle of defensive war, was for risking at once a decisive

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 103. & seq.

l. 6. c. 109.

<sup>14</sup> Ἐπὶ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. Herodot. l. 6. c. 104.

<sup>15</sup> Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Herodot. l. 6. c. 104.

engagement with an enemy in number so very superior. "It depends upon you," said Miltiades in a conference with the polemarch Callimachus, "either to reduce Athens to slavery, or, by establishing her freedom, to leave an eternal memory of yourself among men, more glorious than even Harmodius and Aristogiton have acquired. For never before, since the Athenians were a people, did a danger like the present threaten them. If, yielding to the Persians, they are delivered into the power of Hippias, let it be thought what their sufferings will be: but if they conquer, Athens will become the first city of Greece. Should they then, by your decision, be debarred from presently fighting the enemy, I well know that faction will be dividing the minds of our citizens; and a party among them will not scruple to make terms with the Persians, to the destruction of the rest. But if we fight before any corrupt disposition prevails, the gods only dispensing equal favour, we are able to conquer." The polemarch yielded to this argument.

The Persians had now, for two or three generations, been accustomed to almost uninterrupted success in war. They had many times fought the Greeks of Asia and Cyprus; and though the accounts come from Grecian historians only, yet we read of no considerable defeat they had ever suffered, except once in Caria; when by the abilities of Heraclides of Mylassa their general Daurises was surprised among defiles. The army under Datis and Artaphernes therefore advanced towards Athens confident of superiority to all opposition in

Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

the field. According to Cornelius Nepos, they were a hundred thousand effective foot, and ten

thousand horse: a very large force to be transported by sea from Asia: yet Plato, meaning probably to include

Plat. Men.

the seamen and the various multitude of attendants upon Asiatic troops, calls the whole armament five hundred thousand; and Trogus Pompeius, according to his

epitomiser Justin, did not scruple to add a hundred thousand more. Herodotus, to whom the reports of the time would of course be known, has not undertaken to give the numbers of either army; he only says the Athenians were very inferior to the Persians.<sup>16</sup> According to Nepos and Pausanias they were only nine thousand, and the Plataeans, joining them with the whole strength of their little commonwealth, added only one thousand. But, whatever may have been the numbers, the genius of Miltiades, rather than the strength of Athens, appears to have been, upon this occasion, the shining instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of Greece. It was no season for ceremony: abilities, wherever they were conspicuous, would of course have the lead. Of the nine colleagues of Miltiades, five gave up their days of command to him;

Justin. l. 2.  
c. 9.

Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.  
Pausan. l. 10.  
c. 20.

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 110. Plut.  
Aristid.

<sup>16</sup> Readers who have observed with what caution and reserve those eminently able and eminently impartial military historians, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, state the numbers of contending armies, even of their own age, will, I think, reckon it creditable to Herodotus to have avoided answering for the numbers engaged on either side at Marathon, and will hardly give implicit credit to writers of some centuries after, not quoting any authority, for such matters. Pausanias says that the battle of Marathon was the first occasion upon which the Athenians admitted slaves to military service.\* It appears from Herodotus to have been their ordinary practice to make slaves act as light troops, but all the republics avoided jealously to admit them to the honour of the panoply. Pausanias, writing in an age when the republics had no military force, having been some centuries under Roman dominion, seems not to have adverted to this. Eleven years after the battle of Marathon, at that of Plataea, when the immediate danger to the Athenian people was much less pressing, and when a considerable part of their force was serving aboard the fleet, the Athenian troops in the confederate army were eight thousand heavy foot, attended by an equal number of light-armed slaves. † At the time of the battle of Marathon the accession to the Athenian forces from the colonists lately returned from Eubœa would, according to Herodotus, be scarcely less than four thousand men. The same author informs us that the inhabitants of the little island of Naxos, after the expulsion of a powerful party, formed no less than eight thousand regular heavy-armed foot. ‡ I am not aware of any better ground for conjecture concerning what may have been the Athenian numbers at Marathon.

\* l. 1. c. 32.

† Herodot. l. 9. c. 28, 29.

‡ l. 5. c. 30.

and by their means he had the majority of votes among the ten. Thus the extreme inconveniences, to which the Athenian system lay open, were in a great degree obviated; and the unity, indispensable to the advantageous conduct of military business, was established. Miltiades to his other advantages joined that of having served with the Persians. He knew the composition of their armies, the temper of their troops, and the ordinary system of their generals. The Greeks, whose dependence was on their heavy-armed foot, formed in the deep order of the phalanx, usually began a battle with a few discharges of missile weapons, and then presently came to close fight with their long spears. The Persians made more use of the bow, and less of the spear, which with them was shorter than the Grecian spear; and they depended much upon their cavalry, of which the Greeks (excepting the Thessalians) from the nature of their country could have little. The defensive armour also of the Persian infantry was inferior to the Grecian. Herodotus has marked the difference in a speech of Aristagoras the Milesian to the Lacedæmonian assembly: "The Persians go to battle," he says, "carrying bows and short spears, and wearing stockings and turbans." The Greeks carried long spears and swords, and wore greaves and helmets.<sup>17</sup>

Herodot. l. 5.  
c. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Æschylus, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Plataea, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of The Persians to this difference of weapons. The chorus speaking of Xerxes says:

Ἐπάγει δουρικλύτους ἀν-  
δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρην. p. 129. ed. H. Steph.

Afterward the characteristic weapons are put for the nations who bore them:

Πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν,  
ἢ δορυκράνου  
Λόγχης ἰσχύς κεκράτηκιν. p. 131.

And, still farther, Atossa asking concerning the Athenians,

Πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χειρὸς γ' αὐτοῖς πρέπει;

the chorus answers,

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγχη σταδαῖα, καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί. p. 137.

The Persian generals, guided by Hippias, had chosen their place of debarkation on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. There, on landing, they were at once in a plain in which cavalry might act; and the way to Athens, between the mountains Pentelicus and Brilessus, was less difficult than any other across the heights which at some distance surround that city. The entire command which they possessed of the sea made it necessary for Miltiades to wait for intelligence where they would make their descent. They had thus landed their whole force without molestation, and were already in possession of the plain, when the Athenian army appeared upon the hills above. But this plain was narrow: pressed between the sea eastward, and the hills westward; and closed at each extremity, on the north by a marsh, on the south by the hills verging round and meeting the sea. Miltiades, on view of the ground and of the enemy, determined to attack. The first object, in engaging Asiatic armies, was to resist or to render useless their numerous and excellent cavalry; the next to prevent them from profiting by their superior skill in the use of missile weapons. The former might have been obtained by waiting among the hills; but there the heavy-armed Greeks would have been helpless against the Persian archers: whose fleet, whose numbers, and whose weapons, would enable them to attack on any side, or on all sides, or, avoiding a battle, to proceed to Athens. In a plain only they could be forced to that mode of action in which the Greeks had greater practice, and for which their arms were superiorly adapted; and the narrow plain of Marathon was peculiarly favourable. Confined however as the ground was, the Athenian numbers were still insufficient to form a line equal to that of the enemy, and in all points competently strong. Deciding therefore instantly his choice

Herod. l. 6.  
c. 102. 107.  
Thucyd. l. 4.  
c. 38. Pausan.  
l. 1. c. 32.  
Wheeler's  
Journey into  
Greece, b. 6.  
Chandler's  
Travels in  
Greece, c. 34  
& foll.  
6 Octob.  
Ann. Thu.

of difficulties, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his centre. Daring valour indeed, guided by a discernment capable of profiting from every momentary opportunity, could alone balance the many disadvantages of his circumstances. Finding then his troops animated as he wished, he issued a sudden order to lay aside missile weapons, to advance running down the hill, and engage at once in close fight. The order was obeyed with alacrity. The Persians, more accustomed to give than to receive the attack, beheld at first with a disposition to ridicule this, as it appeared, mad onset. The effect of the shock however proved the wisdom with which it had been concerted. The Asiatic horse, formidable in champaign countries by their rapid evolutions, but in this confined plain encumbered with their own numerous infantry, were at a loss how to act.<sup>18</sup> Of the infantry, that of proper Persia almost alone had reputation for close fight. The rest, accustomed chiefly to the use of missile weapons, were, by the rapidity of the Athenian charge, not less disconcerted than the horse. The contest was however long. The Persian infantry, successors of those troops who, under the great Cyrus, had conquered Asia, being posted in the centre of their army, stood the vehemence of the onset, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and pursued far into the country. The Athenians, after great efforts, put both the enemy's wings to flight, and had the prudence not to follow. Joining then their divided forces, they met the conquering centre of the Persian army, returning weary from pursuit; defeated it, followed to the shore, and amid the confusion of

<sup>18</sup> No account is given by Herodotus of any thing done by the Persian horse, though he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian cavalry previous to the battle of Plataea, together with every description of the field of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction or inefficacy there.

embarkation made great slaughter. They took seven galleys. The Persians lost in all six thousand four hundred men. Of the Athenians only one hundred and ninety-two were acknowledged to have fallen, but among them were the polemarch Callimachus Stesileos one of the ten generals, Cynægirus brother of the poet Æschylus, and other men of rank, who had been earnest to set an example of valour on the trying occasion. The praise of valour was however earned by the whole army, whose just eulogy will perhaps best be estimated from an observation of the original historian: “The Athenians who fought at Marathon were the first among the Greeks known to have used running for the purpose of coming at once to close fight; and they were the first who withstood (in the field) even the sight of the Median dress, and of the men who wear it: for hitherto the very name of Medes and Persians had been a terror to the Greeks.”<sup>19</sup>

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 115.

c. 117.

c. 112.

Such is the account given of this celebrated day by that historian who lived near enough to the time to have conversed with eye-witnesses.<sup>20</sup> It is modest throughout, and bears general marks both of authentic information and of honest veracity. The small proportion of the Athenian slain perhaps may appear least consistent with the other

<sup>19</sup> Those honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all more or less confirmed by the elder writers of highest authority. Thus Plato: Αἱ δὲ γνώμαι δεδουλωμέναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχιμα γένη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Menexen. p. 240.

<sup>20</sup> There are two expressions in his sixth book \* which have been understood by some to import that he had himself conversed with Epizelus son of Cuphagoras, who had been deprived of his eyesight, according to his own account, in a very extraordinary manner, during the action at Marathon; but the critics seem to have determined that those expressions mean no more than that the historian had heard the account of Epizelus reported by others. † Yet Herodotus, having been born, according to the chronologers, only six years after the battle of Marathon, might very possibly have conversed with persons present at it.

\* c. 117.

† See note 14. p. 493. of Wesseling's edition.

circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly by those in our own history, of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all, of Agincourt. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armour, slaughter seldom could be great but among broken troops, or in pursuit. We are however told that a part of the Athenian army was broken. If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak centre was intended, purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuit. The deep order in which both Greeks and Romans fought would perhaps make such a stratagem not too hazardous for daring prudence, under urgent necessity of risking much. Writers who have followed Herodotus in describing this memorable day have abounded with evident fiction, as well as with fulsome panegyric of the Athenians, and absurd obloquy on their enemy.<sup>21</sup>

Still however, after the defeat at Marathon, the Persian armament was very formidable; nor was Athens, immediately by its glorious victory, delivered from the danger of that subversion with which it had been threatened. The Persian commander, doubling Cape Sunium, coasted the southern shore of Attica, not without hope of carrying the city by a sudden assault. But the Athenians had a general equal to his arduous office. Aware of what might be the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 115, 116.

<sup>21</sup> The extravagance of Justin's tale may lessen our regret for the loss of the great work which he has epitomised. Had Herodotus, among all his Muses, given one romance so absurd as Justin's account of this battle, he might have deserved some portion of the abuse with which calumny has singularly loaded him. Among later authors, the concise narrative of Cornelius Nepos is by far most deserving attention.



with a large part of his forces: and when the Persians arrived off the port of Phalerum, they saw an Athenian army encamped on the hill of Cynosarges which overlooks it. They cast anchor; but, without attempting any thing, weighed again and steered for Asia. With them they carried their Eretrian prisoners, who were conducted to the great king at Susa. The humane Darius settled these on an estate, his private property, at Ardericca in the province of Cissia, about twenty-four miles from his capital; where their posterity, for centuries, retained characteristic marks of a European origin.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 119.

Ibid. &  
Philostr.  
vit. Apoll.

On the next day after the battle a body of two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries arrived. They had marched instantly after the full of the moon, and, through exertion which was deemed extraordinary, reached Athens in three days.<sup>22</sup> Disappointed, both for themselves and for their commonwealth, to have so missed their share in an action which could not but reflect uncommon glory on those who had partaken in it, they would however proceed to the field to view the slain of that enemy who now for the first time had come from so far to attack Greece, and whom report made universally so formidable. Having gratified their curiosity they returned to Lacedæmon, not without bestowing those praises which Athenian valour had so fairly earned. Though the force thus sent so late was apparently very small, both for the urgency of the occasion and for the ability of Lacedæmon, yet the pretence of religion and the zeal shown in the rapidity of the march were accepted as excuses; and it does not appear that the Athenians at the time, or their orators or writers afterward, imputed any blame to the Lacedæmonian government or people.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 120.  
Isocr. Pan.  
p. 120. t. 1.

<sup>22</sup> The distance, according to Isocrates, was twelve hundred Grecian stadia, a measure which, after much attention of the learned to the subject, remains yet uncertain.

## SECTION V.

*Growing Ambition of Athens. — Effects of Party Spirit at Athens. — Extraordinary Honour to the Memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. — Impeachment and Death of Miltiades.*

IT is particularly in the nature of democratical government for ambition to grow with success. No sooner were the Athenians delivered by the victory of Marathon from impending destruction, than they began to meditate conquest.

Almost all the islands of the Ægean were obnoxious for their ready submission to the Persian summons, and some still more for exertions in the Persian cause. Miltiades was sent with seventy ships to exact fines from them for their delinquency; but he was commanded farther to use the newly-acquired naval power, in imitation of the practice of Lacedæmon on the continent, for reducing them under the authority, or at least the influence, of the Athenian government. Paros resisting, siege was laid to its principal town; but, with the defective art of attack on fortifications in that age, with exertion during twenty-six days no impression was made. Miltiades then, himself dangerously wounded, led back his armament to Athens, without having effected any thing, according to Herodotus, but the ravage of the island.

Athens has been accused of black ingratitude and gross injustice for the treatment of this great man which immediately followed. It has been endeavoured, on the other hand, by the zealous partisans of democratical rule, to justify his doom on those severe yet clearly impolitic principles of patriotism which deny all rights to individuals where but a suspicion of public interest interferes. But whoever will take the pains to connect the desultory yet honest narration of Herodotus, may find, and every thing remaining from Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and all the orators, any-

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 132. & seq.  
Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

way relative to the subject, will confirm it, that neither ingratitude nor patriotism decided the majority in the Athenian assembly upon this occasion; party spirit still was the great mover of their politics.

It has been said by Herodotus, and repeated by Thucydides, that, not Harmodius and Aristogiton, as the vulgar in their time believed, but the Alcmaeonidean faction delivered Athens from that called the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ. But a party which had so long directed the affairs of the commonwealth as that of the Pisistratidæ, and so wisely, so virtuously, and so beneficially, would be too firmly and extensively rooted to be at once annihilated by the expulsion of its chiefs. The Alcmaeonidæ had beyond all things to dread the reflux of popularity toward that party: and it seems therefore to have been a studied policy to hold out the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton to public esteem, while nothing was left untried to brand the memory of the Pisistratidean administration. Hence the very extraordinary honours paid to the memory of the assassins of Hipparchus; hence the mere revenge of a private quarrel elevated to the dignity of tyrannicide and assertion of public liberty. The celebration of the deed by songs was made a regular part of the ceremony of the great Panathenæan festival. The custom was introduced, even at private entertainments, always to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton.<sup>23</sup> Statues of the patriots, made by the ablest artists, at the public expense and of the most costly materials, were erected in different places of greatest resort in the city.<sup>24</sup> It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give

Herodot.  
l. 6. c. 123.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 20. & l. 6.  
c. 53. & 59.

<sup>23</sup> This song, the most ancient composition of its kind extant, may be seen, with an elegant Latin translation, in Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; and an elegant English translation, in which the turn of expression of the original has been very happily imitated, is among Pye's poems.

<sup>24</sup> The laborious Meursius, in his *Pisistratus*, has collected accounts of many of these statues from various ancient authors.

their names to slaves. Obsequies were appointed to be periodically performed to their memory, under direction of the polemarch archon. Particular honours, privileges, and emoluments were decreed to their families. And, to conclude all, in terror to future invaders of public liberty, but principally in terror to the living enemies of the Alcmaeonidean party, promises were held out, by public authority, that future sufferers in the cause of freedom (for by that sacred name the Alcmaeonidæ described their own cause) should be equally honoured with Harmodius and Aristogiton. Attention to these circumstances, as effects of party, is necessary for understanding, in any degree, the domestic politics of the Athenian commonwealth.

The glory of Miltiades, diminishing the consequence, excited the envy of the Alcmaeonidæ. Herodotus  
Herodot. 1. 6. c. 121. mentions a report that they had gone so far as to hold a traitorous correspondence with the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and communicated intelligence to them by signals. He professes indeed that he thought this incredible; and the circulation of such a report may perhaps best be considered as one, among the innumerable proofs, how busy and how virulent in calumny faction was at Athens.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the ill-will of the Alcmaeonidæ to Miltiades did not remain doubtful. The security of the commonwealth, procured by that great man's abilities, had made those abilities less immediately necessary; and his failure at Paros afforded means for ruining him with a fickle multitude, possessed of despotic authority. Xanthippus, one of the principal men of Athens, who had married a niece of Megacles, the great op-

1. 6. c. 131.  
& 136.  
Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

<sup>25</sup> "Narratam sibi, vel ab aliis scripto mandatam, Atheniensium quorundam suspicionem tot argumentis repellit Herodotus, ut in his etiam vexandis modum excessisse videatur Plutarchus, de Herod. Malign." Valcken. not. ap. Wessel. Herod. 1. 6. c. 121. Plutarch has indeed, throughout that treatise, exceeded all measure of reason, and little regarded argument.

ponent of Pisistratus and chief of the house of Alcmaeon, conducted a capital accusation against him. When Miltiades was to answer before the people he was so ill from his wound as to be unable to rise from his bed. In his bed therefore he was brought into the assembly, where he lay, a melancholy spectacle, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. He was acquitted of capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty talents, above twelve thousand pounds sterling; and being unable immediately to pay such a sum, it was proposed by his opponents, and actually ordered by the assembly, that he should be carried, ill as he was, to the common prison. But the prytanis, whose office it was to execute the severe injunction, indignant at the unworthy treatment of a man to whom his country owed so much, had the courage to disobey. Within a few days, a mortification in the wounded limb brought Miltiades to his end; yet the fine, rigorously exacted from his family, was paid by his son Cimon.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and Justin, all affirm, that Miltiades was thrown into the common prison, and died there; and they add some circumstances to improve the story. On such a concurrence of authority, I had thought myself warranted to report the simple circumstance (though Herodotus had omitted mention of it) that Miltiades died in prison. But looking into Bayle's Dictionary, in the article Cimon, I found this passage: "Herodote, parlant du procès de Miltiade, ne dit rien, ni de la prison du père, ni de la prison du fils; et il insinue clairement que Miltiade ne fut point emprisonné; and a little farther this quotation from Plato: *Μιλτιάδην δὲ, τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐπέτισεν ἄν.*" Upon reconsidering the matter, I entirely agree with the learned and ingenious critic that it is clearly implied in the account of Herodotus, that neither Miltiades nor Cimon was imprisoned †; and Plato's testimony so confirms this that I do not hesitate to reject the reports of the later writers. Bayle translates *βάραθρον*, I think properly, *le Cachot*. Originally that word is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which in early times was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, by the advice of an oracle ‡, afterward disused, and the pit was filled; the name nevertheless remaining as a common term for a dungeon.

\* Plat. Gorg. † b. 6. c. 136. ‡ Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 431.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE FROM THE ACCESSION OF XERXES TO THE THRONE OF PERSIA TILL THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THAT MONARCH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST GREECE.

## SECTION I.

*Accession of Xerxes to the Throne of Persia. — Immense Preparations of the Court of Persia for Conquest in Europe. — Assembly of the Army at Sardis, and of the Fleet in the Hellespont. — March of the Army. — Muster of the Army. — Arrival of the Army and Fleet at Therme in Macedonia.*

HERODOTUS relates some anecdotes attributing to Darius an acrimonious resentment against Athens, very repugnant to his general character, as it stands marked by authors of highest credit, and even by what that historian himself has reported, evidently on better authority.

Æsch. Pers.  
Plato.

Asia, he adds, was agitated for three years by preparations for a second expedition into Greece, to revenge the disgrace of Marathon. Prudence perhaps, not less than honour, would require the attempt; but three years could not be necessary to the resources of the Persian empire for such a purpose; and more important objects in the mean time called the attention of its rulers. Egypt revolted, and a dangerous dispute about the right of succession to the throne is said to have arisen between the sons of Darius. That monarch had the satisfaction to see the succession amicably settled in favour of Xerxes, his son by Atossa daughter of Cyrus, in preference to elder sons by a former marriage;

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 1. & seq.

but he died soon after, leaving Egypt to be recovered, and Greece to be punished, by his successor. The former object was accomplished in the second year of the reign of Xerxes: the other seems to have been for some time neglected.

Ol. 73. 4.  
B. C. 485.  
Herodot. l. 7. c. 7.

But the Persians had not yet forgotten the character, which their fathers had raised so high, of a warlike and conquering people. They were not accustomed to insults within their dominion like that of the burning of Sardis; and still less to defeats in the field like that of Marathon. We cannot suppose Herodotus often well informed of intrigues about the person of the great king; but we may believe what he puts as a remark into the mouth of Xerxes, "that it had not been the custom of the Persians to be quiet." Nor is it to be doubted but there would

l. 7. c. 8. s. 1.

be men about that prince ready to encourage an idea, natural enough to a youth inheriting such immense power from a race of conquerors, that it became him also to be a conqueror, to enlarge still the bounds of his vast empire, and to emulate the military fame of Darius, of Cambyses, and even of the great Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> To punish Athens and to conquer Greece were therefore small objects; nor

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 8. s. 3. &  
Corn. Nep.  
v. Themist.

does what Herodotus has suggested appear improbable, that the ardent ambition of the youthful monarch, and some among his counsellors, might look as far as the Western Ocean, howsoever little its shores or the intermediate nations were known to them, for the term of

<sup>1</sup> This is the motive also alleged by Æschylus, in the person of Atossa, for the expedition of Xerxes. Speaking to the shade of Darius, she says:

Ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται  
Θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μίγαν τέκνους  
Πλούτων ἐκτίσσω σὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο  
"Ενδον αἰχμάζεις, πατρῶιον δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνεις.  
Τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν,  
Τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κίλευθον καὶ στράτευμα' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα.

their career of glory. Four years, it is said, were employed in preparation. An army was collected, greater than the world ever saw either before or since.

The commanders on the western frontier of the empire had had opportunity for observing that the most formidable land force could not secure maritime provinces against insults by sea; and, still more, that the conquest of maritime states would be in vain attempted without naval power. Every seaport therefore, in the whole winding length of coast from Macedonia to the Libyan Syrtes, was ordered to prepare ships and to impress mariners. A prodigious work was undertaken for the purpose of making the navigation secure from the Asiatic along the European coast, and to prevent all risk of future disasters like that of

the fleet under Mardonius. It was no less than to form a canal, navigable for the largest galleys, across the isthmus which joins Athos to the continent of Thrace. A fleet was assembled in the Hellespont, under the command of Bubares son of Megabazus, and the crews were employed on the work. Herodotus has supposed mere ostentation to have been the motive to this undertaking; because, he says, less labour would have carried the fleet over land, from one sea to the other; yet it seems no rash conjecture that policy may have prompted it. To cross the Ægean, even now, with all the modern improvements in navigation, such are the changes of wind, and multitudes of insulated shores, is singularly dangerous. To double the cape of Athos is still more formidable. The object therefore being to add the countries west of the Ægean sea to the Persian dominion, it was of no small importance to lessen the danger and delays of the passage for a fleet.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, to facilitate the communi-

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 20. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c. 1.  
& seq.

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 21.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Scarcely any circumstance of the expedition of Xerxes is more strongly supported by historical testimony than the making of the canal of Athos. The



cation by land, a bridge was laid over the river Strymon. Magazines meanwhile were formed all along the coast as far as Macedonia; chiefly in the towns of the Grecian colonies then subject to Persia.

At length, the levies being completed, the forces from all the eastern and southern provinces were assembled at Critali in Cappadocia. Thither the monarch himself went to take the command. He marched immediately to Sardis, where the land force from the west of Asia Minor joined him. Thence heralds were sent into Greece, to all the cities except Athens and Lacedæmon, where, in violation of the law of nations, even of that age, the Persian heralds, in the reign of Darius, had been cruelly put to death. Earth and water were demanded in token of subjection; and, according to the oriental custom, orders were given to prepare entertainment for the king against his

Ol. 74. §.  
B. C. 481.  
Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 26.

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informed and exact Thucydides, who had property in Thrace, lived part of his time upon that property, and held at one time an important command there, speaks of the canal of Athos, made by the king of Persia, with perfect confidence.\* Plato, Isocrates, and Lysias†, all mention it as an undoubted matter; the latter adding that it was, in his time, still a subject of wonder and of common conversation. Diodorus relates the fact not less positively than Herodotus. That part of Strabo which described Thrace is, unfortunately lost; but the canal of Xerxes remains confidently mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place was, moreover, so surrounded with Grecian settlements that it seems impossible for report of such a matter, if unfounded, to have held any credit. At the very time of the expedition of Xerxes there were no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, one even on the isthmus, situate, as Thucydides particularly mentions, close to the canal, and many on the adjacent shores.‡ Yet the poet Juvenal has chosen the story of this canal for an exemplification of the Grecian disposition to lie: and a traveller who two centuries ago visited, or thought he visited, the place, has asserted that he could find no vestige of the work.§ For myself I will own that I cannot consider the sarcasm of a satirist desiring to say a smart thing, or such negative evidence as that of the modern traveller, of any weight against the concurring testimonies of the writers above quoted.

\* Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 109.

† Plat. de Leg. 1. 3. p. 699. t. 2. Isocrat. Paneg. p. 222. t. 1. Lys. or. funeb.

‡ Herod. 1. 7. c. 22. Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 109. Excerpt. ex. Strab. 1. 7.

§ Bellon. Singul. Rer. Obser. p. 78.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 33. Plat. de  
Leg. 1. 3.  
p. 699. t. 2.  
Strab. 1. 13.  
p. 591.

arrival. Xerxes wintered at Sardis. Meanwhile a work, scarcely inferior to the canal of Athos, was prepared in the Hellespont. Two bridges of boats were extended from near Abydus on the Asiatic to near Sestos on the European shore. The width is seven furlongs. The bridges were contrived, one to resist the current, which is always strong from the Propontis, the other to withstand the winds, which are often violent from the Ægean sea; so that each protected the other.

Ol. 74.  
B. C. 480.  
Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 73. & seq.

Early in spring the army moved. For so vast a multitude one principal difficulty was so to direct the march that water might not fail. Several rivers of some name, of torrent character issuing from mountains, abundant or over-abundant and impetuous in winter, in summer of scanty and quiet current, were found unequal to the supply. Among them is mentioned the celebrated stream of Scamander, crossing the Trojan plain. Seven days and nights were employed unintermittingly in passing the bridges of the Hellespont. The march was then continued through the Chersonese. The fleet, which had been assembled in the Hellespont, was at the same time ordered to proceed along the coast westward. The land and sea forces met again at Doriscus, near the mouth of the Hebrus, where Darius, on his return from his Scythian expedition, had established a Persian garrison. Both the country and the coast there were favourable for the review of so immense an armament, and there accordingly the monarch reviewed his forces of sea and land.

There too, Herodotus tells us, the army was mustered. Later ancient writers have taken upon them to differ from him concerning its strength; but we may best believe the simple honesty of the original historian, who, in describing the manner of the muster, sufficiently shows that even the Persian generals themselves knew not how to ascertain the

numbers under their command. Indeed those who know how difficult it is, amid all the accuracy of division and the minuteness of detail in modern European armies, and comparatively handfuls of men, to acquire exact information of effective numbers, will little expect it among the almost countless bands, of various languages and widely differing customs, which composed the military multitude under Xerxes, when, though for important purposes writing was common, yet a convenient and cheap material for writing was unknown, and memory was necessarily, far more than in modern times, trusted for authority. Herodotus has reckoned among its numbers no less than twenty-nine nations, from Scythia north to Ethiopia south, and from India east to Thrace and Libya west. To acquire a foundation for guessing the total effective strength, without an attempt to ascertain the detail, the method taken by the Persian generals, he says, was this: Ten thousand men, being counted, were formed in a circle Herodot. 1. 7. c. 60. as close as possible. A fence was then raised around them. They were dismissed, and all the army in turn passed into this inclosure, till the whole was thus counted by tens of thousands. According to this muster, such as it was, the historian says the infantry alone amounted to one million seven hundred thousand fighting men; but he expressly declares that no one ever undertook to give an account of the detail.<sup>3</sup> The cavalry he makes only eight thousand; by no means an improbable number, 1. 7. c. 87. and likely to have been better ascertained. Arabian camel-riders and African charioteers he computes at twenty thousand. Horses, mules, asses, oxen, and camels, for the baggage, were besides innumerable.

<sup>3</sup> "Ὅσον μὲν νῦν ἑκαστοὶ παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκέως. οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων. 1. 7. c. 60.

Herodot. I. 7.  
c. 89.

Of the fleet he gives a more particular account.

The trireme galleys of war amounted to twelve hundred and seven; and his distribution, which may show the comparative naval strength of different nations at the time, makes the total appear hardly beyond probability. Three hundred were furnished by the Phenicians with the Syrians of Palestine; two hundred by Egypt; one hundred and fifty by Cyprus; by Cilicia one hundred; Pamphylia thirty; Lycia fifty; Caria seventy; by the Dorian Greeks of Asia thirty; one hundred by the Ionians; sixty by the Æolians; seventeen by the islands, and by the Hellespontine towns one hundred. The average complement of men to each trireme galley he reckons at two hundred. The crews of the whole fleet would thus amount to two hundred and forty one thousand four hundred. But over and above the ordinary crew there were thirty Persians or Medes or Sacians in each galley. These would make an addition of thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten men. The Phenician ships, he says, were the best sailers, and among those the Sidonian excelled. Beside these, the transports, some for infantry, some particularly fitted for cavalry, storeships, some of great burthen, together with smaller vessels of various sorts and for various purposes attending the fleet, would not easily be numbered. He reckons them, by a gross calculation, at three thousand, and their average crews at eighty men: the amount of their crews would thus be two hundred and forty thousand; and the number of men in the fleet, all together, five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten.

Of this extraordinary expedition naturally many anecdotes would be remembered and propagated; many true, many false, mistaken, or exaggerated. Among those related by Herodotus, some appear perfectly probable, some concern circumstances of which he could hardly have had authentic

information, and some are utterly inconsistent with the characters to whom they refer. Among the latter I should reckon the ridiculous punishment of the Hellespont by stripes and chains, together with executions, equally impolitic as inhuman, and repugnant to what we learn, on best authority, of the manners of the Persians. But the account which that historian gives of the march of the army, and of the attending motions of the fleet, is clear and consistent beyond what might be expected. The march was continued from Doriscus in three columns.

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 35. & 39.

One, under Mardonius and Masistes, kept along the coast, the fleet nearly accompanying. Another, under Tritantæchmes and Gergis, proceeded far within land. Xerxes himself led the third between the other two, Smordomenes and Megabyzus commanding under him. These passed the Samothracian towns, the most westerly of which was Mesambria on the river Lissus, on

l. 7. c. 121.

l. 7. c. 108.  
& seq.

whose opposite bank was Stryma, a town belonging to the islanders of Thasos. This river did not suffice for the consumption of the army. Maronæa, Dicæa, Abdera, Grecian colonies, lay next on the road. Everywhere the commands to prepare for the reception of the monarch and his forces had been zealously executed. Beside

l. 7. c. 118.  
& seq.

vast magazines of corn, meat, and forage for the troops, many of the cities, emulous to court favour, or anxious to avert wrath, had prepared, with a sumptuousness proportioned to their hopes and fears rather than to their revenues, for the entertainment of the king and his court. Wherever the halt of the royal train had been announced a superb pavilion was erected, adorned with the most costly furniture. Many cities provided even vessels of gold and silver for the table. The rapacious attendants of the Persian court spared nothing; in the morning, when the army marched,

all was carried off. This eastern style of robbery gave occasion for a saying of Megacreon of Abdera, which Herodotus has recorded as having become popular, "That the Abderites ought to go with their wives in procession to their temples, and pray to the gods always equally to avert half the evils that threatened: for upon the present occasion their most grateful thanks were due for the favour shown in disposing Xerxes to eat but once a day: since, if he had chosen to dine on the morrow as he had supped over night, there would have been an end of Abdera."

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 108. & 110.  
Diod. Sic.  
1. 11. c. 3.

Not contented with their forces, already innumerable, the Persians continued everywhere on their march to press men. The youth, equally Grecian and Thracian, were compelled to join either the army or the navy. Yet, according to Herodotus, the Thracians preserved such veneration for the soil which this enormous armament had trodden, that to his time they avoided breaking or sowing it. He does not account for this particularity; but perhaps the Persians favoured the Thracians against the Greeks; all whose establishments on that coast were encroachments upon Thracian ground. From Abdera the division under Xerxes proceeded to Eion (a Grecian town on the river Strymon, with a Persian garrison, established there by Darius), and thence by Argilus and Stagirus to Acanthus, all Grecian settlements. In the neighbourhood of Acanthus the three divisions met: and there Artachæas, a Persian of high rank, related to the royal family, and in great favour with Xerxes, died. The few words in which Herodotus describes his funeral contribute to show the extensiveness, and to connect from remotest antiquity the history, of those artificial mounts, numerous in our own country as in many other parts of the world. The whole army, he says, heaped the mount which formed

the sepulchral monument of Artachæas.<sup>4</sup> After this solemn ceremony the march was continued westward, with the country called Chalcidice, full of Grecian settlements, on the left. The fleet, which had met the army at Acanthus, proceeded thence through the canal of Athos, and round the peninsulas of Sithonia and Pallene, into the bay of Therme; pressing ships and seamen at all the Grecian towns on the coast. The army, arriving soon after, occupied with its encampment the whole extent of the Macedonian shore, from Therme and the borders of Mygdonia, to the river Haliacmon near the borders of Thessaly.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. 1. 7. c. 117. Homer gives a corresponding description of the sepulchral barrow raised by the Grecian army under Agamemnon in honour of the heroes who fell before Troy.

Ἄμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον  
 Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητᾶων,  
 Ἄκτῃ ἐπὶ προύχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατῦ Ἑλλησπόντῳ  
 Ὡς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη  
 Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἴσονται.

Odys. 1. xxiv. v. 80.

Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround  
 The destined tomb, and cast a mighty mound;  
 High on the shore the growing hill we raise,  
 That wide th' extended Hellespont surveys:  
 Where all, from age to age, who pass the coast,  
 May point Achilles' tomb . . . .

Pope's Odys. b. xxiv. v. 104.

The concluding words of the line, "and hail the mighty ghost," are an addition of the translator, not warranted by Homer, in this or any other passage of his works.

The custom of forming these sepulchral barrows, long lost over the greater part of Europe, is yet preserved in Spain. "By the road side," says Townsend, "are seen wooden crosses, to mark the spot where some unhappy traveller lost his life. The passengers think it a work of piety to cast a stone upon the monumental heap.—Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it is general over Spain."—Journey through Spain, vol. 1. p. 200.

## SECTION II.

*State of Greece at the Time of the Invasion under Xerxes. — Themistocles. — Responses of the Delphian Oracle concerning the Invasion. — Measures for forming a Confederacy of Grecian Commonwealths. — Disunion among the Greeks. — Assembly of Deputies from the confederated Commonwealths at Corinth. — The Defence of Thessaly given up by the Confederates. — Measures for defending the Pass of Thermopylæ.*

THE Greeks had long had intelligence of the immense preparations making in Asia; professedly for the punishment of Athens, but evidently enough with more extensive views of conquest. Yet still, as on the former invasion, no measures were concerted for the general defence of the country. On the contrary, many of the small republics readily and even zealously made the demanded acknowledgment of subjection to the great king by the delivery of earth and water.<sup>5</sup> Nor will this appear strange to those who read the honest historian of the age, and consider the real state of things in the country, however it may militate with later declamation on Grecian patriotism and love of liberty.<sup>6</sup> For it was surely no unreasonable

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Οὔτε βουλομένοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, Μηδίζονταν δὲ προθύμως.\* This is in a great degree confirmed by Thucydides :— Σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι † : and still more by Plato :— Πολλὰ δὲ λέγων ἂν τις τὰ τότε γινόμενα περὶ ἐκείνον τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς εὐσχήμονα ἂν κατηγοροῖ· οὐδ' αὖ ἀμύνασθαι τήν γε Ἑλλάδα λέγων, ὁρθῶς ἂν λέγοι· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Δακεδαιμονίων κοινῆ διανόημα ἤμυνε τὴν ἐπιούσαν δουλείαν, σχεδὸν ἂν ἤδη πάντ' ἦν μεμιγμένα, κ. τ. λ. †

<sup>6</sup> That declamation had its origin in Greece when Grecian liberty was in decay, but has been mostly produced under the pressure of the imperial despotism of Rome; when men, not daring to speak directly of the government under which they lived, enjoyed a weak revenge in reviling it obliquely, or in obliquely exciting opposition to it, through immoderate eulogy of times past. Thus we have seen, in modern Europe, people denied the liberty of speak-

\* Herod. l. 7. c. 138.

† Thucyd. l. 3. c. 56.

‡ Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 692. t. 2.



opinion, held by many, that the might of Persia was irresistible.<sup>7</sup> All the Asian Greeks had formerly in vain attempted to defend themselves against the very inferior potentate of Lydia; and, when reduced, scarcely found themselves losers, but on the contrary seem to have been in many points gainers by their subjection. But now that immense power which had not only swallowed up the Lydian monarchy with all its appendages, but was already far advanced into Europe, and to a land force that could not be numbered added by far the greatest naval strength, collected from various subject states, that had ever been seen in the world, how was it to be resisted by a few little republics, whose territories together were comparatively but a spot, and which were nevertheless incapable of any firm political union among one another? Quiet men would naturally think it wisely done to merit favour by early submission; and the ambitious might hope that their field would even be extended through the establishment of the Persian dominion in Greece. Some, perhaps not unreasonably, would prefer subjection under the Persian empire to submission under the domineering spirit of the Spartan oligarchy<sup>8</sup>, while the more oppressive tyranny of the Athenian democracy had yet little shown itself. Some might even wish for a superintending authority to repress those often horrid violences of domestic faction by which almost every Grecian city was unceasingly torn. Those therefore who had given the demanded earth and water rested satisfied in the confidence that they should suffer no

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ing concerning the government of their own country, with eager zeal take an interest in English and American politics.

This was written while the perhaps ill-undertaken, certainly ill-managed, war between England and its American colonies was going forward.

<sup>7</sup> Even Isocrates admits this as a sufficient apology for the smaller Grecian states:—*Ἡγούντο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλιων προσήκων ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν.* Panegy. p. 226. t. 1. ed. Auger.

<sup>8</sup> See the Panathenaic of Isocrates.

greater than former evils; those who had refused were in very great alarm.<sup>9</sup> “And here,” says Herodotus, “I am driven of necessity to profess an opinion, invidious I know to most men, which yet, as I think it the truth, I shall not withhold. If the Athenians, in dread of the approaching danger, had either fled their country, or surrendered themselves, not even an attempt could have been made to oppose the enemy by sea. What then would have followed may be easily conceived. The fortified lines proposed by the Peloponnesians across the Corinthian isthmus would have been nugatory. For the Persian, having it in his choice where to make his attack by sea, would have subdued the several states one by one; and the Lacedæmonians at last, reduced to their single strength, would have had no alternative but to die gloriously, or submit to a power which they could no longer withstand; so that all Greece must inevitably have fallen under the Persian yoke. Whoever therefore shall say that the Athenians preserved Greece, will not err from the truth: for, to whichever party they joined themselves, that would preponderate. Their resolution then being decided by their zeal for Grecian independency, **THEY** excited to energy those Grecian states which had not yet submitted to Persia; and **THEY**, next under the gods, repelled the invasion.”

This testimony in favour of Athens appears upon the whole not less true than honourable. The business of history however being neither panegyric nor satire, but to form a just estimate of the conduct and characters of men, it will be proper, having adverted to the circumstances which might apologise for those Greeks who yielded on the first summons, to advert also to the circumstances which led the Athenians

<sup>9</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτίαν, δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδαρ, εἴχον θάλασσαν ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως· οἱ δὲ, οὐ δόντες, ἐν δειματι μεγάλῳ κατίστασαν. Herod. 1. 7. c. 138.

to such determined and animated opposition to the Persian power. Nor is the investigation difficult. The burning of Sardis first, then their treatment of the Persian heralds, and finally their victory at Marathon, had made the Athenians so peculiarly obnoxious that, in submitting, they could little hope for favourable terms. Though moreover Hippias was now dead, yet the Pisistratidean party still existed, and the court of the satrap of Sardis was the common resort of Grecian refugees; of whom some, richer or more aspiring, or of rank to introduce them to consideration, carried their intrigues as far as the monarch's court at Susa. Among these Herodotus names some Thessalian princes, Herodot. 1. 7. c. 5. & 6. some of the Pisistratidæ, and more particularly Demaratus, the banished king of Sparta, who had received a most liberal provision from the generosity of the late Persian monarch, Darius. All would expect to profit from the success of the Persian arms in Greece, 1. 7. c. 104. to which indeed many looked as the only circumstance that could ever restore them to their country; while, on the contrary, those who now led the affairs of the Athenian commonwealth must, on that very account, expect from it the more inevitable and deeper ruin. But the glorious day of Marathon would naturally give new energy to every Athenian mind. Extraordinary success easily excites among a people the presumption that nothing is too arduous for them. Now also, as on the invasion under Datis, there arose among the Athenians a leader born for the occasion. Themistocles was a man of birth less illustrious than Corn. Nep. & Plutarch. vit. Themist. those who had hitherto generally swayed the Athenian counsels; but whom very extraordinary talents, joined with a general vehemence of temper, and a singular enthusiasm for glory, could not fail of raising, in Herodot. 1. 7. c. 143. a popular government; to the highest political eminence. We have observed how the war with the little island of

Ægina had contributed to the former spirited opposition of Athens to Persia. It is the remark of Herodotus that, upon the present occasion also, Greece owed its preservation to that war; for it was that war which first

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 144. Plut.  
vit. Themist.

obliged the Athenians to raise a marine. At

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 14.

Laurium, in Attica, was a very productive silver mine, public property. But it had been determined, in the true spirit of democracy, that, as the treasury was rich, the revenue from the mine, instead of being reserved for public service, should be divided among all the Athenian people for their private use. That enthusiastic ardour for a great object which, when genius feels, it can communicate, Themistocles communicated among the Athenian youth. While their minds were generally exasperated against the Æginetans he procured a decree, which the graver and more experienced leading men dared not even propose, that no dividend should be made of the income from the mines till it had provided for the building of two hundred trireme galleys. The threatened invasion from the East had stopped the Æginetan war, and the galleys were now complete.

What Herodotus relates concerning the consultation of the Delphian oracle in this tremendous crisis tends much to mark the temper and character of the times, which modern language will more perfectly portray the more nearly it can

imitate the expression of the original. "Neither then," says the historian, continuing his panegyric of Athens, "did the alarming oracles from Delphi, however inspiring terror, persuade the Athenians to desert the cause of Greece. For persons deputed by public authority to consult the god<sup>10</sup>, having performed the prescribed ceremonies, entered the temple; and, as they sat by the shrine, the Pythoness, whose name was Aristonica," meaning *noble*

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 139. & seq.

<sup>10</sup> Θεοσκόποι is their Grecian title, for which modern speech cannot, without many words, give an equivalent phrase.

victory, perhaps a name given for the occasion, “ prophesied thus : Wretches, why sit ye there ? Leave your houses and the lofty ramparts of your city, and fly to the farthest parts of the earth. For not the head shall remain firm, nor the body, nor the extreme feet ; not therefore the hands, nor shall aught of the middle remain, but all shall pass unregarded. For fire and keen Mars, urging the Syrian chariots, shall destroy. Nor yours alone, but many other strong towers shall he overthrow. Many temples of the immortal gods shall he give to the consuming fire. Even now they stand dropping sweat, and shaking with terror. Black blood flows over their highest roofs, foreseeing the necessities of wretchedness. Depart therefore from the sanctuary, and diffuse the mind in evils.” The Athenian deputies were thrown into the deepest consternation. Consulting with Timon son of Androbulus, one of the principal Delphian citizens, he advised them to take the symbols of suppliants, and go again to the oracle. They did so, and addressed the shrine thus : “ O sovereign power, prophesy to us more propitiously for our country, regarding these suppliant tokens which we bear ; or we will not depart from the sanctuary, but remain here even until we die.” The prophetess answered : “ Minerva is unable to appease Olympian Jupiter, though entreating with many words and deep wisdom. Again therefore I speak in adamantine terms. All else, within Cecropian bounds and the recesses of divine Cithæron, shall fall. The wooden wall alone Jupiter grants to Minerva to remain inexpugnable, a refuge to you and your children. Wait not therefore the approach of horse or foot, an immense army, coming from the continent ; but retreat, turning the back, even though they be close upon you. O divine Salamis ! thou shalt lose the sons of women, whether Ceres be scattered or gathered !”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> These two oracles, though in verse in the original, fall remarkably into

“ Writing down this answer, which appeared milder than the former, the deputies returned to Athens. Various opinions were held among the Athenian elders about the meaning of words which interested them so deeply. Some thought they directed the defence of the citadel, which having been anciently surrounded by a palisade, might be intended by the term wooden wall. Others insisted that the wooden wall could mean nothing but the fleet, upon which alone therefore the oracle encouraged them to depend: yet this construction seemed overthrown by the concluding sentence, which the diviners deemed to portend that, if the fleet ventured a battle, it would be defeated off Salamis. They advised therefore by no means to risk any kind or degree of engagement, but to make use of the fleet for quitting, with their families and effects, a country which they could not defend, and to seek a settlement elsewhere.”

It was not likely that the prudent managers of the Delphian oracle would prophesy any thing very favourable to Athens, so peculiarly devoted to Persian vengeance, when the innumerable forces of that mighty empire were already assembled at Sardis, while the little country of Greece was so unprepared and so disunited. Yet the consultation was probably a necessary compliance with popular prejudice; and it depended then upon genius to interpret the response advantageously, after having perhaps suggested what might bear an advantageous interpretation. Themistocles was not at a loss upon the occasion. “ There was one emphatical word,” he said, “ which clearly proved the interpretation of the diviners to be wrong. For, had

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English almost word for word; even the ambiguous expressions almost exactly corresponding in the two languages. It is not every oracle, reported by Greek authors, that can be thus literally rendered, or even rendered at all, in another language, if indeed they bear any certain sense in the original. It has therefore been a prudent practice of translators to give their representations of them in verse.

the last sentence been meant unfavourably to the Athenians, the oracle would scarcely have used the expression, ‘O divine Salamis,’ but rather, ‘O wretched Salamis.’ Defeat at sea therefore was portended not to them but to their enemies: the wooden wall unquestionably meant their fleet; and a naval action must save the country.” The Athenian multitude was predisposed to the character and sentiments of Themistocles. It was determined, in pursuance of his opinion, to put the whole strength of the commonwealth to the navy, to increase the number of ships to the utmost possible, and, together with such other Greeks as could be persuaded to join them, to meet the enemy at sea.

Then at length measures were taken for forming a league among those Grecian states which, according to the historian’s expression, were disposed the better.<sup>12</sup> It was presently agreed that all enmities among themselves should cease: for many yet existed, and principally between Athens and Ægina. Information came that Xerxes was arrived at Sardis. Besides that his court was a common resort for refugee Greeks, many of his Ionian and Æolian subjects would be constantly about it, though probably very few ever near his person. Means however were thus open for Greeks to pass with little suspicion, and easily to acquire information concerning all public transactions of the Persian government. To ascertain report, and pry if possible more deeply into things, some confidential persons were sent to Sardis. They were apprehended as spies, and condemned to death: but, the circumstances being reported to Xerxes, that prince, disapproving the rigid caution of his officers, directed that the spies should be carried round the whole army, and, after

Herodot. *ibid.*  
& Plut. *vit.*  
Themist.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 146, 147.  
Polyæn.  
Strateg. 1. 7.  
c. 15.  
Plutarch.  
Apophth.

<sup>12</sup> Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων. Herodot. 1. 7. c. 145.

seeing every thing, dismissed with passports to go where they pleased. Some ships about the same time, carrying corn from the Euxine for Ægina and Peloponnesus, were stopped by the Persian officers in the Hellespont. Xerxes directed that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage: "For we are going to the same country," he said, "and the corn may be useful to us." The appearance of magnanimity in this conduct is lessened by the immensity of the Persian armament, seemingly far over-proportioned to its object; yet upon the whole the anecdotes are not unworthy of the son of Darius, and grandson of Cyrus. Analogous transactions may have happened among other

Polyb. 1. 15.  
p. 695. Liv.  
1. 30. c. 29.  
Frontin. 1. 4.  
c. 7.

people in other ages: a story similar to the former is related in Roman history. But in justice to

Xerxes it ought not to be forgotten that he stands first on record for this treatment, generous at least, if we refuse to call it magnanimous, of enemies whose lives were forfeited by the law of nations of all ages.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 145.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 14.

The principal Grecian states, whose resolutions remained yet doubtful, were Argos, Corcyra,

Syracuse, and the Cretan cities. Ministers were sent to all, urging them to an alliance against Persia. Argos had not, with the power, lost all the pride of her ancient

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 76. & seq.

pre-eminence among the Grecian states. Weak still from slaughter in battle and the massacre

which followed in the invasion under Cleomenes, nourishing, since those events, an increased animosity against Lacedæmon, and fearing worse oppression from neighbouring Greeks than from the distant Persian,

1. 7. c. 148.  
& Isocrat.  
Panathen.

the Argives applied to the Delphian oracle for advice, or perhaps negotiated for sanction to resolutions

already taken. The response, evidently composed

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 148. & seq.

by a friend to the Argives, appears, as far as it

can be understood, to favour their ancient pretension to



superiority over all other Grecian states, and at the same time to direct them to enter into no league for common defence, but merely to provide for their own security. They nevertheless received the ministers of the confederates with great civility; and having, in the oracular response, an excuse, which Grecian religion could not dispute, for refusing, if they chose it, to engage in any league, they endeavoured to profit from the pressing necessity of the occasion for procuring advantageous terms as the price of their assistance. They required, first, that the Lacedæmonians should bind themselves to maintain peace with them for thirty years; and then they said that, though command among the Grecian states justly belonged to Argos, yet they would be contented to share it equally with Sparta. The Lacedæmonian deputies hesitated, and gave an unsatisfactory answer. The Argives then closed the conference with declaring, "That the Spartan arrogance was intolerable; they would rather be commanded by the barbarians than subject to Lacedæmon;" and they ordered the ministers to leave the Argive territory before sunset on pain of being treated as enemies. This, says Herodotus, is what the Argives themselves say about these matters. Other reports less favourable to them were current in Greece. But after an account of these the historian adds: "I do not undertake to vouch for these stories, nor for any thing relating to the business, farther than credit is due to what the Argives themselves say. But this I know, that if all men were to bring their domestic disgraces together, for the purpose of exchanging with their neighbours, they would no sooner have inspected those of others than all would most willingly take back their own. Thus neither upon this occasion was the conduct of the Argives the most shameful."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The testimony of Plato to the justice of this assertion (*De Leg.* l. 3. p. 692. t. 2.) may suffice to turn upon Plutarch himself that charge of malignity which he has urged against Herodotus.

The ministers of the confederates were not more successful in Crete. Herodotus, from whom alone we have any detail of the political affairs of these times, was too nearly contemporary to be wholly unbiassed by the interest which persons yet living would have in the credit of the principal actors. He makes a handsome apology for the refusal of the Cretans to join in the confederacy. They were desirous, he says, of taking their share in the common defence of Greece, but an oracle forbade them.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 169.

In regard to the Corcyræans he has not been scrupulous: he plainly accuses them of scandalous treachery to the Grecian cause, after having engaged to support it. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, was a very powerful prince, and his alliance would have been a great acquisition. But difficulties arose in accommodating his pretensions to command with those of the leading states of Greece. Partly absurd pride, partly perhaps a reasonable jealousy, prevented them from immediately acceding to his terms; and shortly the invasion of Sicily by a Carthaginian army made his whole force necessary at home.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 153. & seq.

Corinth was the place appointed for the meeting of deputies from the confederated states to consult about the conduct of the war. None among the Grecian people had been more forward to join the confederacy than the Thessalians. Intelligence arrived that the Persian army had crossed the Hellespont and was directing its march westward. This decided that Thessaly was the frontier to be first attacked. The Thessalians reasonably expected that a force would immediately be assembled, competent, as far as the strength of Greece might admit, for the defence of the passes into their country, by nature very strong. Alarmed to find no measures taken for that purpose, they hastened a remonstrance to Corinth, urging that the strength of their province

alone was utterly unequal to oppose the prodigious army coming against them; that it ought not to be expected they should sacrifice themselves with their families, for the sake of people who would not stir to assist them; that a powerful body must therefore, without delay, join them from the southern states; otherwise, however unwilling, they must necessarily endeavour to make terms with the enemy. This reasonable remonstrance roused the sluggish and hesitating counsels of the confederacy. A body of foot was embarked under the command of Evanætus a Lacedæmonian and Themistocles the Athenian.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 175. Diod.  
Sic. 1. 11.  
c. 2.

They proceeded through the Euripus to Allus, a port of Thessalian Achaia; and then, marching across the country, occupied the valley of Tempe between the mountains Olympus and Ossa, the only pass from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly. The infantry, from different states, amounted to ten thousand men. Thessaly was the only province of Greece that possessed any considerable strength of cavalry. The whole of the Thessalian horse joined the confederate infantry, and together they made a force competent to defend the pass against any numbers.

But the Grecian army had not been many days encamped in Tempe when confidential messengers arrived from Alexander son of Amyntas, a Macedonian man, as Herodotus in the simple language of his age calls him, though heir apparent of the kingdom of Macedonia through a long race of ancestors of acknowledged descent from Hercules. The Macedonians represented that the invader's force by land and sea was immense: that there was another way into Thessaly, practicable for an army, from Upper Macedonia through Perrhæbia, to the town of Gonnus, so that, in their station in Tempe, they might be taken in the rear<sup>14</sup>;

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 175.

<sup>14</sup> Our geographical information concerning this country, though much improved of very late years, is still very deficient. The able and indefatigable

and if they would avoid being trodden under foot by their enemies, they would do well to retreat in time. It was not probably unknown to the commanders of the republican forces that a party among the Thessalians was disposed to the Persian interest. As the Persian army advanced, that party would be likely to gain strength. The Macedonian prince's information being altogether highly alarming, and his advice clearly reasonable, they embarked their troops again, and returned to the Corinthian isthmus. Then presently the Persian became the ruling party in Thessaly, and profession of submission was hastened to the Persian monarch. The following conduct of the Thessalians justified the measure of the commanders of the forces of the confederated republics.<sup>15</sup>

The Grecian confederacy, which remained to resist the whole force of the Persian empire, now consisted of a few little states, whose united territories did not equal single provinces of France, and the sum of whose population in free subjects was considerably inferior to that of Yorkshire in England. Nor was there, even among these, either a just unanimity or any established mode of general administration which could command the constant and regular exertion of united strength; which might have repressed the disaffected party among the Thessalians, and obviating thus the necessity for the precipitate retreat from Tempe, might have delayed,

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D'Anville seems to have been able to procure none of any value. His map, to which, in the want of another guide of any comparable reputation, I trusted for the former editions, is grossly incorrect. Some better information has been obtained through recent travellers, from which Barthelemi has profited. But since his work came out the modern geography of the countries round the Ægean has been very superiorly given, in a map compiled by De la Rochette, and published by Faden. With its assistance I have ventured to give the explanation in the text of a passage of Herodotus, in itself so far from clear that translators and commentators, would they own the difficulty, might be excused their misconception of it.

<sup>15</sup> Ἐμῆδισαν προθύμως, οὐδέ τι ἰνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρῆγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἰόντες χρησιμώτατοι. Herod. l. 7. c. 174.

or rendered very hazardous, the march of the Persian multitude over the rough country northward of the Thessalian plain.

The valuable assistance of Thessaly being lost, the consolation remained for the congress at Corinth, that, as their defence was now narrowed, their strength, such as it was, would be less divided; the fleet might more certainly cooperate with the army, and if the attack was to begin nearer the centre of the confederacy, the pressure itself of danger might enforce that union in council without which all defence would be hopeless. The nature of their country, and of its surrounding seas, was a farther encouragement: the one everywhere mountainous, the other broken with innumerable islands and headlands, and subject to sudden storms, both were peculiarly favourable for defensive operations. The southern boundary of Thessaly, which now became their frontier, was advantageous beyond the rest. The ridge of *Æta*, which forms it, extends from sea to sea; Strab. l. 9. p. 418. & 428, 429. everywhere impracticable for an army, or so nearly so, that the smallest force might advantageously oppose the greatest. This ridge is crossed, nearly at right angles, by another scarcely less formidable; which, rising immediately from the Corinthian isthmus, stretches northward, l. 9. p. 418. 428, 429. & p. 434. under various names, *Helicon*, *Parnassus*, *Pindus*, and, still in a northerly direction, shoots beyond Grecian bounds far among the barbarous nations. To enter Attica and Peloponnesus therefore from Thessaly by the western side of the country, first *Pindus*, then *Æta*, then *Parnassus*, must be surmounted; on the eastern, *Æta* alone. But here was only one pass practicable for an army, where the ridge, at its eastern extremity, meets the sea. This was termed "the Gate;" a term of precisely the same import in the common speech of many parts of England. In Herodot. l. 7. c. 176. former ages the *Phocians*, on the south of the

mountains, to prevent predatory incursions upon their lands from the Thessalians, who lived on the northern side, had occupied the commanding fastnesses, and established a garrison there. Across the middle of the narrow, where was a width of about fifty feet nearly level, they had erected a wall; and to strengthen the defence, they formed, on the Thessalian side, an inundation from some hot springs, which rose near the foot of a mountain. Hence the place became distinguished from other mountain passes by the name of Thermopylæ, Hot-gates; but Pylæ, simply the Gates, as the most important pass of the kind within their country, remained always among them the ordinary appellation. A little northward of Thermopylæ the mountains so closed, and again, a little southward, they so pressed upon the sea, as barely to admit the passage of a single carriage. Nothing could be more commodious than this spot for the small force of the Greeks to make a stand against the immense army of Persia. It had the farther extraordinary advantage that, near at hand, and within ready communication, was a secure road for a fleet; so landlocked as to favour that also against superior numbers, yet affording means of retreat. Hither it was determined to send the whole naval force that could be collected, together with a body of troops sufficient to defend the pass.

But in the conduct even of this business the union of the confederated states was grossly defective. Jealous of one another, destitute of any sufficient power extending over the whole, and fearing, not unreasonably, the naval superiority of the enemy, which would enable him to choose where, when, and how he would make his attacks, each little republic seems to have been anxious to reserve its strength

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 206.

for future contingencies. Even Lacedæmon again, as in the former war, pretended religion as a hinderance. The festival called Carnia was to be celebrated,

immediately after which the whole force of the state should march against the enemy. Most of the Peloponnesian cities made similar excuses; and where no peculiar religious ceremony could be pleaded, the Olympian festival, whose period coincided with these events, was a common excuse for all who desired one. Lacedæmon therefore sent only three hundred men; Corinth four hundred; Phlius two hundred; Mycenæ (at this time, though an inconsiderable town, yet independent of Argos) sent eighty men. The mountainer of Arcadia alone, less versed in the wiles of politics, and unable to estimate the danger to be expected from naval operations, honestly exerted their strength in the common cause. The cities of Tegea and Mantinea sent each five hundred soldiers: the other towns made the whole number of Arcadians two thousand one hundred and twenty. To these the little city of Thespiæ in Bœotia added no less than seven hundred: Thebes, far more powerful, but ill affected to the cause, gave only four hundred. The whole strength of Athens went to the naval armament. The other provinces without Peloponnesus had no large towns, and their inhabitants, less civilised, were little politically connected with the southern states.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 202.  
Pausan. 1. 10.  
c. 20.

The assembly at Corinth however was not wanting either in industry or ingenuity to persuade and encourage those nearest to the point of attack to use their utmost exertion against the invader. Ministers were sent through the towns and villages:—"The force now marching for their protection," it was asserted, "was only the advanced guard of a powerful army, expected every day. That excessive fear of the Persian power," it was added, "which had so pervaded Greece, was absurd. From the sea there was no cause for apprehension. The Athenians, Æginetans, and others who composed the allied fleet, were fully equal to the defence of the country on that side. Nor was it a god that

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 203.

was coming against them, but a man; and there neither was, nor ever would be, a mortal, in whose lot, from his very birth, evil was not mingled, and most in that of those of highest station. In the common course of things therefore their invader, a mere mortal, would be disappointed of his hope." Hearing these things, continues the historian, whose original and almost contemporary pencil gives us the very lineaments of the age, the Opuntian Locrians marched with their whole force, and the Phocians sent a thousand men. Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, commanded in chief.

### SECTION III.

*Station of the Grecian Army at Thermopylæ; of the Fleet at Artemisium. — Responses of the Delphian Oracle. — Progress of the Persian Fleet to Sepias; of the Army to Thermopylæ. — Numbers of the Persian Forces. — Storm and Shipwreck at Sepias. — Battle of Thermopylæ.*

Ol. 74. 4.  
75. 1. B. C.  
480.

XERXES halted several days at Therme, to refresh his troops, to acquire intelligence, and to collect guides capable of conducting his multitudes through the difficult country which he was approaching. It was determined to proceed by Upper Macedonia into Thessaly; that road being more favourable than the shorter way by the valley of Tempe. The fleet, no such circuitous course being required for it, waited in the bay of Therme eleven days after the army had recommenced its march.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 127, 128.  
& 131.

Summer was already advanced when intelligence reached the assembly at Corinth that Xerxes was arrived in Pieria. The forces under Leonidas then immediately marched to their station at Thermopylæ, and the fleet proceeded to the neighbouring road of Artemisium, on

1. 8. c. 12.  
1. 7. c. 177.



the Eubœan coast. Hence three galleys, one of Trœzen, one of Ægina, the third Athenian, were sent off the island of Sciathus to watch the motions of the enemy. Ten Persian galleys, also sent to explore, fell in with them. The Greeks immediately fled. The Trœzenian ship and the Æginetan were taken with their crews. The Athenian captain, running his galley ashore near the mouth of the Peneus, escaped by land with his people. The Persians took possession of the deserted vessel. Immediately signals by fire, from the heights of Sciathus, gave notice to the Greeks at Artemisium of the enemy's approach. So little firm then were the leaders yet in their councils, and so dreading the enemy's force<sup>16</sup>, that they immediately withdrew their fleet to Chalcis. Scouts were left on the heights at the north-western end of Eubœa, to watch the hostile fleet, and it became the purpose to wait attack in the narrow pass of the Euripus, where the enemy's great superiority in numbers would be less availing.

In this time of extreme difficulty and danger to the Greeks constant and equal prudence appears hardly anywhere but among the managers of the Delphian oracle. The Delphian citizens, dreading, like others, the approaching invasion, consulted their god. The response directed them to pray to the winds; for these might be powerful assistants to Greece. This divine admonition was communicated among the confederate Greeks, and most thankfully received.<sup>17</sup> Another response was reported directing the Athenians to invoke their son-in-law. According to ancient tradition, Boreas god of the north wind, coming from Thrace, perhaps really

<sup>16</sup> Καταβρώδησαντες is the strong expression of Herodotus. (l. 7. c. 182.) In another place he adds the corroborating adverb, δεινῶς.

<sup>17</sup> Καί σφι, δεινῶς καταβρώδέουσι τὸν βόρεαρον, ἕξαγγείλαντες, χάριν ἀθάνατος κατέθιντα. Herod. l. 7. c. 178.

a Thracian chief of that name, had married Orithyia daughter of Erechtheus king of Attica. The prayers of the Athenians were therefore particularly directed to the north wind, with some confidence, at least among the vulgar, that they were not without peculiar interest with that deity. Those indeed, who know the power of whistling, or of an eggshell, upon the minds of English seamen at this day, may imagine what the encouragement of the Delphian oracle to expect assistance from Boreas and their princess Orithyia might do among the Athenians. The event however which soon followed gave more solid ground of hope, and might naturally excite the recollection of the relation of Athens to the north wind, if it had not before been thought of.

The ten Persian galleys, after the capture of the Grecian vessels, proceeded in their business of exploring; but in passing between the island of Sciathus and the main three of them struck upon a rock called Myrmex. The fleet in the bay of Therme, upon intelligence from the exploring ships that the passage to the Grecian coast was clear of the enemy, and dangerous only from rocks, sent vessels with stone to erect a mark on the Myrmex, and Pammon, a Greek of the island of Scyros (for Herodotus has been careful to record the traitor's name) was engaged to pilot the fleet through the channel of Sciathus. Proceeding then from the bay of Therme, one day brought them to the bay between the town of Casthanæa and the foreland of Sepias on the Thessalian coast.

The army meanwhile had made its way through Upper Macedonia into Perrhæbia, and across Thessaly to the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, without opposition. Here Herodotus again enumerates the Persian forces by land and sea, with the addition acquired since the departure of the armament from Doriscus. This addition, he says, cannot be ascertained, but may be computed. The

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 183.

c. 184.

Greeks of Thrace and the adjacent islands furnished one hundred and twenty ships, whose crews would amount to about twenty-four thousand men. The land force, from the various people of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, he estimates at three hundred thousand. The number of fighting men in the whole armament, by sea and land, would thus be two million six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten. The attending multitude, he supposes, could not be fewer, but rather more. Reckoning them equal, the numbers under the command of Xerxes, which arrived without misfortune at Sepias and Thermopylæ, were five million two hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men, exclusive of women and eunuchs without number, and a vast train of incumbrances, little known to European armies, but which in all ages have attended the Asiatic. Whatever exaggeration may be in this account, more authentic information does not remain from later writers. Herodotus's detail of the nations from which the armament was collected, and of the measures taken to provide for its subsistence, defective as the latter is, afford the best of any existing means for forming some idea, if not of its numbers, yet of its immensity. Exactness we cannot have, nor any thing approaching it : but we have assurance that Asia has often sent forth armies which appear next to prodigious ; and every testimony makes it probable that the forces led by Xerxes against Greece were the most numerous ever assembled in the world.

The road of Casthanæa was open to the north and north-east winds ; and so little spacious that an eighth division only of the vast fleet of Persia could be moored in one line against the shore ; the other seven rode at anchor with their heads

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 188. & seq.  
Diod. Sic.  
1. 11. c. 12.  
About the  
middle of July.  
Dodwell.  
Annal.  
Thucyd.

toward the sea. Such a situation could never be safe for the ancient galleys, peculiarly fitted for a navigation where

want of sea-room makes a storm most dangerous to the stoutest vessel. The night after their arrival was calm: but in the morning the wind freshened from the north-east.<sup>18</sup> In those seas, where storms are often very sudden and always very dangerous, the seaman, unacquainted with those great principles of navigation which direct a vessel over the globe, but which, in his narrow sphere of action, would be useless, is yet singularly attentive in observation of the weather, and singularly acute in prognostication of it. As soon as it was perceived in the Persian fleet that a violent storm was approaching, the division of galleys, next the shore, was drawn upon the beach: the rest were to provide for their safety as they could. According to Herodotus they seem to have scattered to seek a port, or a safe and unoccupied beach, which to the ancients was a port. But the storm hastily grew excessive. Some of the vessels were stranded on the place: some were driven upon the Sepiad foreland; some against the cliffs of Pelion; some to the towns of Casthanæa and Melibœa. Three days the tempest lasted with unabated violence. The Persian commanders were in the utmost alarm; apprehensive not only for what might be lost, but also for what was yet unhurt on shore. The Thessalians were but very lately become friends and subjects: a reverse of fortune might shake their fidelity, and tempt them to hostilities. A rampart was therefore formed around the naval camp, chiefly from the ruins of the wrecked vessels.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus calls the wind Apeliotes, but he says the people of the country called it the Hellespontine wind. The apeliotes, according to Stuart's account of the tower of the winds, yet remaining at Athens, was the east. But the Hellespont lay nearly north-east from Sepias: and the effects of the storm described by Herodotus show that the wind must have been some degrees northward of the east. The accuracy however in stating winds, usual with our seamen, was not common among the ancients; nor is it at this day in the Mediterranean, where generally winds are still named from the countries whence they blow, without any very exact reference to the points of the compass. I have said thus much on a subject, in itself of little consequence, principally because I would not be thought to controvert the authority of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, or of Stuart's account of it.

The simplicity with which Herodotus details the actions of men often marks the genuine workings of human nature more faithfully as well as with more animation than the cautious and polished manner of writers of more artificial judgment. The dread which pervaded the Grecian fleet on the approach of the Persian armament may be imagined from the hasty, and apparently improvident, retreat from Artemisium; which must expose the land force at Thermopylæ to certain destruction, as the fleet alone could secure it from being taken in the rear. The joy at the view of the rising tempest, and the consequent confidence in divine favour, would be proportional. The Athenian seamen did not now forget the god of the Thracian wind with his Attic princess. Immediately they set with great earnestness to sacrifices and prayers, requesting those deities "to vindicate Attica, and bring destruction on the barbarian fleet, as they had formerly done at Athos." Whether this really induced Boreas to fall upon the barbarians, says Herodotus, I cannot undertake to say<sup>19</sup>: but the Athenians assert it, and in consequence they have built a temple to him on the bank of the Ilissus. Whether indeed Herodotus believed the oracular admonition to have been promulgated before the event appears dubious: his expressions imply suspicion. On the second day of the storm the destruction and distress produced in the Persian fleet became manifest to the Grecian scouts on the Euboic heights, and they hastened to Chalcis with the intelligence. Immediately public thanks were returned, and libations poured, to Neptune the deliverer: and, in confidence that now the Persian naval force would be no longer formidable, it was determined to re-occupy the former station at Artemisium.

The loss of the Persians was very great. It is not likely

<sup>19</sup> Εἰ μὲν γυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀσμίουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπίπτεσ οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. Herod. l. 7. c. 189.

that the Greeks would ever have any correct account of it ; but, according to the lowest report, four hundred galleys of war were sunk or destroyed. The loss of men could be computed only from that of vessels : and means were totally wanting to estimate the destruction of storeships and attending vessels. As soon as the weather was become moderate and the sea smooth, the Persian commanders, without waiting to collect the scattered remains of their fleet hastened to leave so dangerous a station : coasting Magnesia, they entered the Pegasæan gulf, known afterward by the name of the Pelasgian. Fifteen galleys, of those dispersed by the storm, following some days after, fell in with the Grecian fleet, which had resumed its station off Artemisium ; and, mistaking it for the Persian, all were taken. Among the prisoners were Sandoces governor of Cuma in Æolis, Aridolis tyrant of Alabandæ in Caria, and Penthylus commander of the squadron of Paphos in Cyprus. Of twelve galleys, which Paphos had furnished, the one only in which the commander was taken had survived the hurricane. This capture was very fortunate for the Greeks. Beside the loss to the enemy and the gain of so many ships of war to themselves, spirits were added to the multitude, and intelligence was acquired to the commanders. As soon as the prisoners had been examined before the principal officers of the fleet they were sent to the congress at Corinth.

The prospect of Grecian affairs was now brightened a little. If the fleet could oppose the enemy with but equal success, it might be hoped that the nature of the frontier would render defence against the prodigious numbers of his army at least possible. To the south of Thessaly, mount Ceta, as formerly observed, stretches across the country from sea to sea. North of Thermopylæ, and bordering upon the Malian bay, is a plain, in one part wide, in others very narrow, inclosed by high and impracticable

mountains called the Trachinian rocks. The Persian army, moving in three divisions from Upper Macedonia, crossed the mountains by the passes indicated to the Greeks by Alexander, and proceeding by Gonnus through Thessaly, to the valley and town of Anticyra, there again met the sea. Crossing then the river Sperchius, it entered the Malian plain, in the widest part of which, at the town of Trachis, the king fixed his headquarters. Southward of this town the river Asopus, after washing for some way the foot of the mountain, which is a branch of Cæta, enters a cleft of it, and the only road is by the course of that river. A little farther southward a small stream called the Phœnix, falling from the hills, meets the Asopus: and here masonry had been necessary to render the way passable for a single carriage.<sup>20</sup> The Asopus having made its course by the cleft through the mountain ridge, which is here narrow, enters a valley of some length, but little width, and presently discharges itself into the Malian bay. In this valley, on the bank of the Asopus, was the town of Anthela, with the temple of Ceres, the temple of Amphictyon, and the place of meeting of the Amphictyonic assembly. Thermopylæ was a little beyond them, and less than two English miles from the junction of the Asopus and Phœnix. The Persian monarch commanded all to the north of the mountains; the Greeks under Leonidas held the pass.

A prince like Xerxes, wholly unexperienced in war, might expect, as Herodotus says of him, that the force under his orders was capable of any thing against men, and almost against nature. According to that author he waited four days, in expectation that the Greeks would retreat from his

<sup>20</sup> That appears to be the sense of the phrase ἀμαξίτες γὰρ μίη μόνη δέδμηται. Herod. 1. 7. c. 200. The curious reader may consult Wesseling's note.

irresistible numbers, and leave him an uninterrupted passage.

Herodot. 1. 7. ]  
c. 207. And this, according to the same honest historian,

would actually have happened, but for the superior genius and unshaken courage of the Lacedæmonian king. It has been added, by later writers, that a herald was sent to Leonidas, commanding him, in the name of Xerxes, to come and deliver his arms; to which the Spartan prince

Plutarch.  
Apoph. Lac. answered, with Laconic brevity, "Come and take them." But among the Persian generals there

were probably men of experience and judgment, not incapable of informing their sovereign how useless his numbers would be in the pass of Thermopylæ. But numerous as the Greeks were under his command, information moreover might reach him of divisions among those who opposed him, and of a disposition of some to retire. He might also be told that the Spartan king boasted his descent from the hero Hercules, who is said to have ended his mortal life on mount Cæta, and to whom, as a god, an altar stood dedicated in the valley of Anthela: but such matters the Persians would not be likely much to regard; and of the superior talents of Leonidas, who had never yet had opportunity for making them conspicuous, they could have but little assurance.

The credit due then to Herodotus we continue to find very nearly proportioned to his probable means of information. When these were good he has seldom or never related absurd tales; when they have been deficient he has rarely scrupled to report any rumour. Information of public orders to the Persian army might reach him; but the actions, and still more the passions, of Xerxes upon his throne, which he has pretended to describe, would not be matters

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 210. of common notoriety. He may however have had

some authority for his report that on the fifth day after his arrival at Trachis, Xerxes commanded the Medes and Cissians of his army alone to go and bring the



Greeks, under Leonidas, alive into his presence. The attack, made in consequence, is likely to have been ineffectual enough to disgrace those troops, in some degree, in the eyes of their unexperienced sovereign. The Persian guards, called the immortal band, were next ordered to the assault. According to Herodotus the efforts of this band were very spirited; and he accounts very candidly for their want of success. Their short spears were inefficacious, and their numbers useless, against the longer weapons of the Greeks, and on ground so confined. Their attacks were however renewed and varied in all the ways that their leaders could devise. Numbers fell, and no impression was made. The report, which the historian adds, is likely enough to have become afterward popular in Greece, that the Persian monarch leaped thrice from his throne, as he anxiously viewed the conflict. From the description of the place however it seems impossible that his throne could have been within sight, and little likely that he should himself have seen the action. The immortal band, after having suffered severely, was at length recalled, and the Persian generals were greatly at a loss. The attempt was however renewed the next day, in the hope that wounds, and the fatigue of repeated action, might weary the scanty numbers of the Greeks, and oblige them to quit their advantageous ground. But the little army of Leonidas was equal to his purpose; his reliefs were judiciously managed, and the second day's attack was unavailing like the former.

Among the various advantages, beyond estimation, which the Persian monarch possessed over the little Grecian confederacy, may be reckoned the means, almost unbounded, of rewarding those who would serve him. The hope of profiting from these brought information of another pass over the mountain; circuitous indeed and

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 211.

c. 512.

c. 213.

difficult, but by which, after the fortifying of Thermopylæ, the Thessalians had sometimes invaded Phocis for plunder. In more settled times it had been neglected; but being not unknown among the neighbouring inhabitants, Leonidas had appointed the Phocians under his command to the guard of it. The path began at the cleft in the mountain through which the Asopus has its channel. Hence, by a winding course, it ascended a hill, distinguished, by the name of Anopæa, from the heights of Cæta on one side, and the Trachinian rocks on the other. Holding then for some space along the top of the ridge, it descended directly to Alpeni, the first town of Locris. A strong detachment, under the command of Hydarnes, marching about dusk, arrived, without opposition, by daybreak, near the summit of Anopæa, where the Phocian guard had its station. The oaks, with which the mountain was covered, had concealed the approach of the enemy.<sup>21</sup> The Phocians, whose discipline, in general, was probably less cultivated than that of Lacedæmon or Athens, had neglected the necessary precautions of advanced guards and out-sentries. They were first alarmed by the noise of a multitude of men treading among the fallen leaves; heard, as the weather was perfectly serene, at some distance. Immediately they ran to arms. But with the inconsiderateness of men surprised, imagining themselves the ultimate object of attack, instead of taking proper measures to fulfil the important purpose of their

<sup>21</sup> These mountains, according to all travellers, are now woodless. Nor has the destruction been a modern event: it is noticed by Statius, as in his time extensive in the Roman empire, and especially in Greece:

Nusquam umbræ veteres; minor Othrys, et ardua sidunt  
Taygeta; exuti viderunt aëra montes.

Jam natat omne nemus; cæduntur robora classi.

————— Ipsum jam puppibus æquor

Deficit, et totos consumunt carbasa ventos.

Stat. Achill. l. 1. v. 426.

post by preventing the passage of the enemy, they retreated on one side of the path to gain more advantageous ground for defence. The judicious Hydarnes, leaving them to their desired security, continued his march, and quickly descending the mountain, reached the plain unmolested.

The Persian army so abounded with Greeks, many involuntary pressed, that deserters would not be wanting, to inform Leonidas of whatever could be generally known in the enemy's camp. That very night intelligence came that a strong detachment was marched for

Herodot. l. 7. c. 219. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 8.

the mountains. Early in the morning the scouts of the army<sup>22</sup> arrived, with information that the enemy had already passed the Phocian guard, and were descending toward the plain.

Immediately a council of the Grecian commanders was held. Opinions were divided; some thinking it became them still to maintain

6th Aug. B. C. 480. Dodw. Ann. Thu.; but it may have been some days earlier.

their post; others, that the consequence of the attempt could be but a useless waste of lives, which ought by all means to be preserved for the future wants of their country.

The debate ended in a general resolution to retreat with all speed to their respective cities, the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians only remaining. Herodotus mentions it

Herodot. l. 7. c. 220.

as uncertain whether Leonidas dismissed the rest.

The Thespians alone appear to have resolved voluntarily to abide the event with him: the Thebans he would not suffer to depart; keeping them as hostages, on account of the known disaffection of their city to the Grecian cause.

Leonidas himself determined, upon this great occasion, to exhibit to the world a memorable example of obedience to that law of Sparta, which forbade, under what-

c. 104.

soever disadvantage, to fly from an enemy. Considering the disposition, so widely prevailing among the

<sup>22</sup> Οἱ ἡμέτεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων. Herodot. l. 7. c. 219.

Greeks, to fear the Persian power, and shrink before it, there appears not less true patriotic wisdom than admirable magnanimity in that prince's conduct. The oracular response from Delphi, said to have declared that either Sparta or its king must fall, adds nothing to its lustre. Upon fair historical testimony it has been fully equal to the warm and abundant eulogies which writers of various ages and nations have vied in bestowing upon it. Animated by his example, every Lacedæmonian and Thespian under his command was resolved to die; but to die gloriously for himself, and, as far as possible, usefully for his country. To be surrounded being now unavoidable, the object was no longer to guard the pass, but to choose the spot where, in sacrificing themselves, they might make the greatest destruction of the enemy. The narrow therefore, at the junction of the Phœnix and Asopus, was abandoned, and the little band was collected at the wall of Thermopylæ.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 223. & seq.

Before sunrise the whole Persian army was under arms, the king himself attending, in solemn pomp, to wait the appearance of the luminary above the horizon, for beginning the devotional ceremonies prescribed for that favourite hour of Persian religion. After these were concluded, the troops were dismissed to wait for orders. About the middle of the forenoon<sup>23</sup>, when it was supposed Hydarnes might be nearly arrived in the rear of the Greeks, a chosen body was commanded to the assault in front. Leonidas now gave a loose to the fury of men prepared for death. Advancing before the wall, he attacked the Persians in the wider part of the valley; and the Grecian long spears in the hands of practised men, protected by superior defensive armour, making great slaughter, caused such confusion that, through want of room for the ill-disciplined multitude,

<sup>23</sup> . . . χρόνον εις ἀγορῆς και μάλιστα πληθώραν. Herodot. 1. 7. c. 223

numbers were forced into the sea, and many expired under the pressure of their own people. Himself, fighting at the head of his band, fell early. The engagement was nevertheless continued, with advantage on the side of the Greeks, till Hydarnes came in sight in their rear. Then they retreated to the narrow at the wall. The Thebans used opportunity to beg mercy of the conquerors: but in the very act of surrendering, many, through the confusion, were killed: the rest were made prisoners. The surviving Lacedæmonians and Thespians gained a hillock, where they fought, surrounded, till all were slain.

Such is the account given by Herodotus of this extraordinary and celebrated action. The circumstances might come in a great degree authenticated to him through the Greeks who served with the Persians; and every anecdote that could be collected would be heard with eagerness, and preserved with care.<sup>24</sup> The names of all the three hundred Spartans were still upon record in the historian's time. Two of them survived the battle, having been accidentally absent; Aristodemus, who was, with the prince's leave, for the recovery of his health, at Alpeni; and Pantites, sent on public business into Thessaly. It being however reported at Lacedæmon that Eurytus, who had also had leave from Leonidas to remain at Alpeni on account of sickness, nevertheless joined on the day of battle, and fell with his comrades, and that Pantites might have so hastened his return as to have

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 229. & seq.

c. 224.

<sup>24</sup> Some seem to have been invented after the age of Herodotus, as the annotator Valckenarius has justly observed, n. 92. p. 609. of Wesseling's Herodotus. The report of Diodorus, followed by Plutarch, Justin, and others, that Leonidas with his Spartans attacked the Persian camp by night, and penetrated to the royal tent, is inconsistent with the other circumstances, whether of place or time; nor does it seem too much to say that it is an absurd fiction. Indeed, most of the tales, the omission of which by Herodotus has so much excited the indignation of Plutarch, appear fitter for poetry or romance than history.

shared in the glory of the day, both were dishonoured. Pantites, in consequence, strangled himself: but Aristodemus, with greater fortitude, supported life; and was happy enough, in the sequel, to find opportunity for distinguishing his courage in the cause of his country, so that his memory has been transmitted with honour to posterity. The body of the Spartan king, as the same historian affirms, being discovered among the heaps of slain, was, by order of Xerxes, beheaded, and the trunk ignominiously exposed on a cross: but this, he adds, was contrary to the general principles and practice of the Persians, who were accustomed, beyond all other people, to honour military merit, even in their enemies. This observation to the credit of the enemies, and in opposition to the prejudices of his country, proves not less the extensive information and just judgment than the candour of Herodotus; for every authentic account marks the Persians for a people of liberal sentiments and polished manners, beyond almost any other in all antiquity.

#### SECTION IV.

*Numbers of the Grecian Fleet. — Sea-fights off Artemisium. — Retreat of the Grecian Fleet. — March of the Persian Army toward Athens. — Attempt against Delphi.*

DURING this memorable scene at Thermopylæ the hostile fleets had met in the neighbouring channel. The Persians wanted to force the passage between Eubœa and the main, for the double purpose of a safer navigation than by the more open sea, and of attending more closely the motions of their army. The business therefore of the Grecian fleet, as Herodotus has observed, was like that of the army, to defend the strait. It consisted of two hundred and seventy-one trireme galleys, with a few of those

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 1.

smaller vessels called penteconters. The penteconter, the vessel of Homer's age, had, like the modern row-boat, only one tier of oars, and its complement of rowers was from fifty to sixty. The trireme, it is generally supposed, had three tier of oars; by which it gained that swiftness, so important in the ancient mode of naval action.<sup>25</sup>

Its ordinary complement of rowers was, at the time of which we are treating, from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and sixty; beside whom it commonly carried forty soldiers, and sometimes more; but, on emergencies, particularly when boarded, the whole crew acted with arms. Of the triremes, now in the Grecian fleet, no less than one hundred and twenty-seven were furnished by Athens, a very few years before unable to cope at sea with the inhabitants of the Æginetan rock; and more were still preparing in the Athenian ports. Forty were sent by Corinth; twenty by Megara: the Chalcidians of Eubœa manned twenty lent to them by the Athenians: Ægina sent eighteen; Sicyon twelve; Lacedæmon only ten; Epidaurus eight; Eretria seven; Trœzen five; and the islands of Styros and Ceos each two. The Plataæans, an inland people, unacquainted with naval business, but zealously attached to Athens, served, with their best ability, in the Athenian fleet. To these triremes the Opuntian Locrians added five penteconters, and the Ceans two.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 15. 1. 7.  
c. 184. & 1. 8.  
c. 130.

In an armament to which they contributed so much the largest proportion, the Athenians might seem justly to claim the chief command: yet, such was the reputation and influence which Lacedæmon held among the Greeks, the allies absolutely refused to serve under any but a Spartan commander. Eurybiades was therefore admiral of the fleet. Historians have, upon this occasion,

1. 8. c. 2. &  
seq.

<sup>25</sup> Some remarks on the ancient vessels of war will be found in an Appendix at the end of this chapter.

justly applauded the moderation of the Athenian leaders, who patiently acquiesced under this decision; and, superior to little punctilio, continued with unabated zeal to prosecute the great purposes of the common cause. But the Athenian counsels, at this time, were directed by a man who could conceal unbounded desire of glory under the appearance of modesty, and, with a temper as pliable as his genius was penetrating, weighing the necessities of the times, and foreseeing the opportunities of ambition, could not only accommodate himself to all seasons and circumstances, but had skill to lead the froward populace of Athens to submit their passions to his opinion. Herodotus relates an anecdote of him, too remarkable, whencesoever the information was derived, and too characteristical to be omitted.<sup>26</sup> The Persian fleet, collected after its late misfortune, was observed in the road of Aphetæ, at the mouth of the Pelasgian gulf, opposite Artemisium, at the distance of not more than ten miles from the station of the Grecian fleet, less diminished in force than had been hoped for. At the same time the whole neighbouring country was filled with the immense multitude of the military host. Alarm spread on all sides, and the contagion reached the commanders of the Grecian squadrons, insomuch that it was proposed to retreat, according to the historian's expression, to the interior seas of Greece.<sup>27</sup> The Eubœans, in the highest consternation, sent to Eurybiades, begging that the fleet might remain for their protection, till they could remove their families and most valuable effects. The admiral refused. The Eubœans then applied to the Athenian commander. Themistocles, whose

<sup>26</sup> The note 45. p. 621. of Wesseling's Herodotus may perhaps deserve the notice of the curious reader. Plutarch, who, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has expressed great indignation at this tale, has nevertheless, in his Life of Themistocles, related very nearly the same.

<sup>27</sup> Ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Herodot. l. 8. c. 4. Ἐΐσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Plut. vit. Themist.



opinion was before decided against retreat, told them that, though words could not persuade, gold might; and for thirty talents, something more than seven thousand pounds sterling, he would engage that the fleet should remain and fight the Persians. The money was presently paid into his hands. Five talents then brought over the commander-in-chief; and under his orders all the commanders of squadrons readily consented to remain, except Adimantus the Corinthian. "To him then," says Herodotus, "Themistocles swore, saying, 'Neither shalt thou leave us; for I will give thee more than the Persian king would send thee for deserting thy allies;'" and immediately ordered three talents to be conveyed to his ship. Fear of the accusation, or gratification with the present, prevailed; and thus, according to the historian, were the commanders bribed to the opinion of Themistocles, and to the protection of the Eubœans: the fleet, probably to the great advantage of the common cause, remained in its station.

Next morning at daybreak the Persian admirals moved. They had proposed immediately to attack Herodot. l. 8. c. 6. & 7. the Grecian fleet; but after approaching enough to observe how inferior it was to their own, they concluded that, if they should advance, the Greeks would certainly retreat, and, through their knowledge of the narrow seas behind them, would probably escape. On consultation it was therefore determined to send two hundred galleys round Eubœa, to take a station in the rear of the Greeks; the main body abstaining from attack, till it should be known by signals that the detached squadron was arrived at the station proposed.

During these transactions, Scyllias, a Greek of Scione, an expert diver, who, from having been c. 8. & seq. useful to the Persian commanders in recovering many things of value from the wreck of their lost ships, had been intro-

duced to means of information, deserted to the Greeks. He brought a more exact account of the actual strength of the enemy's fleet than had yet been obtained, and he gave intelligence of the squadron sent round Eubœa. A council of war was held; and, after much debate, it was determined that the whole fleet should weigh at midnight, and go against the detached squadron; in the just hope, that, taken separately, it might easily be overpowered. In the evening however having received no confirmation of the intelligence (for, to avoid observation, the enemy kept a considerable distance from the Eubœan coast), the Grecian commanders determined to try an attack upon the main body of the Persian fleet; or rather perhaps upon some part of it, toward evening, when daylight would not suffice for bringing the whole into action, and when, should they nevertheless be overpowered, night would favour their retreat. They founded hopes also on a friendly disposition in the Ionian commanders; of whom some were indeed well inclined to them, though others were eager to gain the Persian monarch's favour, and earn the rewards promised for zeal shown in his service. A sharp engagement ensued. If we may believe Herodotus, the Greeks took thirty galleys; though he says afterward that neither side could claim a victory. Among the prisoners however, made by the Greeks, was Philaon, brother of Gorgus prince of Salamis in Cyprus, a man of great estimation among the enemy's officers. Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, obtained the reward of valour for being the first who took a Persian galley. Antidorus of Lemnos, a Grecian captain in the Persian service, deserted with his ship to the confederate Greeks. The Athenian government afterward rewarded him with a grant of land in the island of Salamis. In the night the Greeks resumed their station at Artemisium; the Persians remained at Aphetæ.

The Grecian fleet had scarcely cast anchor when a storm arose, attended with heavy rain and violent thunder. The drift of the storm carried the wreck of the late engagement, and the floating bodies, among the Persian ships. Their cables were entangled, their oars impeded. Repeated flashes of lightning, amid extreme darkness, just served to discover the horrors of the scene, while the uncommon resonance of the thunder, among the neighbouring summits of Pelion, struck the seamen with the imagination that the gods themselves were thus loudly declaring their anger: a fancy likely enough to arise in the minds, at least, of the Grecian seamen in the Persian fleet, who, according to belief in their age, were making war, under foreign gods, against the gods of their mother-country. The detached squadron meanwhile, in the open sea, as it was there called where none was truly open sea, driving before the storm, and ignorant of their course, fell among the rocks of that peculiarly dangerous bay of the Eubœan coast called the Cœla.<sup>28</sup> All perished; "and thus," says Herodotus, "the deity interfered to reduce the Persian force more nearly to an equality with the Grecian."

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 12.

c. 13. & Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c. 13.

All the next day the Persians remained in their station; while a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian galleys joined the Grecian fleet, bringing with them the welcome news of the destruction of the enemy's squadron on the Euboic rocks. Thus encouraged, the Grecian commanders were the more intent upon watching opportunities for farther advantages. Means were observed for cutting off the Cilician squadron. The attempt was made in the evening, and succeeded; and in the night the fleet again resumed its station at Artemisium.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 14. & seq.

<sup>28</sup> "Sinus Euboicus, quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis." Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 31. c. 41. See note 78. p. 625. of Wesseling's Herodotus.

The Persian commanders, irritated by repeated insults from an enemy so inferior, and apprehensive of blame for remissness, determined on the following day to attack the Grecian fleet with their whole remaining force. About noon they advanced, formed in a semicircle, with a view to surround the enemy. The Greeks waited in their station, probably an advantageous one. The plan of attack of the Persians, if well conceived, appears to have been ill executed. Such a multitude of vessels indeed, manned with people of different nations and languages, who varied both in method and in degrees of skill, would be very liable to disorder in the tumult of battle. Even in approaching the enemy they crossed and fell against one another. The battle nevertheless was warmly maintained; the Egyptians distinguished themselves; they took five Grecian galleys, and more than half the Attic squadron was disabled. Apparently it was that part of the Grecian fleet the defeat of which the Persian commanders justly reckoned their most important object. Thus the opportunity was afforded for Clinias son of Alcibiades, grandfather of him who afterward raised the name of Alcibiades to historical fame, to distinguish himself in a galley which he commanded, built and manned at his own expense, whence the *Aristeia*, the usual honours for the first merit in the action, were decreed to him by the Athenian people. According to Herodotus, the Greeks remained masters of the wreck and of the dead: yet he acknowledges that they suffered greatly, and proceeds to give proof of it, reporting that, in a council of war, held immediately after the engagement, it was resolved to retreat farther on the coast of Greece. This measure was hastened by the arrival of Abronychus, an Athenian officer, who had been stationed with a light vessel at Thermopylæ for the purpose of communicating intelligence, bringing information of the circumvention of Leonidas and his party, and the

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 18. & 21.

retreat of the rest of the army. It was then resolved not to delay for a moment the retreat of the fleet. The whole moved in the accidental order of the instant; the Corinthians leading, the Athenians forming the rear.<sup>29</sup>

But Themistocles, ever fertile in expedients, conceived the idea of making even the flight of his fellow countrymen useful to his country. With some of the swiftest galleys of the squadron under his command, he went to the watering-places of the road of Artemisium, which he concluded the enemy for necessary supply would visit next day, and there on the rocks he wrote thus: "Men of Ionia, you do ill in making war upon your fathers, and helping to enslave Greece. Come therefore over to us; or, if that cannot be, remain neuter, and persuade the Carians to the same measure. But, if the necessity, which compels you to the part you are engaged in, is such as to make a secession impracticable, yet, when we come to action, avoid exertion against us; remembering that you are descended from one blood with us, and that the enmity of the Persians was first drawn upon us in your cause." I imagine, continues the historian, that Themistocles had two views in this. If the inscriptions should be observed only by the Greeks of the Persian fleet, he hoped that some might be persuaded by them; but if the matter should be reported to the Persian chiefs, the Ionians would become suspected, and perhaps might be excluded from the line of battle in future engagements.

The road of Artemisium was no sooner clear than a Greek of the neighbouring town of Histiaæ hastened in a light boat to the Persian fleet, to obtain the

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 19. & 22.  
Plutarch. vit.  
Themist.  
Justin. 1. 2.  
c. 12.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Later writers tell of Grecian victories off Artemisium utterly inconsistent with the events that followed; but Plato's slight mention of the actions there confirms Herodotus's account\*; and even Plutarch gives some degree of corresponding testimony. †

\* Plat. de Leg. 1. 4. p. 707. t. 2

† Vit. Themist.

reward for such intelligence. Some of the swifter vessels were immediately despatched to ascertain the truth of the report, and at sunrise the whole fleet weighed and proceeded to Artemisium. The same day the Persians took possession of the town of Histiaëa, and the neighbouring district of the island sedulously made submission.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 26. About the same time the army recommenced its march from Thermopylæ. Some Arcadians, poor and without prospect at home, had been tempted by the fame of the great king's riches and liberality to wander thus far to offer their services to him. The practice of seeking hire in foreign military service appears to have obtained among that inland mountain people before it became usual with the other European Greeks. Herodotus seems to relate the story of these adventurers not more for the purpose of eulogy than of admonition to his country. They were introduced, he says, to the presence of Xerxes, and, being asked "what was doing in Greece," they answered, with great simplicity, "That it was the season of the Olympian games, and that consequently the Greeks were amusing themselves with seeing athletic exercises and horse-races." Being then asked, "What was the reward of the conquerors in those games?" they answered, "An olive garland." Upon which Tritantæchmes, a prince of the blood royal of Persia, exclaimed, "O, Mardonius, what a people have you brought us to fight against; who contend among themselves not for riches but for virtue!"

Thucyd. 1. 3.  
c. 56. & 62.  
Plat. Men.  
p. 241. t. 2.  
Isocr. Pan.  
& Panath.  
Plut. Arist. But whatever might be the general simplicity or the general virtue of the Greeks of this age, their patriotism at least was of very various complexion in the different states, and in the different factions of the same state. Of the provinces from mount Cæta to the isthmus Phocis almost alone was

faithful to the confederate cause, the cause of Grecian independency. From the moment when the Persians became masters of Thermopylæ, the adjacent Locris could hardly avoid submission. Doris, and all Bœotia, Thucyd. 1. 3. c. 62. excepting the little cities of Thespiæ and Plataæ, were led by a few principal men of Thebes, who had in view to confirm and advance their own power through the patronage of the great king. Influenced by these men those provinces had always been adverse to the confederacy, and now with ready zeal acknowledged themselves subjects of the Persian monarch. Herodotus, with great Herodot. 1. 8. c. 30. appearance of reason, attributes the firmness even of the Phocians more to their extreme animosity against the Thessalians, their hereditary enemies, and to the partial consideration of the peculiar interest of their province, than to any generous regard for common welfare, or any enlarged view of Grecian independency. If the Thessalians, he says, had held with the c. 31. Greeks, the same animosity would have led the Phocians to join the enemy.

The Persians proceeded from Thermopylæ with the Thessalians for their guides. Turning immediately to the right along the root of Cæta, they then directed their march through the narrow vales of Doris toward the river Cephissus. The Dorian, as a friendly territory, was spared; but as soon as the army entered Phocis, c. 31, 32. Diodor. 1. 11. c. 14. Plutarch. Themist. at the instigation of the Thessalians rather than from the disposition of the Persians, destruction was begun with sword and fire. The main body of the army followed the course of the Cephissus. Detachments burnt the towns, apparently village towns mostly, of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedicæ, Triteæ, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, Abæ, with their temples. The people fled; many to the fastnesses of mount

Parnassus, some to Amphissa and other towns of the Ozolian Locrians, beyond the ridges of Parnassus and Helicon, and so in less immediate danger. A few were taken and reduced to slavery. From Panopeæ a detachment was sent to seize the treasure of Delphi; known to

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 35. Xerxes, as Herodotus professes to have believed, more exactly and circumstantially through the forward information of the Greeks following his banners than what he had left in his own palace at Susa. The main body continued their march through the friendly province of Bœotia toward Athens.

The defence of Delphi, itself a curious object, is not less so for the veil with which interested ingenuity industriously covered it, and which superstitious ignorance would rather double than withdraw. The account transmitted by Herodotus, mixed as it is with the preternatural, was apparently altogether current with the credulity of his age. As soon

c. 36. & seq.  
Diodor. 1. 11.  
c. 14. as news arrived, he says, that the Persians were in possession of Thermopylæ, the Delphian citizens, anxious for themselves, their temple, and the riches of which they were guardians, consulted their own oracle. They requested directions particularly concerning the sacred treasures; whether they should bury them, or whether they should carry them to some other country. The god, says the historian, would suffer nothing to be moved; declaring that he would himself take charge of what belonged to him. The Delphians, thus relieved from a very heavy responsibility to the Greek nation, could more freely direct their cares to themselves and their families. Their wives and children were sent across the Corinthian gulf into Achaia. The men, except a few, perhaps mostly the less able, who withdrew to Amphissa in Locris, occupied the neighbouring fastnesses among the crags of Parnassus. The Corycian cavern, a vast natural



vault in the side of the mountain, near the city, received many.<sup>30</sup> All quitted Delphi except sixty men and the prophet. The Persian detachment meanwhile approached by the way of Panope, Daulis, Lilæa, Phocian towns, which they burnt. As they drew near Delphi, and were now in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw the sacred armour, which it is unlawful for any mortal to touch, brought by some invisible power from the recess of the fane, and laid before the building. But no sooner was the advanced guard arrived at the chapel of Minerva, which is an outbuilding in front of the great temple, than thunder from heaven fell upon them; two vast fragments from the mountain rolled down with prodigious noise, and killed many: a voice of warlike acclamation issued from within the walls. Dismay became general among the Persians. The Delphians, then, rushing from the cavern, and descending from the summits, attacked them and made great slaughter. The survivors fled precipitately into Bœotia.

From this story the preternatural being detached, the remainder appears not improbable nor very defective. The priests, unwilling to trust the treasures to others, and anxious for the credit of their oracle, which could scarcely but suffer should the place fall into the hands of foreign plunderers, determined upon a bold measure, which they executed with courage and prudence. A clear and firm response from the oracle first inspired the citizens with confidence. Then the best refuge that Greece afforded was provided for their families. The ablest and most trusty men were reserved for the defence of the place. If the mode of defence was uncommon, it appears however to have been perfectly adapted to the situation and circumstances,

<sup>30</sup> This cavern is described by Pausanias, b. 10. c. 32.

Strab. l. 9.  
p. 416. & seq.  
Pausan. l. 10.  
c. 6. & seq.  
Justin. l. 24.  
c. 6. Whel.  
b. 4. Chandler,  
c. 65. and more  
modern  
travellers.

which were also very uncommon. Surrounded and almost overhung by very lofty mountain summits, the site itself of the city was composed of crags and precipices. No way led to it but through mountain defiles, narrow and steep, shadowed with wood, and commanded at every step by fastnesses above; and the approach from Bœotia was of considerable length through such defiles. Every measure seems to have been taken to make the enemy believe that the place was totally abandoned, and to induce them to advance in all the carelessness of perfect security. The surprise appears in consequence to have been complete. A thunderstorm at midsummer, among the mountains, was likely to be an accidental assistant. The rolling down of the rocky fragments might appear miraculous to those who did not know that numbers of men concealed among the crags were prepared to give them motion. Possibly artificial fires and explosions might imitate a thunderstorm and increase the horror.<sup>31</sup> The Delphians then attacked with every advantage. The remainder of the Persian detachment, who reached the plains of Bœotia, readily adopted the reports of superstition to excuse their surprise and flight. Two persons, they said, superior in their appearance to any thing human, joined the Delphians in the pursuit and slaughter. The Delphians affirmed that these could be no other than Phylacus and Autonomous, ancient heroes of their country, to whom temples stood, in Herodotus's time, near the chapel of Minerva. Some of the fragments of rock, thrown down from the summits of Parnassus, were preserved within the chapel as memorials of the divine protection afforded upon that pressing emergency.

<sup>31</sup> Duten's Inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns, c. 5. sect. 207.

## SECTION V.

*Unsteady Counsels of the Grecian Confederacy. — The Athenians, deserted by the Peloponnesians, remove their Families from Attica. — Aristides. — Ostracism. — Athens taken by the Persians. — Artemisia. — Ancient Manner of naval Action. — Battle of Salamis. — Return of Xerxes into Asia.*

WHILE any hope remained of defending the pass of mount Ceta, the Athenian fleet was of the utmost consequence to the confederated Peloponnesians: without its assistance, every part of their coast would be open to the enemy's navy. The safety of Attica therefore being a first object in the plan of operations, it had been resolved that, in case the enemy should penetrate across the mountains, the whole force of the confederacy should meet them in Bœotia, and oppose their farther progress. But the usual dilatoriness of confederacies recurred, enhanced probably by the want of revenue. The Peloponnesian troops were yet within their several states when the news arrived of the death of the Spartan king, with his little band of self-devoted comrades, and of the retreat of the rest of his army. Then all hastened to the Corinthian isthmus, where Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, took the command. But the vehemence of the alarm, which spread on all sides, now set selfish counsels again afloat. Shortsighted through fear, the Peloponnesians determined not to risk any thing for the preservation of Attica, but to contract their defence to their own peninsula. Their first business was to occupy, as an advanced post, the difficult passage of the Scironian rocks; another Thermopylæ, by which was the only road immediately from Attica into Peloponnesus. Then with earnest diligence they commenced strong lines across the isthmus.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 40.

c. 71. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c. 15.  
Plutarch. vit.  
Themist.

Chandler's  
Travels in  
Greece, c. 44.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 72.

The people assembled there were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, Hermionians. "These," says Herodotus, "met in arms at the isthmus, in deepest anxiety for the fate of Greece. The other Peloponnesians, principally the Argives and Achæans, were careless of the event, or rather, if I may speak freely, they were disposed to the party of the enemy."

c. 40.

The fleet, in its hasty retreat from Artemisium, had made no stop till it arrived in the bay of Salamis, on the Attic coast. There information met the Athenians, whose crews, now in the fleet, were the principal part of their commonwealth, that no force was assembled in Bœotia; that the Peloponnesians had resolved to confine their defence to their own peninsula; that they had begun their measures for that purpose; that Attica thus was abandoned to destruction. The alarm was extreme. All that could be obtained from their allies was the assistance of the fleet, to transport their families and effects to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzen; places less exposed than Athens, but which expected only a delay of ruin. Nor were the Athenians now, like the Greeks of old, practised in wandering, and ready for migration. In proportion to the established security of property, and the peace of domestic life, the distress of families was great. At the awful moment of abandoning their country, a thousand anxious thoughts crowded upon every mind. In such excess of public misfortune administration commonly loses its powers; the people, as in a shipwreck, become ungovernable through despair. All the wisdom, all the firmness, all the popularity of the ablest statesmen were wanted at Athens to preserve order, and to enforce those measures which political prudence required.

Plutarch. vit.  
Arist.

But one of the wisest and most virtuous citizens that any country ever boasted was in banish-

ment. ARISTIDES son of Lysimachus, of a noble but not a wealthy family, had been patronised in early youth, and brought forward in public business, by Clisthenes the expeller of the Pisistratidæ; and he is said, together with Themistocles, to have held a high military command under Miltiades, at the battle of Marathon. Themistocles, whose vast ambition was controlled by no scruple, avowed party principles. "The gods forbid," he is reported to have said, "that I should be in power, and my friends no better for it." Aristides, on the contrary, was, in public as in private life, so strictly upright and scrupulously impartial, that the title of THE JUST became applied to him as a common appellation. But democratical jealousy, or rather perhaps the ingenuity of ambitious individuals to make popular passion serve their private purposes, had invented a peculiar mode of repressing the dangerous superiority which great abilities and superior character might acquire in a republic. An assembly of the people, by what was called OSTRACISM, voted an illustrious citizen into banishment for five, ten, or twenty years: alleging no crime, meaning no punishment, but only guarding against the overbearing influence of individuals: the exile's property and his honour remained unhurt. Aristides had been thus banished; through the management, it is said, of Themistocles: for Aristides inclined to the aristocratical party; opposing that increase of the general assembly's power which it had suited the ambition of Themistocles to promote. But, in this tremendous crisis of the commonwealth, the name of the just Aristides began to be mentioned among the people; and it became evident that his absence was very generally regretted. Themistocles, whose capacious mind was never, by views of faction, blinded to greater interests, caught at the opportunity for popularity,

Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 55. Plut.  
vit. Themist.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 79. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.  
& Themist.

and had the magnanimity himself to propose a decree which would enable his rival to return.

Plut. Cimon. CIMON, son of the great Miltiades, is said also to have distinguished himself upon this trying occasion. Being, by inheritance from a long line of ancestors, one of the principal landed men of the Athenian commonwealth, he would not naturally be forward to abandon his country. But when proclamation was made that all should forthwith remove their families and effects out of Attica, and that every man capable of bearing arms should immediately repair to his duty aboard the fleet, Cimon, at the head of a band of the principal youths of Athens, marched in procession through the most public parts of the city, to the temple of Minerva in the citadel. In their hands they carried their bridles (the ensigns of that military service to which their birth and possessions had destined them) and, with solemn rites, dedicated these to the goddess. Then, arming themselves, the whole party set off for the fleet at Salamis; not a little encouraging the admiring citizens by this demonstration of confidence in the gods, and alacrity in devoting themselves to that new service which the actual crisis of their country required.

Nor were the advantages to be derived from popular superstition neglected. It was believed from Herodot. l. 8. c. 41. Plut. Themist. ancient times in Athens, that a large serpent, observed in the citadel, was a divine guard to the temple of Minerva; and it was an established practice to place cakes as an offering to this reptile every new moon. The chief priest of the temple declared that the cakes, which hitherto had never failed to be eaten by the divine serpent, now remained untouched: proof that the goddess herself had forsaken the citadel. This, says the contemporary historian, whatever truth was in it, not a little contributed to induce the Athenians readily and quietly to quit the city.

The general business of the confederacy was not conducted either with equal wisdom or equal spirit. The want of one supreme authority was again felt. The measures of the land forces were determined by the assembly at Corinth; of which the officers, commanding the troops of the several states, were principal members: those of the fleet seem not to have been taken into the consideration, but remained for the commanders of the several squadrons to decide. A council was held for the purpose. The great question was, Where they should now await the attack of that fleet from which they had been flying. Fear prevailed, and the majority were for retreating to the Corinthian isthmus; because there, it was urged, if they should be defeated, which seems to have been expected, though the ships were lost the crews might escape ashore, and still assist by land in the defence of their country.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 49. & 74.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 15.  
Plut. Themist.

The Persian army meanwhile, advancing from Thebes, burnt the abandoned towns of Thespiæ and Plataea; and entering Attica, found no resistance till they arrived at the citadel of Athens. This was still held by some ministers of the temple of Minerva, some of the poorer citizens unable to support the expense of migration, and a few others, obstinately addicted to that interpretation of the Delphian oracle which supposed it to declare that the citadel should remain inexpugnable. The city was delivered to those Athenians of the Pisistratidean party who accompanied the Persian army. The citadel was immediately invested. Terms were offered to the besieged by the Pisistratidæ, and obstinately refused. After a resistance beyond expectation, the place was taken by assault, and all within put to the sword.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 50. & seq.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 14.

Intelligence of this event, according to the probable detail of Herodotus, came to the fleet while a council of war was sitting. It occasioned such alarm that

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 56. & seq.

some of the commanders of squadrons, without waiting for a decision of the question before them, hastened aboard their galleys and prepared for immediate flight. The rest, less panic-struck, were still, for the most part, of opinion that the proposed retreat to the isthmus should be executed without delay. Night advanced, and all was confusion. It is not uncommon in human affairs for little circumstances often to decide the greatest events. Themistocles, according to the historian, returning to his galley, was met by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian officer, his particular friend, who anxiously asked, What was the determination of the council. "To retreat instantly," said Themistocles. "Then," replied Mnesiphilus, "Greece is lost! for neither the present commander, nor any other man, will have influence to keep the fleet together. All will disperse to their several homes; and through the folly of her chiefs, Greece is enslaved for ever!—Is there no possibility of persuading Eurybiades to wiser measures?" Touched by his friend's earnestness in delivering an opinion perfectly coinciding with his own, the active mind of Themistocles could not rest. Returning immediately to Eurybiades, he prevailed to have another council hastily summoned. Naturally vehement in his temper, Themistocles was forward and copious in his discourse upon the subject for the consideration of which the council met, before it was regularly proposed by the commander-in-chief. The Corinthian commander, Adimantus, who was as warmly for different measures, interrupting him, said, "Themistocles, those who, at the games, rise before their time, are corrected with stripes." To so affronting a reprimand the Athenian chief calmly replied, "True, Adimantus, but those who neglect to engage in the contest, never win the crown."<sup>32</sup> In

<sup>32</sup> Later writers, to make a better story, instead of Adimantus, name Eurybiades, and add that he shook his cane over the head of Themistocles, who calmly said, "Strike, but hear me." Plutarch, through an inattention not un-



the course of the debate then he urged the importance of preserving Salamis, Ægina, and Megara, which upon the retreat of the fleet must immediately fall; the advantage of the present station, a confined bay, which would render both the numbers and the superior swiftness of the enemy's galleys useless; and the total want of such advantage in any station that could be taken near the Corinthian isthmus. When all this proved ineffectual, he concluded with declaring, "That if so little regard was shown to the Athenian people, who had risked every thing in the Grecian cause, their fleet would immediately withdraw from the confederacy, and either make terms with the enemy, or seek some distant settlement for a people so unworthily treated." Eurybiades, alarmed, bent to this argument: a majority of the other commanders either felt its force, or were decided by the Spartan admiral; and it was determined to expect the enemy in the bay of Salamis.

The Persian fleet had remained three days in the road of Artemisium, to refresh the crews Herodot. 1. 8. c. 66. & seq. after their sufferings by storms and engagements. Three days then brought them through the Euripus to Phalerum, at that time the principal port of Athens. Herodotus supposes the Persian numbers, by sea and land, not less than on their first arrival at Sepias and Thermopylæ. For by land they were reinforced by the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bœotians. Their fleet was increased with galleys from Andros, Tenos, Eubœa, and other islands. The recruits to the land forces might easily supply the loss by battle; but those to the fleet would scarcely balance the damage by storms, which seems to have been very much greater than any hitherto suffered in action. The fleet and army being again met, a council of naval commanders was

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usual with him, in his Life of Themistocles has attributed the reprimand to Eurybiades, in his Apophthegms to Adimantus.

summoned, to consider whether the Grecian fleet should be attacked in its present station. It is difficult to determine how far credit may be due to Herodotus's account of a Grecian heroine in the Persian fleet; who is yet so mentioned in all histories of the times that she must not be

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 99.

passed unnoticed. Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, a Halicarnassian, by a Cretan lady, had married the tyrant of Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus, who had extended his command over the neighbouring islands Cos, Nisyros, Calydna. On his death, Artemisia succeeded to his authority. When the orders of the Persian court came to the Asian Greeks to prepare forces for the European expedition she fitted five galleys, which were confessedly superior to any of that vast armament, except the Sidonian; and she formed the extraordinary resolution of undertaking herself the command of this little squadron. On joining the fleet in the Hellespont, she was regularly admitted to her seat in all councils of war; and she acquired in a high degree the esteem of the Persian monarch.

L. 8. c. 67. &  
seq.

At the council held off Phalerum she alone dissuaded the proposed attack of the Grecian fleet. "Offensive measures," she said, "should be prosecuted only by land. There the superiority was decided, and operations more certain. The fleet should be reserved as an indispensable attendant upon so immense an army, which could not fail to suffer extremely, if by any misfortune it should lose the means of supply by sea. Besides," she added, "the Greeks cannot long hold their present advantageous situation; for, if I am rightly informed, they have no magazines on the island which they occupy, and the main is already yours. Wait therefore only a little: you will see them disperse of themselves, and all Greece will be open to you." This wise advice was overruled, and it was determined to attack the Grecian fleet next morning.

The Grecian commanders meanwhile were far from being all heartily disposed to the measure resolved on. Eurybiades appears to have been a man not of great abilities: his authority therefore, as commander-in-chief, over forces from various independent states, was very uncertain. Themistocles was yet fearful of the defection of some of the squadrons; and, to insure what, in his judgment, was necessary for the common good, he is reported to have resorted to a very extraordinary measure. A trusty person was sent to the Persian fleet, with orders to say that he came from the Athenian admiral, who was desirous of revolting to the Persians; that he was therefore to give an account of the dissensions among the Grecian commanders, and of what was likely to follow: adding that, if the present opportunity for destroying the whole Grecian fleet together should be neglected, such another would not be found. That very night the Persians moved and formed a semicircle, from the point of Salamis to the port of Munychia: the Egyptian squadron was detached to block the western passage; and a force was landed upon the little island Psyttalea, between Salamis and the ports of Athens, to assist any of the Persian vessels and seize any of the Grecian that might be driven upon it. For the same purpose the Attic shore, to a considerable extent, was lined with troops; and by daybreak the whole multitude of the army was in motion; those whom no duty required going, urged by curiosity, to take their stand on the adjacent heights. The most commodious eminence was chosen for the monarch himself, surrounded by his guards, and attended by his splendid retinue, to view at leisure the action to ensue.

During these preparations of the Persians, Aristides, then in Ægina, informed of the decree which had put a period to his exile, hastened

Æschyl. Pers. p. 140. ed. H. Steph.  
Herodot. l. 8. c. 75. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 17. Plutarch. vit. Themist. & Aristid. Corn. Nep. vit. Themist.

Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 17. Æschyl. Pers. p. 141. & 145. Herodot. l. 8. c. 76. Plut. vit. Themist. & Aristid.

Herodot. l. 8. c. 79. & seq. Plutarch. vit. Themist. & Aristid.

to restore his services to his country; and, under favour of the night, passing through the middle of the enemy's fleet, arrived at Salamis. Aristides wanted not magnanimity, upon this great occasion, to lay aside both private animosity and the animosity of faction. He went directly to Themistocles, his rival and political enemy, related what he had seen, and offered his assistance for any thing useful to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who, with a character of far less disinterestedness, could yet equally command his passions, and well knew the value of such assistance, joyfully accepting the offer, requested that Aristides would accompany him to the council of war then sitting, and deliver his information in person: which he said would have much more weight than any thing he could repeat, accustomed as he had been to combat the military and political opinions of most of the Grecian commanders. Aristides immediately complied. He had scarcely delivered his intelligence, when confirmation of it came by a captain of a trireme galley of the island of Tenos, who had deserted from the enemy. Then at last, pressed by necessity, the commanders with one voice declared a determination to exert themselves in action.

Among the ancients, for a naval engagement, a small space sufficed, in comparison of what modern fleets require; not only because of the smaller size of their vessels, but still more because of the different manner of working and fighting them. Our ships of war, very deep as well as large, and deriving motion only from the wind, with deep and open seas, want large intervals also between ship and ship. The ancient galleys, on the contrary, always light, however large, and in action receiving impulse from oars alone, could form and move in very close order, and were not afraid of narrow seas. From their mode of engagement also they required comparatively little space. Our ships, whose artillery decides their battles, must bring their broadsides to bear upon

the enemy; avoiding as much as possible to expose themselves in any other direction. They engage therefore, according to the sea-phrases, close hauled to the wind, and with the line of battle formed ahead. But the ancients, whose principal weapon was a strong beak of brass or iron projecting from the stem of the galley, advanced to the attack always with the line of battle formed abreast. The greatest advantage one galley could obtain over another was to bring its head to bear directly upon the enemy's broadside; the next, to gain the means of an oblique impulse, which might dash away some of his oars. By the success of the former attempt a galley was often sunk; by that of the other it became unmanageable till the lost or damaged oars could be replaced; and this gave opportunity for the more decisive attack with the beak. Hence the importance of oars in actions; by them alone attacks could be made, warded, or avoided in every direction. But Themistocles appears to have been the first to conceive the full advantage thus to be obtained. Missile weapons were much used by all nations; but it had been hitherto the great object of the Greeks to grapple ship to ship. The engagement then resembled an action by land; and the superiority of the heavy-armed soldier on the deck decided the contest. It seems to have been partly on this account that the Persian commanders had added thirty men of their best national troops to the ordinary complement of heavy-armed in every galley of their fleet; and they seem to have depended much on this increase of strength for certainty of victory. The discernment of Themistocles, apparently instructed by observation in the various actions off Artemisium, led him to a contrary principle: he would depend less upon arms wielded by the hands of individuals than upon the vessel itself, as one great and powerful weapon, or a squadron, as a combination of such weapons. It was, with this view,

important to have his vessels light and unencumbered. He therefore reduced the complement of soldiers in each trireme to eighteen; of whom fourteen only were heavy-armed, and four bowmen.<sup>33</sup>

Since the retreat from Artemisium the Grecian fleet had been very considerably reinforced. The Lacedæmonians had added six triremes to their former ten: the Athenian squadron was increased to a hundred and eighty: some had been gained from other states: a few from the islands: and the total number of triremes was now three hundred and eighty. The triremes of the Persian fleet are said to have been more than a thousand: according to Herodotus, they were above thirteen hundred.<sup>34</sup> Should exaggeration be suspected, even in the lowest report, it is yet little reasonably to be doubted but the fleet under Xerxes, however inferior in the size and quality of the vessels, exceeded in the number of men which it bore, any other naval armament ever assembled in the world.

Confident therefore in their strength, and urged by the common necessity of invaders to push vigorous measures,

<sup>33</sup> These numbers we have only the authority of Plutarch, who, being neither soldier nor seaman, merely states the fact. It receives however confirmation from Thucydides and Xenophon; and, as occasion will occur hereafter more particularly to observe, they explain the purpose of the alteration.

<sup>34</sup> The passage of Æschylus, which mentions the number of the Persian galleys, both as it stands in all the editions of his works, and in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, seems clearly enough in itself to say that they were in all but a thousand; yet the commentators and translators have been generally desirous of straining it to mean that, to make the total, the two hundred and seven, which the poet mentions as the swiftest of the fleet, should be added to the thousand. On this Stanley's note may be seen. Plato says the Persian fleet was *χιλίων καὶ ἑτι πλείονων*\*; an expression sufficiently indicating that he did not believe it to have been of many more than a thousand. According to Æschylus, the Grecian triremes were only three hundred. It is not impossible, but Herodotus might have collected more accurate information of the numbers furnished by the several states.

\* De Leg. l. 3. p. 699. t. 2.

the Persians were impatient for decision. Accident seems to have made the Greeks at last the assailants; and thus perhaps contributed not a little to the greatness of their success. By daybreak, it is said on the twentieth of October, in the four hundred and eightieth year before the Christian era, they had formed their fleet in order of battle. The Athenians, on the right, were opposed to the Phenician squadron; the Lacedæmonians, on the left, to the Ionian. As the sun rose trumpets sounded, pæans were sung, and the Grecian leaders endeavoured by all means to excite that animation among their people which their own divided and hesitating counsels had so tended to repress. A trireme galley returning from Ægina, excluded from the Grecian fleet by the enemy's line, and nevertheless endeavouring to pass, was attacked. An Athenian galley commanded by Aminias, brother of the poet Æschylus, advanced to her rescue: others followed: then the Æginetans moved, and the battle soon became general.

Dodw. Ann.  
Thucid.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 85. Æschyl.  
Pers.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 84. Æschyl.  
Pers. Diod.  
Sic. 1. 11. c. 27.

The onset was vigorous on both sides. But space did not suffice for the Persians to bring their whole fleet regularly into action, nor for the Phenicians, in particular, to profit from the superior swiftness of their galleys and skill of their seamen. The Athenians and Æginetans therefore, after a short contest, broke the part of the Persian line first engaged. Numbers of galleys, yet out of action, pressed to its support. Among the various nations who composed the Persian fleet, commanded in chief by Persian officers little versed in naval business, while the vast army which lined the Attic shore, with the sovereign of the East at its head, were witnesses of the scene, zeal itself contributed to disorder. Damage and loss of oars, and wounds in the hull from the beaks of their own galleys, ensued; while the Athenians and Æginetans, forgetting their late enmity, or

remembering it only as an incentive to generous emulation, with the most animated exertion preserved the steadiest discipline. Shortly the sea itself became scarcely visible for the quantity of wreck and floating bodies. Such is the strong expression of the poet who himself fought in the Athenian squadron. In the mean time the business was easier to the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks in the left wing. Some of the Ionian officers exerted themselves to earn the favour of the monarch whom they served; but others were zealously disposed to the cause of the confederates. The confusion arising, thus and variously otherwise in the Persian fleet, spread and rapidly became general and extreme. All their galleys which could disengage themselves fled. Some were taken: many were sunk; and numbers of the crews, inland men, unpractised in swimming, were drowned. Among those who perished were very many of high rank, who had been forward to distinguish themselves, in this new species of war, under their monarch's eye. According to Herodotus, Ariabignes, brother of Xerxes, and admiral of the fleet, was among the killed; but he is not mentioned by Æschylus. Forty Grecian galleys are said to have been sunk, or otherwise destroyed; but the crews mostly saved themselves aboard other ships, or on the neighbouring friendly shore of Salamis. When the rout was become total, Aristides, landing on Psyttalea at the head of a body of Athenians, put all the Persians there to the sword; under the very eye of Xerxes, who, with his immense army around him, could afford them no assistance.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 89.

Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 19.

Æschyl. Pers.  
Herodot.  
l. 8. c. 95.  
Plut. Arist.

In considering Herodotus's account of this memorable sea-fight we find not less reason than on former occasions to praise his scrupulous honesty and modesty. His narrative is doubtful and incomplete, as all faithful narratives of



great battles must be, unless some eye-witness, very peculiarly qualified by knowledge and situation, be the relater. It is therefore matter of regret, not indeed that Æschylus was a poet, but that prose-writing was yet in his age so little common that his poetical sketch of this great transaction is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent, of any that has passed to posterity. Concerning a day however so glorious, so singularly interesting to Greece, and particularly to Athens, anecdotes would of course abound; and an historian, a few years only later, desirous to shine in description rather than to relate the truth, could not have wanted materials. Anecdotes indeed of particular circumstances in great battles may often be authenticated; and to those Herodotus has chiefly confined himself; avoiding a detail of the battle at large, with an express declaration that he could obtain none upon which he could rely. Among his anecdotes, one is too remarkable and of too much fame to be omitted. The queen of Halicarnassus, after showing extraordinary bravery during the action, Herodot. 1. 8. c. 87, 88. & 93. being among the last who fled, was closely pursued by the Athenian galley which Aminias commanded. In this extremity, at a loss for other refuge, she suddenly turned against the nearest galley of the Persian fleet, which happened to be that of Damasithymus, prince of Calynda in Lycia, with whom she is said to have been upon terms not of perfect friendship: and, taking him totally unprepared for such an attempt, the stroke of the beak of her galley against the side of his was so violent and so well aimed that the vessel instantly sunk, and the Calyndian prince and his crew were at the mercy of the enemy and the waves. Aminias, in the hurry of the moment, without means for inquiry, concluding from what he had seen that Artemisia's galley was either one of the confederate fleet, or one that had deserted to it, turned his pursuit toward other vessels,

and the queen of Halicarnassus escaped. According to Herodotus, though in this instance we may have difficulty to give him entire credit, Xerxes, from the shore where he sat, saw, admired, and applauded the exploit.

It is indeed impossible here not to wish for those Persian histories of these great events which probably once existed, and which a learned Orientalist of our own country would flatter us with the hope of still recovering<sup>35</sup>: but most they become objects when the Persian counsels became particularly interesting, of which the Grecian historian has undertaken to give a detail that could not come to him duly authenticated. Not that an author under a despotic monarchy, who often must not publish what he knows or believes, and sometimes may not dare even to inquire, could be put in any general competition with a republican writer, who not only might inquire everywhere and speak any thing, but has actually manifested his free impartiality by relating, with the ingenuous severity of a reproving friend, the disgraces of his fellow countrymen, and by bestowing liberal and frequent eulogy upon their enemies; yet even from the flatterer of a despot might be gathered some information of which the total wreck of Persian literature hath deprived us. The Greeks however were not without considerable means of information, often even of the intrigues of the Persian court. The eunuchs of the palace, the persons perhaps most intimate about the monarch, (for, according to Xenophon, even the great Cyrus preferred eunuchs for his confidants,) were of any nation rather than Persian. Some of them were Greeks; at least born among the Greeks, though mostly perhaps of foreign origin as of servile condition. Herodotus mentions a Greek of Chios, who acquired great wealth

Xenoph.  
Cυροπæδ. l. 7.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 104, 105,  
106.

<sup>35</sup> Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the Eastern Nations.

by the infamous traffic of castrated boys. One of these, Hermotimus, born at Pedasa in the territory of Halicarnassus, was in high favour with Xerxes, attended him into Greece, and, both before and after that expedition, was employed in affairs in Asia Minor which would lead him to communication with the principal Greeks of that country. Refugee Greeks moreover, from the various republics, continually swarmed about the courts of the Persian satraps, and even of the monarch himself; so that, although the speeches which Herodotus puts into the mouths of Persian cabinet counsellors must be as fictitious as those which Livy attributes to his fellow countrymen at the head of armies, yet large means were certainly open for Greeks of rank and character to know the manners of the Persian great, and even to pry into the politics of the empire, as far perhaps as the Persians themselves: for under a despotic government the counsels which direct the greatest affairs are generally open to very few.

After the battle of Salamis however the transactions of public notoriety bespeak, in a great degree, the counsels that directed them. The defeat of the fleet necessarily deranged the measures of the Persian commanders. No port was near, capable of protecting its shattered and disheartened, but still large remains. Phalerum, then the principal harbour of Athens, could not contain half its numbers. A hasty order, of the very night after the engagement, is said to have directed it to move immediately for the Hellespont. Day broke, and the Greeks, who expected a renewal of the action, looked in vain for an enemy. For the Persian army then quick determination of new measures was necessary. No sufficient magazines having been collected, it was, by the departure of the fleet, reduced, with its attending multitudes, to immediate danger of starving. In

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 107.

c. 96. & 108.

Æschyl. Pers.  
Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 113.

a few days accordingly it withdrew from Attica into the rich and friendly province of Bœotia, and thence shortly into Thessaly.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 100. & seq.

Probably the punishment of Athens, with the submission of so many other provinces, may have been, in the Persian council, held sufficient, if not to satisfy the monarch's hope of glory, yet to prevent the imputation of disgrace, and perhaps even to form some shadowy claim to honour. The defeat of the fleet would be of course attributed to the faults of the immediate commanders, and to the defects and inferiority to be expected in an armament, not properly Persian, but composed almost entirely of the conquered subjects of the empire. The spoil of Athens, and among it the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, were sent as trophies, to mark to the interior provinces the exploits of that prodigious armament, which had so diminished their population and exhausted their wealth. The affairs of the empire might require the presence of the prince. The conquered countries were not yet so far settled that it could be particularly agreeable to a young monarch, by education and by disposition probably not much either a warrior or a man of business, to pass the winter among them. To support all his forces there, during the stormy season, even had he still had command of the sea, would have been impossible. Xerxes was therefore to return into Asia.

But the projects of conquest were not to be yet abandoned. Three hundred thousand men were chosen from the the whole army, to remain under the command of Mardonius, who with that force undertook to complete the reduction

c. 115.  
Æschyl. Pers.

of Greece in the following summer. The rejected multitude were to return with all haste eastward; urged by the prospect of famine, and the apprehension that the approach of winter might totally bar the passage of the

mountains and rivers of Macedonia and Thrace. Herodot. 1. 8. c. 113.  
 Of the three hundred thousand selected by Mar-  
 donius, sixty thousand under Artabazus were to march as a  
 guard for the royal person as far as the Hellespont. These  
 were perhaps, among the innumerable crowds of various  
 nations and languages who attended, or endeavoured to at-  
 tend, the monarch's retreat, those who alone deserved the  
 name of soldiers. Of these, as of soldiers forming a guard  
 necessary to the prince's dignity and even safety, some care  
 apparently was taken. The rest suffered beyond description,  
 from the haste of the march, and almost total want of maga-  
 zines: for the invasion only had been considered; the retreat  
 was unprovided for. The disorderly multitude therefore  
 lived by rapine, from friends equally and foes; but all was  
 insufficient. Other sustenance failing, they ate the very grass  
 from the ground, and the bark, and even leaves from the trees:  
 and, as the historian, with emphatical simplicity, says, "they  
 left nothing." Dysenteries and pestilential fevers seized whom  
 famine spared. Numbers were left sick in the towns of Thes-  
 saly, Pæonia, Macedonia, and Thrace, with arbitrary orders,  
 little likely to be diligently obeyed, that support and attend-  
 ance should be provided for them. On the forty-4th Dec. B. C. 480.  
 fifth day from the commencement of his march in  
 Thessaly, Xerxes reached the Hellespont; with an escort  
 which, compared with the prodigious numbers a few months  
 before under his command there, might be called nothing.<sup>36</sup>  
 The bridges were already destroyed by storms and the  
 violence of the current; but the fleet was arrived.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> . . . ἀπόλαυ τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἶπαι. Herodot. 1. 8. c. 115.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus is not among the reputable fablers who report that Xerxes in his retreat, without an army, without a fleet, and almost without an attendant, crossed the Hellespont in a cock-boat. He tells indeed another story, not perhaps wholly undeserving attention, as a specimen of tales circulated in Greece concerning these extraordinary transactions; though he declares for himself that he did not believe it. The curious may find it in the 119th and 119th chapters of his 8th book.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
e. 126. Artabazus immediately marched his detachment back toward Macedonia. The monarch proceeded to Sardis.

## APPENDIX TO THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

### *Of the Ancient Ships of War.*

THE form of the ancient galleys of war, the trireme and quinquereme, and especially the arrangement of the rowers, have been much objects of inquiry and much of imagination, but yet remain very uncertain. The most satisfactory conjectures that I have met with, by far, are those of general Melvill, of which an account is given in the Appendix to Governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities. Along the waist of the galley, according to the general's supposition, from a little above the water's edge, a gallery projected at an angle of about forty-five degrees. In this the upper rowers were disposed, checkered with the lower. Space for them being thus gained, partly by elevation, partly by lateral projection, those of the highest tier were not too much above the water to work their oars with effect. The general says he has been confirmed in his opinion that this was the real form of the ancient galleys of war by representations of them, though imperfect, in ancient paintings and reliefs, which he has seen in Italy. He has not specified those paintings and reliefs. There were, in the collection at Portici, pictures of sea engagements, but so damaged that, when there in the year 1788, I was unable myself to discern the parts of the vessels, so as to judge at all whether they might confirm or confute the general's notions. The most perfect ancient monument to the purpose, that ever fell in my way, was a marble fragment of a bireme in high relief, preserved in the Vatican museum at Rome. It had the incorrectness usual in the representations of such objects by the ancient sculptors,

but it nevertheless, in my opinion, went far to show that the general's idea was well founded. Moreover it explained, to my mind satisfactorily, the meaning of a nautical term used by Thucydides, which the scholiast, and <sup>Thucyd. l. 2.</sup> <sub>c. 93.</sub> after him lexicographers and translators, have, I think, certainly misinterpreted. In that curious monument the oars are represented projecting from the vessel's side through apertures, like the rowports in our small ships of war, every oar having about it a bag, attached to the vessel's side, the obvious purpose of which has been to prevent influx of waves and spray; and the need of it for vessels for which swift rowing was a prime object, and consequently the smallest elevation that might be of the rowlock above the water, will also be obvious. Thucydides, describing the march of some seamen to seize some unprovided triremes for a hasty expedition, says every one carried his oar with, according to the scholiast and following interpreters, his cushion and loop or thong. The loop or thong to fasten the oar to the rowlock is yet common in boats for some purposes, especially gun-boats. The need for it in the ancient manner of naval action is obvious. If the purpose was to dash away the enemy's oars, the oars of the assailing vessel must be, in a moment, secured; which could be managed for those projected through a rowport only by letting them float the closest that might be to the vessel's side, attached to it by the loop; and equally the vessel attacked could avoid the proposed shock only by disposing its oars on the attacked side in the same manner. But the need for every man to have his cushion on such an expedition is not equally obvious. I have indeed seen a Thames wherryman use a cushion, but I suppose an invalided seaman, for some disorder. I can little doubt that the word which has been translated *cushion* meant the bag represented in the marble monument already mentioned, the need for which the historian, in proceeding with his nar-

rative, shows probably to have occurred. The ingenious and learned Winkelman, in a treatise on the monument in question, has blundered, as might be expected of a closet critic, pretending to dissert on rowing without ever having handled an oar.

In the account of a voyage round the world in 1767 and following years, by Pagés, an officer of the French navy, there is a description of a vessel of the islands of the western verge of the Pacific ocean, the principal of which is exactly, and the construction very nearly, what General Melvill has imagined for the ancient war-galley. Pagés himself, apparently a diligent officer, and a liberal and candid writer, seems to have had little classical learning, and has not indicated that he had any idea of a Greek or Roman ship of war while he was describing what seems to have been so nearly the very thing. "The vessel," he says, "called *booanga* (Fr. *bouanga*) is perhaps but an enlargement of that of the Marian islands, described in Lord Anson's voyage. It is a sort of very long-decked canoo or periagua. The hull does not rise more than a foot above the water. The upper works, raised upon it, are very light, much like those of our old shebecks. It consists of a double gallery of bamboo, each two feet wide, running nearly the length of the vessel, leaving a small space beyond it, both at head and stern. The first gallery, ranging against the gunwale, on its outside, is about eighteen inches higher than the deck: the second, ranging against the first, outward, rises only about a foot above it. The first gallery is supported by knees fixed to the upper works: the second by knees fixed to timbers projecting beyond the upper works. Thus there are three rows of rowers on each side, whose rowlocks are disposed like the portholes in a ship's side, the highest over the lowest, and the middle tier between. The highest oars thus sufficiently overstretch the lowest, so as not to interfere in



stroke with them; and the middle tier avoids interference with either, by taking the middle of the interval between every two oars of the upper and lower."

Thus far the description is almost exactly General Melvill's of the ancient war-galley. Pagés proceeds then to notice an inconvenience of the contrivance, which the ancients probably obviated, though probably otherwise than the islanders of the Pacific ocean. "Each row," he says, "containing from twenty to twenty-five rowers, the utmost attention would be constantly required to trimming, if the inconvenience of overbalancing was not remedied thus: at about the distance of a sixth of the length of the vessel from its head and from its stern, are fixed, across it, two large bamboos, projecting from twenty to twenty-five feet on each side. At each end of these, parallel to the vessel's side, are fixed two or three other bamboos, whose buoyancy, assisted by so long a lever, prevents any considerable heeling, whether from wind, or from defective trimming; and, in fine weather, they serve as a fourth bench for rowers, who however use not oars, but paddles."

The author adds, it is difficult to conceive the swiftness of these vessels, though the oars are of awkward form, and the rower is too near the rowlock to make the most advantage of his lever.

The Mahometan Indians, who have eternal enmity with the Spanish Indians of the Philippine islands, are those whom he mentions as principally using them.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> When the foregoing observations on the ancient ships of war were first published, Pagés' publication was recent. Among numerous following accounts of voyages in the same seas, I have not found any of such vessels as those described by him. Nevertheless, not only as he is a writer of simplicity more than ordinary for a Frenchman, and clearly of general veracity, but more particularly as his account tends beyond any thing beside published, with which I am acquainted, to give an idea of the form and general character of the ancient ships of war, I still think it well deserving notice,

## CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF GREECE FROM THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS TO  
THE CONCLUSION OF THE PERSIAN INVASION.

## SECTION I.

*Return of the Athenians to their Country. — Measures of the Grecian Fleet. — Dedication to the Gods for the Victory at Salamis. — Honours to Themistocles. — Revolt of Chalcidice from the Persians. — Siege of Potidæa by Artabazus.*

B. C. 480.  
Ol. 75. I.

THE various affections of Grecian minds after so glorious, so important, so unexpected a victory as that of Salamis, and the consequent hasty retreat of that numberless army, the means of resistance to which seemed beyond human calculation, may in some degree be conceived, but scarcely can be described. Neither Persian garrison nor any Pisistratidean Athenians appear to have remained in Athens. That city and its whole territory seem to have been recovered by the naval conqueror's party without a struggle. For measures to be taken by the confederate fleet meanwhile much difference of opinion and consequent debate arose among the commanders. It was proposed by some to pursue the Persians to the Hellespont, and, at once crushing the naval power of the empire, thus render its gigantic land force less formidable to a country hardly to be successfully invaded without a co-operating fleet. This was overruled.<sup>1</sup> But the most powerful naval armament that Greece had ever yet

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 108.

<sup>1</sup> It appears difficult to determine what should be thought of the story told by Herodotus, Cornelius Nepos, and Plutarch, and supported in some degree

assembled, flushed with unhopèd-for success, would not immediately rest. Many of the islanders were obnoxious for their forwardness in the Persian cause. It was determined to exact a fine from them to be applied to <sup>Herodot. l. 8. c. 111, 112.</sup> the expenses of the war. Themistocles, whose great qualities, according to generally concurring imputations, were sullied by a sordid attention to his private interest, is said on this occasion to have enriched himself through the influence which his high command and high reputation procured him. The Parians avoided all public payment, it is asserted, through a bribe to the Athenian commander. The Andrians alone, of the islanders on the European side of the Ægean, resolutely refused to pay any thing. Siege was in consequence laid to their principal town, but without effect; and the fleet returned to Salamis.

Winter approached, with a political calm which for a long time had been little expected by the confederate Greeks. Gratitude to the gods, for the great deliverance obtained, was among the first emotions of the public mind. It was usual, after a victory, to select some of the most valuable articles of the spoil, to be offered, under the name <sup>c. 121.</sup> of Acrothinia, first-fruits, to the supposed propitious deities. On the present occasion three Phenician trireme galleys were first chosen. One was dedicated in Salamis to the hero Ajax; another at the promontory

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by the authority of Thucydides \*, of a message sent by Themistocles to Xerxes, informing him of the intention of the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, to send their fleet to destroy the bridges of the Hellespont, and interrupt his return into Asia. Herodotus mentions it as an act of treachery, or at least of selfish policy; and were it not for the support derived from the slight mention of the circumstance by Thucydides, some incoherence in Herodotus's detail would lead to suspect that it was a mere fabrication of the adverse faction at Athens. Nepos and Plutarch, on the other hand, commend the deed as an act of the most refined, but the most patriotic policy.

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\* Herodot. l. 8. c. 108, 109, 110. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Themist. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 137.

Sunium, probably to Minerva; and the third at the Corinthian isthmus to Neptune.<sup>2</sup> Other offerings required more preparation. A statue, twelve cubits high, holding in one hand a galley's prow, was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. The oracle demanded a particular acknowledgment from the Æginetans; because in the glorious contest of Salamis they were said to have excelled among the Greeks. Those islanders, gladly receiving the honourable testimony, sent to Delphi a brazen mast, adorned with three stars of gold. These public dedications being made or decreed, the remaining booty was divided. The fleet then proceeded to the isthmus, where another ceremony, of established practice among the Greeks, remained to be performed. Honours were to be decreed, first and second, for merit in the war.<sup>3</sup> The chiefs of the several states delivered their opinions in writing upon the altar of Neptune. Every one gave the first vote for himself; but a large majority of the second appeared for Themistocles. Thus it remained undecided to whom the first honour should be paid, and the squadrons separated to their several states; but the general voice of the people sounded the fame of Themistocles far beyond all others. Unsatisfied however with such vague applause, and disappointed of the degree of distinction which his ambition affected, Themistocles went to Lacedæmon, probably knowing that he should be well received. The Spartan government took upon itself to determine the claims of merit. It would have been invidious to have refused the Aristeia, or

<sup>2</sup> Minerva and Neptune are not mentioned by the historian; but the conjecture seems little hazardous. The ruins of the temple of the Suniad Minerva remain on the promontory to this day; and Neptune was not only the tutelary deity of the Isthmian games, but esteemed proprietary of the isthmus; and a statue, we find, was erected to him there upon occasion of the following victory of Plataea. — See Herodot. b. 9. c. 81. & Pausan. b. 2. c. 1.

<sup>3</sup> . . . ἀριστήια δάσοντες τῷ ἀξιοτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόντον τοῦτον. — τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεῦτερον κρινοντίς ἐκ πάντων. Herodot. l. 8. c. 123.

first honours for bravery and general conduct, to their own admiral who had commanded in chief; but a new and singular compliment was invented for the Athenian commander: they adjudged to him the prize of wisdom and maritime skill. Eurybiades and Themistocles therefore together received, from the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, the honourable reward of olive crowns. Themistocles was besides presented with a chariot; and, at his departure from Lacedæmon, three hundred Spartans, of those called Knights, or Cavalry, were appointed to escort him to the frontier<sup>4</sup>; a kind of honour never, to the time of Herodotus, paid to any other stranger.

The news of the victory of the Greeks at Salamis, and of the consequent retreat of Xerxes into Asia, was quickly conveyed through all the Grecian settlements in uncertain rumours, here exaggerated, there deficient, according to the information, the temper, the interest, the memory, or, sometimes, the invention of individuals reporting it, where public and certain means of extensive communication were little known. But the Greeks of the Thracian colonies, who had seen, with trembling, the proud march of the immense host of Persia toward Greece, were also eye-witnesses of the miserable reverse, when the monarch precipitated his retreat into Asia. Their information was however probably little exact concerning the force yet left hovering over their mother-country, and their knowledge of the resources of the Persian empire generally very imperfect. According therefore to the common nature of that tide of the human mind, which operates generally with more force upon the determinations of a multitude than of an individual, the fruitful province of Chalcidice, on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia, boldly re-

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 126. & seq.

<sup>4</sup> Σπαρτηγίων λογάδες, αὐτοὶ οἵτις ἰσπίες καλίσκται. Herodot. l. 8. c. 124.

town asserting its beloved but altogether impolitic independency. Meanwhile Artabazus, having seen his sovereign safe on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, hastened back with his detachment, itself a large army, to rejoin Mardonius. But as the quarters of Macedonia and Thessaly were already crowded, he halted in Chalcidice. Receiving intelligence of the revolt, he reckoned, not unreasonably, that he should scarcely escape censure if he suffered the winter to pass without punishing it. Immediately he laid siege to Olynthus and Potidæa. Olynthus was presently taken; and, if Herodotus should be believed, the inhabitants, conducted to a neighbouring marsh, were there all massacred. The town, which had been occupied by a colony from Bottiæa on the Macedonian coast, was given to native Chalcidians; and, according to that common policy of the Persians heretofore remarked, the government was intrusted to Critobulus, a Greek of the town of Torone in the neighbouring peninsula of Sithonia.

But the actions of Thermopylæ and Salamis had had a quick effect in diminishing the extreme dread before entertained of the Persian power, and in promoting, among the Greeks, a general emulation in arms, and in the spirit of independency. The Potidæans, whose situation commanded the neck of the fruitful and rebellious peninsula of Pallene, defended themselves so vigorously that little progress was made in the siege. But the wealth of Persia, continually brought forth to supply the deficiency of military science and discipline, formed a weight in the balance of war, against which the Greeks with difficulty found a counterpoise.

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 128.

Timoxenus, commander of the Scionæan auxiliaries in Potidæa, was bribed to a treasonable correspondence with the Persian general. They communicated by letters, wrapt around arrows, which were shot to spots agreed upon. The accidental wounding of a Potidæan

by one of those arrows however discovered the treason before it had gone to any pernicious length. A crowd immediately gathered about the wounded man; and, on extracting the arrow, a letter from Artabazus to Timoxenus was found upon it. Three months had now been consumed in the siege, and little progress made, when the tide, to which many of the recesses of the Ægean sea are subject, flowing to an unusual height, flooded the Persian camp.<sup>5</sup> Immediately upon the ebb the general ordered the army to march, meaning to take a station on higher ground within the peninsula of Pallene. Not half the troops had passed the flats when the flood made again with increased violence. Many of the Persians were drowned; the Potidæans, sallying in boats, killed many; and Artabazus found his measures so disconcerted that he raised the siege, and proceeded with the remains of his army into Thessaly.

## SECTION II.

*Preparations for the Campaign. — Congress at Athens: Speeches of Alexander King of Macedonia, of the Lacedæmonian Ambassador, and of the Athenian Minister. — Athens a second Time abandoned. — Zeal of the Athenian People for the Prosecution of the Persian War.*

WHEN Xerxes had reached Asia, the Persian fleet, quitting the Hellespont, went part to Samos, part to Cuma, and in their ports wintered. In the following spring the whole assembled at Samos. Mistrust of those conquered subjects of the empire, who alone were mariners, then led those who directed the affairs of the navy to an alteration of the establishment of their crews, the direct contrary to that which the genius and

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 130. & seq.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Herodot. b. 7. c. 198. note 48. p. 680. of Wesseling's edition, may also deserve notice.

experience of Themistocles had imagined, and which had proved so advantageous in practice: they increased the proportion of Median and Persian soldiers. The fleet, with its loyalty supposed more assured, remained at Samos, to awe the Asiatic and Thracian coasts and neighbouring islands, making no attempt westward.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 130.

Spring, and the recollection that Mardonius was in Thessaly, according to the historian's expression, awakened the Greeks. The assembling of the army was yet delayed, but a fleet of one hundred and twenty trireme galleys was collected at Ægina, under Leotychides king of Lacedæmon. Xanthippus, the prosecutor of Miltiades, commanded the Athenian squadron. During the winter some of the leading men of Chios had conspired against Strattis, whom the Persians had appointed governor, or, in the Greek term, tyrant of their island. They were detected, but finding opportunity to fly, they went to Ægina, and addressed themselves to the naval commanders there, urging, that all Ionia was ripe for revolt, and wanted only the countenance of the victorious fleet of Greece to make a powerful diversion for the Persian arms. Following history shows this likely to have been the exaggeration of men stimulated by party interest; for in Ionia political interests were divided nearly as in European Greece. Nevertheless, as it would be desirable to favour any disposition toward stirring against the enemy, the fleet moved as far as Delos, and there took its station. The Persian fleet meanwhile held its port, and the space between Samos and Delos, as the historian proceeds to observe, remained in peace through mutual fear.

c. 136. & seq.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 28.

Mardonius meanwhile had not neglected measures to promote the success of his arms. Sensible of the importance of naval co-operation, he resolved upon the endeavour to detach the Athenians from the



Grecian confederates; justly thinking that, if this could be effected, the Persian fleet would immediately resume a decided superiority. Alexander king of Macedonia was chosen for his ambassador to the Athenian commonwealth. That prince was intimately connected with both the Grecian and Persian nations. His family boasted its descent from Hercules and Perseus through Temenus, the Heraclidean king of Argos. It held, with the Athenian commonwealth, the sacred connection of hereditary hospitality, in the revered offices of which Alexander himself had communicated with Athens. But his sister Gygæa was married to Bubares, a Persian, high in rank and in command, son of that Megabazus who in the reign of Darius had conquered the western Thracians, and compelled Amyntas father of Alexander to the delivery of earth and water. Yet, though Alexander had constantly acted with the Persians, he had nevertheless, as far as his dependent situation would permit, always shown himself friendly to the confederate Greeks. He was accordingly well received at Athens. But as the news of his arrival would quickly be spread through Greece, and would probably excite jealousy among the confederates, especially the Lacedæmonians, the leaders of the Athenian administration deferred admitting him to audience before the assembly of the people, till ministers came from Sparta.

Herodotus has not said who, during these remarkable transactions, led those measures of the Attic government, which, both in wisdom and in magnanimity, at least equal any thing in the political history of mankind. Plutarch attributes all to Aristides. Supported by the aristocratical party, jealous of the eminence of Themistocles, he appears in all accounts to have been at this time of highest consideration. On the arrival of the Lacedæmonian ministers an assembly of the people was summoned.

*Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 141.*

*Plut. Arist.*

The Lacedæmonian ministers and the king of Macedonia were together admitted to this public audience. Silence having been, as usual, proclaimed, Alexander rose, and, according to the original historian, spoke in this simple and

antiquated, but emphatical style of oratory<sup>6</sup>:  
Herodot. 1. 8. c. 140.

“ Athenians, thus saith Mardonius: ‘ The commands of the king are come to me, saying, I FORGIVE THE ATHENIANS ALL THEIR OFFENCES AGAINST ME. NOW THEREFORE, MARDONIUS, THUS DO: RESTORE TO THEM THEIR TERRITORY, AND ADD TO IT WHATSOEVER THEMSELVES SHALL CHOOSE, LEAVING THEM TO THEIR OWN LAWS; AND IF THEY WILL MAKE ALLIANCE WITH ME, REBUILD ALL THE TEMPLES WHICH HAVE BEEN DESTROYED. Such being the king’s commands to me, so I must necessarily do, unless you prevent. From myself I say to you thus: Why would you persevere in the folly of making war against the king? You cannot overcome him: you cannot long resist him. You know how numerous his armies are, and what they have effected. You are informed of the force under my command. Should you overcome me, which in reason you cannot hope, immediately a still greater force will be sent against you. As a friend I recommend to you not, in the vain contest with the king, to lose your country, but to seize the honourable opportunity of this offer, from the king himself, for making peace. Be free; and let there be alliance between us without fraud or deceit.’ These things, O Athenians, Mardonius commanded me to say to you. For my own part, I shall omit to enlarge upon the friendship I bear you, since this is not the first occasion upon which you have had experience of it. I beseech you to accept the terms proposed by Mardonius; for I well see the impossibility of

<sup>6</sup> Testimony is borne to this remarkable transaction by Demosthenes, in his 2d Philippic, as well as by Diodorus Sic. b. 11. c. 28. and Plutarch in his Life of Aristides.

your long contending against the Persian empire. Upon no other consideration would I have come to you thus commissioned. But the king's power is more than human : his arm is of unmeasurable length. I dread the event for you if you refuse the great conditions now offered. The very situation of your country should indeed admonish you : lying in the road to the rest of the confederates, you alone are first exposed, and actually bear all the brunt of the war. Comply therefore ; for it is not a little honourable to you that you alone among the Greeks are selected by that great king for offers of peace and friendship."

The king of Macedonia concluded, and the chief of the Spartan ministers rose : " The Lacedæmonians," he said, " have sent us to request that you will admit nothing to the prejudice of Greece, nor receive any proposal from the Persian. For such a proceeding were unjust, unbecoming any Grecian people, and on many accounts most of all unbecoming you. To you indeed we owe this war, which was excited contrary to our inclination. The quarrel was originally with you alone ; now it is extended to all Greece. That the Athenians therefore, who from of old have, more than all mankind, asserted the liberties of others, should become the authors of slavery to Greece, were most heinous. We grieve for your sufferings ; that now for two seasons you have lost the produce of your lands ; and that the public calamity should so long press so severely upon individuals. The Lacedæmonians and the other confederates are desirous of making you reparation. They will engage, while the war shall last, to maintain your families, and all those of your slaves who may not be wanted to attend you on military service. Let not therefore Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, softening Mardonius's message. He is certainly acting in his proper character : a tyrant himself, he co-operates with a tyrant. But for you,

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 142.

prudence utterly forbids what he advises: you well know that among barbarians there is no faith, no truth.”

Herodot. 1.8.  
c. 143.

In the name of the Athenian people the following answer, in the report of Herodotus, was then made to the king of Macedonia, according to Plutarch by Aristides: “ We know that the power of the Persian empire is many times greater than ours. With this therefore it was needless to reproach us. Nevertheless, independency being our object, we are determined to defend ourselves to the utmost, and you would in vain persuade us to make any terms with the barbarian. You may therefore tell Mardonius, that the Athenians say, ‘ While the sun holds his course we will never make alliance with Xerxes; but trusting in our assisting gods and heroes, whose temples and images he setting at naught has burnt, we will persevere in resisting him.’ Come then no more to the Athenians with such proposals, nor, with any view of promoting our welfare, recommend what is dishonourable and unjust. For yourself, we shall always be desirous of showing you all the friendship and respect to which the ancient hospitality and alliance between us entitle you.”

The orator is reported to have then addressed c. 144. the Lacedæmonian ministers thus: “ The apprehension of the Lacedæmonians that we might accept the terms proposed by the barbarian was, upon a general view of human nature, certainly not unreasonable: but, after the proof you have had of the resolution of the Athenians, it becomes a dishonourable apprehension. No riches, nor the offer of the finest country upon earth, should bribe us to connect ourselves with the Persians to the enslaving of Greece. Were it possible that we could be so disposed, yet the obstacles are many and great. First, and what principally affects us, the images and temples of the gods burnt and reduced to rubbish. This it is our indispensable

duty to resent, and revenge to the utmost, rather than make alliance with the perpetrator. Then, as a Grecian people, our connection in blood and in language, our common dedications to the gods, our common sacrifices, and our similar customs and manners. Of these the Athenians cannot become the betrayers. Know then this, if before you knew it not, that, while one Athenian survives, we never will ally ourselves with Xerxes. Gratefully we acknowledge your kind attention, amid the distress and ruin of our private affairs, in proposing to maintain our families. We will however still make the best we can of our own means, without burthening you. These then being our resolutions, let there be, on your side, no delay in corresponding measures. Your army must march immediately; for, according to all appearances, it will not be long before the barbarian will invade our country: he will move instantly upon receiving information that we have rejected his proposals. Before therefore he can arrive in Attica, it will behove us to meet him in Bœotia." With these answers the king of Macedonia and the Lacedæmonian ambassadors departed.

Mardonius did not deceive the expectation of the Athenian leaders: he advanced immediately, Herodot. l. 9. c. 1. by nearly the same road that Xerxes had taken, toward Attica. The wonted hesitation and dilatoriness meanwhile prevailed in the councils of the Peloponnesians: the Persian army was already in Bœotia, and no measures were taken by the confederacy for defending Attica. Once more therefore it became necessary for the Athenians hastily to abandon their country. c. 3. & 6. Plut. vit. Aristid. Probably however the necessity was less grievous than on the former occasion: for beside being more prepared, they had less to apprehend; their own fleet now commanding the Grecian seas. In their own island of Salamis therefore their families and effects would, for the present at least, be beyond annoyance from

the Persian arms. Thither all were removed; and about eight months after Xerxes had quitted Athens, Mardonius, unopposed, retook possession of that city.

June, B. C.  
479. Ol. 75. 4.

The conduct of the Peloponnesians, but most particularly of the Lacedæmonians, the leading state, is marked by Herodotus, whom Plutarch here has followed, as ungenerous, ungrateful, and faithless, if not even dastardly<sup>7</sup>: that of the Athenians magnanimous even to enthusiasm. Deprived of their country, and apparently betrayed by their allies, the

Persian general thought this a favourable opportunity for attempting once more to draw the Athenians from the Grecian confederacy. Accordingly he sent Murchides, a Hellespontine Greek, to Salamis, with the same offers which he had before made by the king of Macedonia. The minister was admitted to audience by the council of Five Hundred. Lycidas, alone of the counsellors, was for paying so much attention to the proposal as to refer

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 4. Plut. vit.  
Aristid.

it to an assembly of the people. This circumstance

was communicated: and, so vehement was the popular zeal for persevering in enmity to Persia, a tumultuous crowd, on the rising of the council,

stoned Lycidas to death. The frenzy spread; and what it may be desirable not to believe, though Herodotus the friend and panegyrist of Athens affirms it, and the philosophic Plutarch seems even to applaud the deed, the Athenian women attacked the house of the unfortunate senator, and his widow and children perished under their hands. The law of nations was at the same time so far respected that Murchides was dismissed without injury or insult.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 5. Demosth.  
de Cor. p. 296.  
ed. Reiske. M.  
T. Cic. de Off.  
1. 3. c. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has censured that historian for relating what, in his Life of Aristides, he has himself in strong terms confirmed.

SECTION III.

*Campaign in Bœotia.—Battle of Plataea.—Punishment of Thebes.*

MINISTERS had been sent from Athens, accompanied by others from Plataea and Megara, to remonstrate with the Lacedæmonian government on their shameful neglect of their engagements, and to learn what were now to be the measures of the confederacy. The Lacedæmonians were celebrating their feast of the Hyacinthia, one of the most solemn of their calendar. This furnishing some pretext, the ephors, those magistrates who had usurped a power in the Spartan government superior to that of the kings, delayed their answer from day to day for ten days successively. The works at the Corinthian isthmus, never meanwhile intermitted, were now nearly completed. The Athenian ministers, thinking themselves insulted and their country betrayed, determined on the morrow to declare to the Lacedæmonian senate their sense of such treatment, and to leave Sparta. At length however the Lacedæmonians, after consultation with their allies, and, it is added, some reproaches from them, had determined upon juster measures. Five thousand Spartans marched silently out of the city in the evening, under the command of Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, regent for his cousin Plistarchus son of Leonidas, yet a minor. Five thousand Lacedæmonians of the country towns were ordered to follow. Next morning, when the Athenian ministers came to make their final complaint to the senate, they were told that the Lacedæmonian army was already on the confines of Arcadia in its way to meet the Persians. The Argives, according to Herodotus, were so thoroughly in the Persian interest that they had undertaken to intercept any Spartan troops which

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 6. & 7.  
Plut. vit.  
Aristod.

B. C. 479. Ol.  
75. ½

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 8. & 11.  
c. 7. & 8.

c. 1.

c. 28.

should attempt to quit Laconia. The suddenness and secrecy of the march defeated their intention. Receiving intelligence that the Lacedæmonian army had entered Arcadia, they hastened information to Mardonius.

While the Persian general had any hope of leading the Athenians to his purpose he had carefully spared Attica; but as soon as he was assured that their resolution was immoveable, he gave up the country for plunder to his troops, and destroyed the city. Learning then that the Peloponnesians were advancing, he returned into Bœotia; a country more commodious for the action of his numerous cavalry, nearer to his magazines, which were principally at Thebes, and whence, in any misfortune, retreat would be more open, while in success the way was equally ready into Peloponnesus. He fixed his camp in the Theban territory, extending it along the course of the Asopus, from Erythræ toward Hysiæ, on the border of the Plataean lands. Within this tract he chose a situation where he fortified a space of rather more than a square mile.

The Lacedæmonians were joined at the isthmus by the other Peloponnesians of the confederacy; and there, according to the constant practice of the Greeks in all momentous undertakings, after solemn sacrifices, the bowels of the victims were observed, whence persons believed to be inspired, or, if such were not to be found, persons who had reputation for skill in divination, undertook to know how far and upon what conditions the gods would be propitious.

Tisamenus, an Elean, attended Pausanias in quality of prophet to the army. The Lacedæmonians had such confidence in the fortune and prophetic abilities of this man that, to secure him to themselves, when he had refused all other price, they admitted him and his brother to the full privileges of Spartan citizens; an honour

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 13.

c. 15. Diod.  
Sic. 1. 11. c. 28.  
Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 41.

c. 15.

c. 33.



never, to the time of Herodotus, conferred upon any other person. Among the Greeks policy and superstition were so intimately blended, that it is often difficult to discover what should be attributed to each. Upon the present occasion the symptoms were very favourable; which would, perhaps, commonly happen when measures were already resolved upon. At Eleusis the combined army was joined by the Athenian forces, to the chief command of which Aristides had been raised, by a particular decree of the people, marking the prevalence of the aristocratical interests. Sacrifices were there repeated, and the symptoms of the victims were again favourable. The army therefore proceeded with confidence into Bœotia, and took a position at the foot of mount Cithæron, opposite to the camp of the Persians, the river Asopus flowing between them.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 19.

c. 19. & 28.  
Diod. Sic.  
1. 11. c. 30.  
Plutarch. vit.  
Aristid.

Mardonius had judiciously left the passage of the mountains uninterrupted to the Grecian troops; his business being to draw them into the champaign country, where, through his cavalry, on which then, as at this day, was the principal reliance of Asiatic armies, victory would be nearly certain to him, and probably easy. But Pausanias would not move from his advantageous ground; and his position was so strong that an attempt to force it could not prudently be ventured. Mardonius, therefore, whose numbers, in a confined territory, made early decision necessary, ordered Masistius, his general of the cavalry, to advance with all the horse, and, by harassing in various parts, to make the Greeks uneasy in their situation; not neglecting at the same time, if he could find or create opportunity, to attempt an impression. The Persian cavalry all used missile weapons, darts or arrows, or both; a practice by which, more than four centuries after, they destroyed the Roman army under Crassus, and in which the

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 20.

horsemen of the same countries are wonderfully skilful at this day. Like the eastern cavalry at this day also, they commonly attacked or harassed by small bodies in succession; vehement in onset, never long in conflict, but, if the enemy was firm in resistance, retreating hastily, still to prepare for another charge.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 21. Plut.  
Arist.

The Megarian camp was in the part of the Grecian line the most accessible to cavalry. Hither, therefore, Masistius directed his principal efforts. The Megarians, somewhat surprised by the novel manner of the attack, nevertheless maintained their station. Wearied however at length by the unceasing succession of fresh troops, all of whom approached just enough to give opprobrious language, and discharge their darts and arrows, after which they instantly retired, the Megarian leaders sent to inform Pausanias of their distress, adding that they must abandon their post if not quickly relieved. Pausanias himself was at a loss how effectually to oppose those desultory attacks of the Persian cavalry. He assembled the generals for advice, and expressed his wish that volunteers could be found to undertake a business so new to him that he was unwilling to risk orders upon it. The Athenians alone offered themselves. Aristides had had the advantage of serving in a high command under the great Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. Upon the present occasion

Plut. Arist.

he selected an active officer named Olympiodorus, under whose orders he placed three hundred chosen heavy-armed foot, with a large proportion of bowmen and dartmen. These seem to have been, in the Athenian armies, superior to the light troops of the Peloponnesians, and probably also to those of the Megarians; who, being a Dorian people from Peloponnesus, would pride themselves upon adhering to the Peloponnesian discipline, that of the phalanx, heavy-armed, in which the Peloponnesians had an

Herodot. &  
Plut. ut sup.

allowed superiority. Olympiodorus hastened to the relief of the pressed part of the line. The Persian horse, who, by the swiftness of their retreat, eluded every effort of the Megarian heavy-armed foot, found themselves unexpectedly incommoded by the Athenian bowmen. Charging to disperse them, they were received by the supporting heavy-armed foot, upon whom they could make no impression, but suffered in the attempt. Masistius, vexed to be thus baffled, and anxious to recover an advantage from which he had promised himself credit, advanced to direct and encourage those desultory attacks, so harassing to regular infantry. In the instant of a charge, his horse, wounded with an arrow, reared upright, and he fell. His troops, attentive to their usual evolution, without adverting to their general's misfortune, wheeled and retreated at full speed. The Athenian heavy-armed foot, rushing forward, overpowered the few remaining about Masistius. His horse was caught and led off by the Greeks. Himself, lying on the ground, after the excellence of his armour, said to have been complete like that of the knights of western Europe in the times of chivalry, had resisted many efforts of the Athenian soldiers, was at length pierced in the eye by a javelin, which penetrated to the brain. The Persian cavalry halting at their usual distance from the enemy, waited in vain for fresh orders. Perceiving then their loss, the whole body prepared to charge together, to revenge their slain general, or at least to recover the body. Olympiodorus, expecting this, had sent for succour; but the Persians made their charge before any sufficient reinforcement could arrive, and the Athenians were obliged to retire for more advantageous ground. Assistance however was not delayed. The Grecian foot charged the Persian horse, put them to flight, and recovered their prize. The cavalry stood again at the distance of about a quarter of a mile; but, after some con-

sultation among the principal surviving officers, retreated to their camp.

Masistius was a man very high both in rank and in esteem among the Persians, and, as Herodotus indicates, next in command to Mardonius. His death was therefore lamented in their camp, with all the pomp of public mourning, and every honourable testimony of general grief. The event was, on the other hand, not a little encouraging to the Greeks. The leaders derived just confidence from the experience that the formidable cavalry of the East could be resisted; and the body of the slain general, borne on a carriage through the whole camp, however in itself a melancholy object, was, in this season, an animating spectacle to the soldiers. It was now determined to quit the present ground, which, though otherwise advantageous, had been found inconvenient from scarcity of water (for the decided superiority of the enemy's cavalry made it difficult to water from the Asopus), and to venture to a lower situation, within the Plataean territory, near the Gargaphian fountain. In their march from Erythræ they held the mountain ridge by Hysiaë, but the ground of encampment consisted of gentle eminences only.

In this situation, nothing forbidding, the troops of every Grecian state claimed their accustomed post in the line. The Lacedæmonians, having been long the leading people of Greece, had the right as their acknowledged privilege. The Athenians, unquestionably next in consequence, thought themselves entitled to the second rank; but having never acted in any large body with Peloponnesian armies, no custom had established their degree of precedency. The Tegeans therefore claimed the left of the line, as their post by ancient prescription. The dispute was brought before a meeting of the officers of the army. The

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 24.

c. 25.

9th Sept.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 25, 26.

Tegeans urged their claim in a studied oration, supporting it by a long detail of the great actions of their ancestors. Aristides answered for the Athenians.<sup>8</sup> “ We Herodot. 1. 9. c. 27. understand,” he said, “ that we came hither not to harangue but to fight. Otherwise were we disposed to boast of the deeds in arms of our ancestors, we could go as far into antiquity as the Arcadians, and perhaps find more honourable testimonies in our favour. For what has passed in our own times we need only mention Marathon. But we think it highly unbecoming, in a moment like the present, to be disputing about precedency. We are ready to obey you, Lacedæmonians, wheresoever, and next to whomsoever you think it for the common advantage to place us. Wherever our station may be appointed, we shall endeavour to act as becomes us in the common cause of Greece. Command therefore, and depend upon our obedience.” The Lacedæmonians without hesitation and with one voice exclaimed, “ The Athenians ought to c. 28. have the post of honour in preference to the Arcadians.”

The army was then disposed in the following order: five thousand Spartans of the city held the first place on the right, attended each by seven light-armed Helots, thus making a body of forty thousand men: then five thousand Lacedæmonians of the other towns of Laconia, attended each by one Helot: so that, according to the his- c. 29. torian, the whole Lacedæmonian force was fifty thousand. Next to these were the Tegeans, in number fifteen hundred: then five thousand Corinthians, three hundred Potidæans from Pallene, six hundred Orchomenians of Arcadia, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epi-

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, in relating this transaction, speaks of the Athenians in general, without naming any one: Plutarch attributes all to Aristides, and, though too often careless of authority, probably here on good ground.

daurians, one thousand Træzenians, two hundred Lepreats, four hundred Mycenæans and Tiryinthians, one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians, four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ambraciots, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, five hundred Eginetans, three thousand Megarians, six hundred Plataëans. The Athenians were eight thousand, holding the extreme of the left wing. Thus the heavy-armed foot were thirty-eight thousand seven hundred. But every Spartan of the city having seven attending Helots, every other Lacedæmonian one, and the slaves attending the other Greeks, and acting as light-armed soldiers, being, according to Herodotus, nearly

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 29.

in the proportion of one to every heavy-armed soldier, the light-armed would be, in all, sixty-nine thousand five hundred, and the total number of fighting men<sup>9</sup> a hundred and eight thousand two hundred. There were besides eighteen hundred Thespians, not regularly armed, who would make the whole a hundred and ten thousand. Herodotus mentions no horse in the Grecian army; probably because the force was inconsiderable, and utterly incompetent to face the numerous and excellent cavalry of Persia.

c. 31. & 40.

As soon as it was known that the Greeks had filed off toward Plataëa, Mardonius also moved and encamped overagainst them, keeping still the Asopus in his front. Herodotus supposes his army to have consisted now of three hundred and fifty thousand fighting men; of whom, including Macedonians, fifty thousand were Greeks; but, he says, the number was never exactly as-

<sup>9</sup> Ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. There were perhaps other slaves who did not bear arms, and there might be light-armed soldiers who were not slaves. Such apparently the Thespians were. On this subject the note 49. p. 706. of Wesseling's Herodotus may deserve attention.

certained. With regard to the others also he has omitted to deduct those probably lost in the march of Artabazus and in winter quarters, together with the sick, besides those, by his own account, destroyed at the siege of Potidæa. The report of Cornelius Nepos thus seems likely to have been nearer the truth, making the infantry two hundred thousand, and the horse twenty thousand. But these, being all chosen troops, would not require less than the usual proportion of attendants on Asiatic armies. Among the Greeks, under the Persian banners, a thousand Phocians followed with extreme reluctance: while their fellow countrymen, who had taken refuge among the fastnesses of Parnassus, were, with all the activity that the zeal of revenge and the lust of plunder united could excite, continually harassing the outskirts of the army.

Mardonius, as well as Pausanias, had an Elean prophet in his pay. Herodotus affirms that he even solicitously consulted Grecian oracles concerning the event of the war; and gives a very detailed account of his application to the prophetic cavern of Trophonius at Lebæda in Bœotia. Possibly he may have judged well in thinking it advantageous to propagate among the Greeks, both his auxiliaries and his enemies, the belief that their own gods favoured the Persian cause, and more especially as the Greeks under his command had their particular prophet, whose predictions might be inconvenient to him, and against whom a Grecian prophet, under his own influence, might be useful. For himself, it is utterly unlikely that he would pay any regard to the oracles of deities, the belief in whom the religion of his country taught him to despise and abhor. The Grecian prophets however in both armies, on inspection of the sacrificed victims, foretold victory to their own, provided it received the attack. These prophecies, if dictated by

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 31.

Corn. Nep.  
vit. Arist.

Herodot. ut  
ant.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 37, 38.

policy, appear on both sides judicious.<sup>10</sup> For the Greeks had only to keep their advantageous ground, while the vast camp of their enemy consumed its magazines, and they would have the benefit of victory without risk. To the Persians also the same predictions might be useful; to account to the soldier for the inaction of his general before an army so inferior, and to keep him quiet under sufferings from scarcity and probably badness of provisions, together with the want of many things to which Asiatics were accustomed, while the means were sought to entice or force the Greeks from their position. Eight days passed without any material attempt on either side. But, during this pause, Mardonius obtained exact information of the defiles of mount Cithæron, through which the Grecian army received its supplies. On the evening of the ninth day a large body of horse marched. Just where the defile meets the plain they fell in with a convoy. They killed men and cattle till sated with slaughter, and drove the remainder to their own camp. Two days then again passed without any considerable event, neither army venturing to pass the Asopus, but the Persian horse, in detached bodies, were unceasingly harassing the Greeks.

Whether the Grecian soothsayer in the Persian general's pay was really intractable, or whether only the historian's zeal for the credit of the religion of his country induced him to propagate, and perhaps believe, the report, Mardonius, we are told, at length determined to disregard the Grecian

<sup>10</sup> If the simple Herodotus sometimes tires with reiterated details of the superstition of his age, yet the philosophical Plutarch is far more disgusting. Herodotus, drawing his pictures from the life, is often informing, and never fails to be in some degree amusing. It may be indeed sometimes difficult to judge what he believed himself; and often it may be desired in vain to discover how far the real belief of statesmen and generals has operated, and where their policy only has made use of the credulity of the vulgar. Here assistance might be expected from the philosopher of an enlightened age, but he is wholly disappointing.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 39.

17th Sept.



prognostics, which forbade attack, and to follow the laws and customs of the Persians alone in engaging the enemy. The conduct however, which Herodotus attributes to him upon this occasion, shows both the general and the politician. Having summoned the principal Grecian officers of his army, he asked, if they knew of any oracle declaring that a Persian army should perish in Greece. Report of such an oracle, it seems, had been circulated, but none would own they knew of any such. "Then," said Mardonius, "I will tell you that I well know an oracle has foretold the destruction of a Persian army that shall plunder the temple of Delphi. Be however assured that the army under my orders shall never violate that temple. The Greeks therefore, allies of the Persians, may proceed, confident of the favour of their gods, and of victory." He then declared his intention to attack the confederates on the next day, and directed to prepare accordingly. As the historian had conversed with Bœotians of rank who served under Mardonius, the account of this transaction, in itself probable, might come to him well authenticated.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 42.

20th Sept.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 16.

Among those of Grecian race now subjects of the Persian empire, Alexander king of Macedonia, from an independent sovereign become the follower of a Persian general, would not naturally be the most satisfied with his new situation. Revolving in his mind the possible consequences of the approaching day, he could not rest. At midnight he mounted his horse, rode to the Athenian line, and demanded to speak with the general. Aristides, informed that an unknown person on horseback from the Persian camp, and apparently of rank, demanded to speak with him, assembled some of his principal officers, and went with them to the place. The king of Macedonia told them, "that Mardonius had determined to attack the Grecian camp next

c. 44, 45.  
Plutarch, vit.  
Aristid.

morning, and had given his orders for the purpose. Should any thing nevertheless prevent the attack from taking place, he advised that the Grecian generals should persevere in holding their present situation, for the deficiency of the magazines would soon compel the Persians to retire. His affection for the Greek nation in general, and his particular regard for the Athenian people, had induced him to hazard the very dangerous measure in which they saw him engaged. He need not therefore, he was sure, request from them that secrecy which his safety required; but, on the contrary, should the war at last have a favourable issue for them, he trusted that his known inclination for the Grecian cause, and more especially his service of that night, would be remembered, when Greece, being free, might assist Macedonia in recovering independency." Alexander hastened back to his own camp; Aristides immediately went to Pausanias with the intelligence he received.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 46.

On the arrival of the Athenian general at the commander-in-chief's tent, the important consultation was entered upon, in what manner to resist the attack, expected in a few hours, which was to decide the fate of Greece. It had been observed that the native Persians, esteemed far superior to the other Asiatic infantry, held the left of the enemy's line, against the Lacedæmonians, and the Greeks in the Persian service the right, against the Athenians. Pausanias proposed a change in the order of the Grecian army; that the Athenians, who alone of the confederates had any experience of action with the Persians, and who were elate, not only with the memory of their great victory at Marathon, but also with the event of their recent engagement with the cavalry, should move to the right wing, and that the Lacedæmonians, long accustomed to be superior to all the Greeks, should take the left. Aristides readily consented, and orders were given accordingly.

Day broke, and the Persian generals observed the Grecian troops in motion. This unexpected circumstance induced them to defer the intended attack. Change in their own disposition might become necessary; changes were made; the day was consumed in evolutions of both armies, and the Persian infantry never came into action. But the cavalry harassed unceasingly the more accessible parts of the Grecian line. Generally they did no more than discharge their bows and hastily retire; thus, however, keeping a constant alarm, and, while they inflicted many wounds, receiving little injury. But a more serious attack was made upon that part of the Lacedæmonian line which guarded the Gargaphian fountain: there the Persian horse remained masters of the field.

21st Sept.  
Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 47. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 49. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

Night put an end to this desultory kind of action, when, after a day of unremitted fatigue<sup>11</sup>, the Grecian army was without water. Provisions also began to fail, the activity of the Persian horse intercepting supplies. To move therefore was indispensable. At little more than a mile from the Gargaphian fountain, toward Plataæa, the waters of the Asopus, in their descent from mount Cithæron, formed an island, not half a mile wide. This spot, for the sake of water, it was determined to occupy. At the same time it was resolved to send half the army to the mountains, to bring in a convoy of provisions which waited there, not daring to stir beyond the defiles. But it was feared to attempt a movement in the plain, in presence of the Persian horse, which in the very camp had given such annoyance. The second watch of the night was therefore the time appointed for the march. But when, danger pressing, fear ran high, the troops of each

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 50.

c. 51. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

<sup>11</sup> Κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου, ἔχον πόνον ἄτρυτον.  
Herodot. l. 9. c. 52.

independent state little regarded the orders of the commander-in-chief. The Tegeans steadily observed the motions of the Lacedæmonians, and the Plataeans those of the Athenians; but the rest, instead of halting at the island, fled (for that is the term used by Herodotus, and confirmed even by Plutarch) as far as the temple of Juno, under the walls of Plataea, at the distance of two miles and a half from the Gargaphian fountain.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 52. Lys. or.  
fun. p. 107.  
vel 195. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

The obstinacy of a Spartan officer, from which only unfortunate consequences could be reasonably expected, led immediately to the great and most important victory which followed. Amompharetus, whose military rank was that of locage, but who was besides vested with the sacred dignity of priesthood, urging the laws of his country against his general's orders, absolutely refused to retreat. Pausanias, incensed at this disobedience, yet, as the circumstance was altogether new in the Spartan service, at a loss how to act, detained the Lacedæmonian forces while the others were pressing their march. But the Athenian general, ever attentive to the interest of the confederacy at large, before he would suffer his own troops to move, sent to inquire the cause of the delay of which he was in-

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 55. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

formed among the Lacedæmonians. The officer despatched upon this occasion found the commander-in-chief in high altercation with Amompharetus; who at the instant of the Athenian's arrival, taking up a large stone in both his hands, in allusion to the Grecian mode of voting, by casting a shell, a pebble, or a die into an urn, threw it before his general's feet, saying, "With this die I give my vote not to fly from the strangers:" for by that gentle term the Lacedæmonians usually distinguished foreigners, whom the other Greeks called barbarians. Pausanias desired the Athenian officer to report to his immediate

commander what he had seen, and to request that the motions of the Athenian troops might be directed by what should be observed of the Lacedæmonian. At length, day breaking, he gave his orders for the Lacedæmonians with the Tegeans, who alone of the other confederates remained with him, to move toward the proposed ground of encampment. They directed their march along the hills; the Athenians only ventured in the plain. Then at last Amompharetus, yielding something of his obstinacy, ordered his lochus, with a slow pace, to follow the rest of the army.

The dawn again discovered to the Persians the Grecian army in unexpected motion. The horse, always alert, and now elated with the success of the preceding day, was quickly upon the Lacedæmonian rear. The movement of the Greeks being taken for flight, Mardonius led the Persian infantry in pursuit. The whole army followed, with great haste, and not without somewhat of the confusion of an ill-disciplined multitude, eager to share in certain victory. The Grecian general had not been immediately aware of the cowardly disobedience of that large part of his forces which had pushed on beyond the ground intended to be occupied. It was now advisable, if possible, to join them; but the Persian horse so annoyed his rear, with desultory attacks continually reiterated, that it became necessary to make a stand. He sent therefore to inform the Athenian general of all circumstances, and to request his immediate co-operation in an effort to repel the enemy's cavalry. Aristides readily consented; but before he could join the Lacedæmonians, the Grecian troops in the Persian service were upon him, and he had himself to contend with superior numbers. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans however of themselves formed a con-

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 56.

22 Sept.  
Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 57.

c. 58.

c. 59.

c. 60.

c. 61. Pint.  
vit. Aristid.

siderable army. They were above eleven thousand heavy-armed foot, attended by more than forty thousand light-armed slaves. But the light-armed of the Peloponnesians were of so little estimation that, notwithstanding their numbers, Pausanias had particularly desired a reinforcement of Athenian bowmen. The ground however, consisting of the rugged roots of mount Cithæron, with the Asopus flowing at the bottom, was favourable for defence, and adverse to

the action of cavalry. The Persian infantry was therefore brought up; and a fierce engagement ensued. The Persians, after discharging their missile weapons, closed upon the Greeks, and showed themselves, says the impartial historian, neither in strength nor in courage inferior.<sup>12</sup> But they were very inferior in arms for close fight, and not less so in practice and in science. With their undefended bodies and short weapons they nevertheless made vigorous assaults, many of them seizing and even breaking the long spears of the Greeks. Unacquainted with that exactness of close formation and that steady march, in which the Greeks, and especially the Lacedæmonians, excelled, they rushed forward singly, or in very small bodies, and perished in vain attempts to penetrate the Spartan phalanx. As their efforts at length, through repeated failure, began to relax, the Greeks advanced upon them. The Tegeans, according to Herodotus, made the first impression; the Lacedæmonians then pushed forward, and confusion soon became general among the Persian infantry.

Mardonius, who, a little before, had thought himself pursuing an enemy neither able nor daring to withstand him, was seized with the deepest anguish on finding victory thus turning against him. Had he instantly determined

<sup>12</sup> To the same purpose also even Plutarch speaks: Περσῶν πολλοὺς—οὐκ ἀπρέεστας οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας. vit. Aristid. and at least as much is implied by Plato, Laches, p. 191. t. 2.

upon retreat, he might probably still have avoided any considerable loss; for his infantry would soon have been safe in the plain, under the protection of his numerous cavalry. But possibly signal and speedy success was indispensable to him. His fortune, perhaps his life, and the lot of all his family, might depend upon it: less however through the caprice of the prince than that of the people; always most dangerous under a despotic government, which, as Aristotle has well observed, is congenial with that of universal suffrage. His army was too numerous to subsist long in a narrow and mountainous country, without supplies by sea. The necessity of decision therefore urging, in the crisis before him, he determined to rest all upon the fortune of the present moment. At the head of a chosen body of cavalry, he hastened to rally and support his broken infantry. By a vigorous and well-conducted charge, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, he checked the progress of the Spartan phalanx: but he could not break that firm and well-disciplined body. In his efforts, after some of his bravest officers and many of his soldiers had been killed, he received himself a mortal wound. His fall then was the signal for instant flight to those about him, and through them to his whole army. For in Asiatic armies, the jealousy of despotism being adverse to that close succession of various ranks in command which, in the European, contributes so much to the preservation of order in all events, the death of the commander-in-chief can scarcely fail to superinduce complete confusion, and the certain ruin of the enterprise. Artabazus, next in command to Mardonius, is said not only to have differed in opinion from his general in regard to the mode of conducting the war, but to have disapproved of the war itself. It does not appear that he was at all engaged in

Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 99, 100.

Arist. Polit.  
l. 5. c. 10.

the battle.<sup>13</sup> As soon as he was assured of the rout of the Persian infantry, leaving the rest of the army to any who would take charge of it, he retreated with forty thousand men, who had been under his immediate orders, hastily toward Phocis.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 67. et Plut.  
Aristid.

While the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were thus unexpectedly victorious upon the hills, the Athenians were sharply engaged with the Bœotians in the plain below. The greater part of the other Greeks in the Persian service, little earnest in the cause, kept aloof. The abilities of Aristides therefore, and the valour of the Athenians, not exposed to a contest too unequal, at length prevailed. The Bœotians fled toward Thebes. The rest, prepared to act according to circumstances, made a timely retreat. The crowd of Asiatics, of various nations, dreading the charge of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, fled

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 68.

profusely on the first appearance of flight among those bands of native Persians who had borne the brunt of the battle. The horse however, both Persian and Bœotian, still kept the field, and gave considerable protection to the fugitive infantry.

Intelligence had quickly passed to the Greeks under the walls of Platæa, that the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were engaged and successful. Anxious

c. 69.

<sup>13</sup> Rollin, though he sometimes mistakes the Greek military writers, as Thucydides and Xenophon, on subjects merely military, is otherwise, in this early part of Grecian history, generally exact; but I know not where he learnt that Artabazus distinguished himself by his gallant exertion in this battle. Herodotus mentions on a prior occasion\*, that Artabazus got credit for his conduct in the business of Platæa; apparently for his counsel given before the battle, which was justified by the event; and for an able retreat, by which alone any part of the army was saved; but neither Herodotus nor Diodorus nor Plutarch, in describing the battle, mention that he was at all engaged. Diodorus gives an account of his retreat exactly corresponding with that of Herodotus.

\* b. 9. c. 41. & 66.



then to repair their shameful misconduct with that usual unhappiness of error which leads to farther error, they advanced with more haste than good order toward the field of battle; and the Megarians and Phliasiens, venturing by the plain, were attacked by the Theban horse, who killed six hundred, and drove the rest to the mountains.

The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans meanwhile, animated by unexpected success, yet steady through practised discipline, repelling all the efforts of the Persian cavalry, pressed on to the fortified camp; the refuge of the greatest part of the routed troops, and the depository of all the valuables of the army. Immediately they attempted an assault: but the Lacedæmonians, as remarkable for ignorance of sieges as for skill in the field, were baffled with loss till the Athenian forces arrived. Under the direction of the Athenian officers, after vigorous efforts on both sides, an assault succeeded. A horrid slaughter ensued. The victory indeed of a free people, fighting for their possessions, their families, and their independency, against foreign invaders, is never likely to be mild. Of near two hundred thousand Asiatics, the lowest reported numbers of the Persian army, only three thousand, exclusively of those who retreated under Artabazus, are said to have survived. Both Herodotus and Plutarch however avoid all detail of this massacre. How much of it happened within the fortified camp, and what execution was done on fugitives over a country so surrounded by seas and mountains that it would be difficult for one to escape, information at all approaching to exactness is indeed not to be expected.

When opposition ceased within the Persian lines, and the spirit of slaughter was at length sated, the rich plunder of the camp drew the attention of the conquerors. Here the wealth of the lords of Asia displayed a scene so new to the

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 70. Plut. l.  
vit. Aristid.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. 9. c. 32.

citizens of the little Grecian republics that they were at a loss on what objects in preference to fix their avidity. The

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 80. Tegeans however, who had first surmounted the rampart, and throughout the action had well supported their pretension to precedency among the Greeks, having the fortune also to arrive first at the magnificent pavilion of Mardonius, did not hesitate to stop there. Instantly they laid their rapacious hands upon all its rich contents; great part of which had been the furniture of Xerxes himself, which, on his hasty departure for Asia, he had presented to his general and brother-in-law. But they were not permitted entirely to enjoy this precedency in

Ibid. pillage. The commander-in-chief quickly issued orders, That none should presume to appropriate any part of the booty, but that the whole should be collected, to be fairly divided among those who had together earned it. A brazen manger only, of very curious workmanship, the Tegeans were allowed to retain, as an honorary testimony to their particular valour and fortune. The Helots attending the Lacedæmonian forces, were ordered to collect the rest. Tents and their furniture, adorned with gold and silver, collars, bracelets, hilts of cimeters, golden cups, and various other utensils of gold and silver, together with horses, camels, and women, were the principal spoil. Rich clothes in abundance, which at another time, says the historian, would have been thought valuable plunder, were now disregarded. But the vigilance of those appointed to superintend the business did not suffice to prevent the Helots from concealing many things of value, which they sold, principally to the Æginetans; a nation (if we may so call the inhabitants of a rock) of merchant-pirates, who by this unworthy traffic, acquired riches before unknown among them.

The booty being collected, a tenth was set apart, accord-

ing to the customary piety of the Greeks, for an offering to the gods. From the produce of this, Herodot. 1. 9. c. 81. & Diod. Sic. 1. 11. c. 33. continues the contemporary historian, was dedicated to the god at Delphi, the golden tripod which stands upon the three-headed brazen serpent next the altar, the brazen statue of Jupiter at Olympia, ten cubits high, and the brazen statue of Neptune, seven cubits high, at the isthmus. The Tegeans dedicated their manger at Tegea in the temple of the Alean Minerva. To attribute to them a modesty becoming their valour, and which had profited from reproof, we might desire to interpret the goddess's title, from analogy in a language derived from the Arcadian, to signify, That divine wisdom which directs what human ignorance calls Chance. The rest of the spoil was divided among those who had fought for it.

Among the anecdotes transmitted concerning this great event, one, related by the original historian, has been particularly celebrated. Herodot. 1. 9. c. 82. The appendages of the royal household were found in Mardonius's tent, nearly entire; and most of the domestic slaves had escaped the massacre. Pausanias, after admiring the various riches of the scene and the many contrivances of luxury, ordered a supper to be prepared by the Persian slaves, exactly as it would have been for Mardonius, had he been living and in his command. The orders were diligently executed: the splendid furniture was arranged; the sideboard displayed a profusion of gold and silver plate; the table was covered with exquisite elegance. Pausanias then directed his usual Spartan supper to be placed by the side of this sumptuous entertainment. Little preparation was necessary. Then sending for the principal Grecian officers, "I have desired your company here," he said, "to show you the folly of the Persian general. Living as you see at home, he came thus far to take from us such a miserable pittance as ours."

Herodot. l. 9.  
l. 77.

The Mantineans had arrived from Plataea presently after the storming of the camp. Vexed to have lost their share of glory and reward, both so extraordinary, they marched immediately, contrary to the inclination of Pausanias, in pursuit of Artabazus. Having reached the borders of Thessaly however, they returned without effecting any thing. Presently after them the Eleans had arrived. The generals of both, on their return to their respective countries, were punished with banishment.

After the collection of the spoil, the next care of the Greeks, and what upon all occasions they esteemed a necessary and sacred office, was the burial of their slain. The Lacedæmonians formed three separate burial-places; one for those who had borne sacred offices<sup>14</sup>, of whom the gallant Amompharetus had fallen; another for the other Lacedæmonians; and the third for the Helots. Herodotus relates a remarkable instance of the severity of their maxims of discipline at this time. Aristodemus, who in the preceding year had been disgraced for not taking his share in the action at Thermopylæ, distinguished himself beyond all others in the battle of Plataea, and was at length slain. The merit of his behaviour was acknowledged; but it was admitted only as sufficient, in his circumstances, to obviate infamy, and not to earn honour. The historian however, with the inclination, has not wanted the power, to bestow on him more liberal reward; and the eulogy of Herodotus will transmit the name of Aristodemus

<sup>14</sup> This obvious interpretation of the term *ἱεῖας*, which stands in all the editions of Herodotus, does not appear to me loaded with any difficulty. I wish to avoid discussion of matters which lie within the proper province of the critic or the antiquarian rather than of the historian; yet I must own that I think the ingenious conjectures of Valckenarius and others upon this passage, stated in the notes of Wesseling's edition, all more open to objection than the old reading. [The reading now adopted by Schweighæuser and others is *ἱεῖνας*. In his Lexicon Herodoteum it is thus explained: "Ἰεῖν (sive Εἰεῖν), ἔνος, ὄ, Adolescens, Juvenis, Lacedæmoniorum sermone."]

with glory probably to the latest generations. The Athenians, Tegeans, Megarians, and Phliasians had each a single burying-place. Barrows, raised according to that extensive practice of antiquity which occasion has occurred already to notice, distinguished to following ages the several spots.<sup>15</sup>

These solemn ceremonies were scarcely over when a dangerous jealousy broke out between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the question to whom the accustomed Aristeia, or first honours of military merit, were due upon this great occasion. Immediate ill consequences were however prevented through the influence of the Corinthian leaders; who, interfering as mediators, named the Plataeans as having merited beyond all others. When the common cause particularly required exertion by sea, they, though an inland people, had served aboard the fleet; and in the campaign by land, which

Plut. vit.  
Aristid.

Herodot. 1. 8.  
c. 1. Thucyd.  
1. 5. c. 54.

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides expresses wonder, and, in his Treatise against Herodotus, much indignation, at the assertion that the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, and Athenians alone gained the victory of Plataea: yet in the former work, relating, much in the same manner as Herodotus, the disorderly flight of the other Greeks before the battle, he has given no indirect testimony to the fact. Lysias, in his funeral orations, asserts it positively. (Lys. or. fun. p. 107, vel 195.) It is indeed little likely that, while memory of the transaction was yet fresh, a historian, writing for the Greek nation, would venture a false assertion so dishonourable to so large a part of it, concerning facts in their nature of such public notoriety; and it is still less likely that such an assertion would remain to be refuted in Plutarch's age. The interest which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians afterward had in courting the other Grecian states may sufficiently account for the epigrams, barrows, and other such uncertain evidences as Plutarch has quoted. Indeed, before Plutarch's testimony against Herodotus can be of any weight, he must be first reconciled to himself. It does however appear extraordinary, that Herodotus, in his narrative of this great event, should never once have mentioned the Plataeans. The assertion of Plutarch, that the Greeks decreed to the Plataeans the first honours for military merit on the occasion, though Diodorus differs from him, is confirmed by Thucydides, against whose authority that of Diodorus is not to be mentioned. Possibly on account of their following fate Herodotus might have had some reason for omitting all mention of them, similar to that, whatever it was, which has made him totally silent concerning the first two Messenian wars. Considering his extreme freedom by turns with all the most powerful states of Greece, both omissions appear mysterious.

had now had so glorious an issue, none had more distinguished themselves by their zeal and bravery. Their actions on the day of Plataea are not particularly recorded by any writer; apparently because, being citizens of Athens, as they are modestly called by Thucydides, or subjects, as they are perhaps more truly styled by Herodotus, they had formed one body with the Athenians, under the orders of Aristides. Their commonwealth was too small to excite jealousy: all the other Greeks approved the determination of the Corinthians; and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians acquiesced.

This threatening business being thus accommodated, a council was held to consider of farther measures. The battle of Plataea, it is said, was fought on the twenty-second of September.<sup>16</sup> The season was therefore not too far advanced for taking vengeance on those Greeks who had joined the Persians. It was determined to march immediately against Thebes, and to require the delivery of Timegenides and Attaginus, heads of the faction which had led the Bœotians to the Persian alliance. On the eleventh day from the battle of Plataea, the army entered the Theban lands. The delivery of the obnoxious persons being refused, plunder and waste of the country and preparations for the siege of

Thucyd. c. 55.  
& 63.  
Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 108.  
Plut. Arist.  
Thucyd. l. 5.  
c. 56.

B. C. 479.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 86. & seq.  
Diod. Sic. l. 11.  
c. 53. 3 Oct.

<sup>16</sup> Thus the chronologers have determined, not without authority: but the Grecian calendar was yet too little exact for absolute certainty to a day. Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχίσαντο (says Plutarch, speaking of the battle of Plataea) τῇ τετραδί τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἰσταμένου κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετραδί τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντες, ἧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθεοῖζεται συνήθειον, καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθεσίῳ Διὶ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. Τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστόν, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον, ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν. Plut. vit. Aristid. The fourth day of the Attic month Boedromion, according to our chronologers, would correspond with the 23d of September; but they have preferred the authority of the copies of Plutarch's Life of Camillus, and of his treatise on the Glory of Athens; in both of which the third of the month Boedromion is named as the day of the battle of Plataea. The day of the battle being fixed, Herodotus furnishes the other dates given in the margin.

the city were begun. This was borne during twenty days. Timegenides then, fearing the turn of popular favour against him, proposed to the Theban people to offer the payment of a fine, as atonement for the transgression of the republic against the common cause of Greece: declaring that, if it should be refused, he would be ready to surrender himself with Attaginus, rather than be the occasion or pretence for the destruction of his country. The proposal was accepted by the assembly. But in the following night Attaginus fled, leaving his own family, as well as his associate Timegenides, to the mercy of the enraged Thebans. His children were immediately delivered to the commander-in-chief of the confederate Greeks. But the Spartan prince did not want liberality to distinguish between the criminal father and the innocent offspring, whom he immediately dismissed unhurt. Timegenides and some other principal Thebans being then demanded, were surrendered. They expected that time would be allowed them to prepare for a public defence, and trusted that their interest, assisted by money well bestowed, would insure their safety. Pausanias, suspecting this, determined to prevent it. Detaining them till the confederate forces separated for their several homes, and then leading them to Corinth, he caused them to be there executed: a salutary severity, no doubt, for the security of Greece against the common enemy; but, as far as appears, unsupported by the solemnity of a trial, and certainly unauthorized by any positive law.

Meanwhile Artabazus, who had withdrawn from the field of Plataea with numbers forming still a powerful army, nevertheless, on receiving information of the extent of the disaster to the Persian arms, saw no small difficulty and danger before him in the retreat to Asia. He was aware that even those nations which had been most forward in submission to Xerxes at the head of advancing myriads

would not scruple to avow their real disposition of hostility toward him, were the defeat of Mardonius known, and his own march taken for flight. He therefore gave out that his forces were only the advanced guard of the victorious army, which was immediately following. Using rapidity and precaution, he passed the mountains of Thessaly and crossed Macedonia without loss. But report would soon outstrip the march of his numbers. Alexander king of Macedonia, who had found himself forced, as a kind of hostage, to follow the train of the Persian general, would not fail, on the defeat of the Persian army, to use his best diligence for returning to his kingdom. The Macedonian forces assembling, under the command of his son Perdiccas, hung on the rear of Artabazus. The difficult passage of the large river Strymon afforded opportunity which was ably and successfully used. A large part of the Persian army was cut off, and such numbers made prisoners that the portion of their ransom which Grecian piety usually offered to the gods provided a statue of gold, which Alexander dedicated at Delphi. How far his conduct was consistent with faith pledged to Persia remaining history fails of assurance ; but the Athenian people acknowledged in it the virtue of a Grecian patriot : they voted honours and privileges to Perdiccas, and the battle of the Strymon had lasting fame, as the consummation of misfortune and disgrace to Persia, and of safety and glory to Greece.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> . . . . Τέλειον τὰτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Demosth. *περὶ συντάξ.* p. 173. and in Aristocr. p. 687. ed. Reiske. In both these orations Perdiccas is mentioned as the person to whom the Athenian people decreed honours, though they differ somewhat in regard to the amount. The great Philip, afterward king of Macedonia, in his letter to the Athenian people, preserved with the oration of Demosthenes entitled, On the Letter, mentions only Alexander, in whose name the dedications of course would be made, and under whose authority the army which defeated the Persians would act, though Perdiccas might be the immediate commander. Ep. Phil. ad Ath. p. 164. ed. Reiske.



## SECTION IV.

*Measures of the Grecian Fleet. — Battle of Mycale. — End of the Expedition of Xerxes.*

WHILE the arms of the confederate Greeks were thus wonderfully attended with success and glory against the immediate invaders of their country, the fleet, which during the summer had lain inactive at Delos, was at length excited to enterprise. In the island of Samos there had been always a strong party ready to take any opportunity for spirited opposition to Theomestor, whom the Persians had raised to the tyranny of the island. Engaging in their views Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras the Milesian chief, the Samians deputed Lampon and Athenagoras, two principal men among them, to attend him on a mission to the commanders of the confederate fleet. In a conference with Leotychides and Xanthippus, Hegesistratus represented, “That on the least encouragement the whole Ionian people would revolt against the Persians and join the Grecian cause: that the bare appearance of the Grecian fleet off their coast would suffice to excite them to spirited action: that the Persian government was remiss and weak beyond what could be readily believed; insomuch that never did the means offer to the commanders of a powerful armament for so rich a booty with so little risk.” He proceeded to urge the Spartan king and the Athenian chief, invoking their common gods, to use the means, so easily in their power, for rescuing a Grecian people from subjection to barbarians; and he offered, for himself and his colleagues, if their fidelity was doubted, to remain hostages with the fleet. Leotychides, according to a common superstition of both Greeks and Romans, struck with the name of Hegesistratus (signifying the leader of an ar-

B. C. 479.  
Ol. 75½

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 90. Diod.  
Sic. 1. 11. c. 34.

Herodot. 1. 9.  
c. 91. & 92.

mament) as a favourable omen, readily acceded to the measure proposed. Dismissing the two other deputies, he detained Hegesistratus; and, only one day being allowed for preparation, the whole fleet, consisting, according to Diodorus, of two hundred and fifty trireme galleys, moved, on the next, for Samos.

Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 54.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 96.

The season was so far advanced that the commanders of the Phenician squadron in the Persian service, finding enterprise neither intended by the Persian admiral, nor expected from the Greeks, had requested leave to depart for their own distant ports before the equinoctial storms should set in; and this had been granted. Having thus incautiously parted with their best ships and ablest seamen, the Persians were highly alarmed with intelligence that the Grecian fleet was approaching. Hastily quitting Samos, they passed to the neighbouring promontory of Mycale on the Ionian coast; where an army, according to Herodotus, of sixty thousand men, was encamped under the command of Tigranes. Here, says the historian, near the temple of the venerable deities, and that temple of the Eleusinian Ceres which Philistus son of Pasicles built when he followed Neleus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus, they hauled their galleys upon the beach, and, with stones found upon the place, and palisadoes formed of olive and other cultivated trees, they raised a defence around them.

The Grecian commanders had expected to find the Persian fleet in full force at Samos, and proposed to engage it on that friendly coast; but they were not prepared for the more hazardous measure of following it to the Asiatic shore. A council of war was therefore held, in which it was deliberated whether to retire again immediately to their own seas, or first to make some attempt in the Hellespont. But intelligence received of the departure of

c. 96.

the Phenician squadron gave encouragement; the spirit of vigorous enterprise gained; and it was shortly determined to seek the enemy's fleet. On approaching the Ionian coast, it was not without surprise that they found the sea completely yielded to them, and the enemy prepared for opposition by land only. Ardour on one side rose in proportion to such evident backwardness on the other, and the bold measure was resolved upon to debark the whole of their force capable of acting by land, which would be by far the larger part of their crews, and to attack the Persians in their fortified camp. Probably the leaders had reasonable hopes, and perhaps confirmed information, that the numerous Greeks among the Persian forces wanted only opportunity to revolt. Leotychides however practised an expedient like that of Themistocles at Artemisium. He sent a herald in a boat, within hearing of the Ionian camp, who made proclamation, according to the original historian, in these words: "Men of Ionia, attend to what I say, of which the Persians will understand nothing. When we engage, it will become every one of you to think of the liberty of all: the word is Hebe. Let those who hear inform those who are out of hearing." The Samians had become suspected by the Persian leaders, through their generous kindness to about five hundred Athenian prisoners, who had been brought from Attica and disposed of as slaves in Asia Minor, having ransomed all, and sent them, with subsistence, to Athens. The Samian troops in the Persian army were therefore deprived of their arms; and the Milesians, being also suspected, were detached on pretence of service.<sup>18</sup>

Herodot. ut  
ant. et Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c.  
34.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 99. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c.  
35.

<sup>18</sup> It is evident, from the account of the nearly contemporary historian, that the Persian commanders were yet unaware of the kind of policy requisite for gaining hearty co-operation from the republicans, even those most hostile to the enemies of the Persians, but which in course of long communication, their successors, as in the sequel of this history will appear, learned.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 100. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c.  
35. Polyæn.  
Strateg. l. 1.  
c. 33.

Leotychides debarked his forces without opposition at some distance from the Persian camp. To add to their animation he caused report to be spread, that Pausanias had gained a complete victory over Mardonius in Bœotia; though intelligence of this could not have arived if, as historians affirm, it was the very day of the battle of Plataea. Possibly however information of the death of Masistius, with some exaggeration of the success obtained upon that occasion, might have reached him.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 102.

The Grecian forces marched in two columns: one under the command of Xanthippus, composed of the Athenian, Corinthian, Sicyonian, and Træzenian troops, holding the plain against the shore; the other, consisting of the Lacedæmonians with the remaining allies, under Leotychides, going by the more inland and hilly road. The former arrived first, and, eager to engross the glory of the day, proceeded immediately to assault; and this was so sudden, so well conducted, and so vigorous, that they had already entered the Persian rampart before the Lacedæmonians could arrive. The rashness was favoured, and perhaps justified, by the ready zeal of the Greeks in the Persian service to give them every assistance. The Sarmians, exasperated by the treatment they had received, exerted themselves, though unarmed, by all means in their power; and their exhortations and example determined the other Asian Greeks. From all reported by Herodotus it appears that the proper Persians had not yet deserved to lose that military reputation which they had acquired under the great Cyrus; but of all the infantry in the service of the empire they almost alone seem to have merited the title of soldiers. Probably the proportion of them at Mycale was not great. The other Asiatics shrunk before the vehemence of the Athenian attack; but the Persians were still resisting when the

c. 105. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c.  
36.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 102.

Lacedæmonians arrived. Then they were overpowered, and mostly destroyed. Tigranes, general of the Persian land forces, and two of the principal naval commanders, were among the slain. Of the Greeks in the Persian service the only man of rank who fell was Perilaus, Herodot. 1. 9. c. 103. commander of the Sicyonians.

Mycale was a small peninsula; and from the place of action was no retreat by land, but through narrow passes over a mountain. The Persian commanders, little expecting so sudden an attempt upon their numerous forces within fortified lines, thought they had provided sufficiently for security by disarming the suspected Samians, and detaching the Milesians to guard the passes. Their confidence in these however was grossly misplaced. c. 104.

The Milesians, with the most determined enmity, intercepted the fugitives, and of the whole army, it is said, few escaped.

When slaughter ceased, the Greeks remaining quiet possessors of whatever the Persian camp and fleet had contained, carried off every valuable of easy removal, and then set fire to the rest. The ships were the next object, and the whole Persian fleet was burnt. c. 106.

After this signal blow to the Persian power the Grecian fleet returned to Samos. A council was c. 106. Diod. Sic. 1. 11. c. 37. immediately held to consider what measures should be taken for the present security and future welfare of the revolted Ionians. The islanders might be safe under protection of the fleet. Against this it would be difficult, even for the resources of the Persian empire, soon to raise a force capable of disputing the command of the sea. But it was generally deemed impossible for any power of Greece to protect the long but narrow extent of continental colonies against the land force immediately behind them. Confirmation arriving of the news of the complete victory over the Persian arms in Bœotia, the Peloponnesian commanders proposed to re-

move the Ionians from Asia to Greece, and to put them in possession of all the seaports of those states which had sided with the Persians. But the Athenians dissented: not only denying the necessity of so violent a measure, but insisting peremptorily that the Peloponnesians had no right to interfere in the disposal of Athenian colonies, and the Peloponnesians had the moderation to yield to this argument. Under example then of the Samians, Chians, and Lesbians, the most powerful of the islanders all took solemn oaths to be faithful to the Grecian confederacy. Their sea-girt shores would afford present refuge for those continentals, most obnoxious to Persian vengeance, whom the walls of their towns could not protect. Farther measures being then taken into consideration, it was observed that Sardis was too near, the force there too great, and the season besides too much advanced, for any farther attempt in Ionia; but that the Hellespont, more distant from the centre of the Persian force, was open to enterprise by sea. Thither

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 114. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c.  
37.

therefore the fleet directed its course, with the purpose especially of destroying the bridges, which

were supposed to be still standing, and protected by a garrison; but they had already yielded to the weather and current, and the Persians had deserted the place.

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 118.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 89. Diod.  
Si l. 11. c.  
37.

Winter now approaching, Leotychides, with all the Peloponnesians, returned to Greece. Xanthippus resolved nevertheless, with his Athenians and their Ionian allies, to attempt the recovery of

the Chersonese, an Athenian colony, where the Greeks were still numerous. The Persians, exposed to attacks in various parts through the command which the Athenian fleet possessed at sea, collected their force in Sestos. After an obstinate defence, pressed by famine, they made good their retreat; upon which the Grecian inhabitants joyfully surrendered the town to the Athenians.

The Persian monarch had remained in Sardis so as to see the sad relics of his forces which found means to fly from Mycale, and to receive the calamitous news of the still greater loss of his army in Greece. Shortly after he moved to his distant capital of Susa. On his departure he ordered all the Grecian temples within his power to be destroyed, it is said, by fire; whether supposing the deity offended with his long sufferance of them, or thinking to gain popularity among his subjects of the upper provinces, by this sacrifice to the prejudices of the Magian religion. Accounts of the destruction of the earlier Grecian temples by fire, often said to have been accidental, are too numerous, some of too high authority, for the fact to be doubted; and hence it may be concluded that, as in the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, timber was much more employed in them than in those of later times, whose valuable though injured relics to this day show much of what once they were.

Herod. 1. 9.  
c. 107, 108.  
Diod. Sic. 1.  
11. c. 36.  
Strab. 1. 1. p.  
28. M. T.  
Cic. de Nat.  
Deor. 1. 1.  
& de Leg.  
1. 2.

Such was the conclusion of the expedition of Xerxes, after two campaigns, wonderfully glorious to Greece, and, both in themselves and for their known consequences, perhaps the most remarkable and important in the annals of mankind.

## CHAPTER X.

VIEW OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES POLITICALLY CONNECTED WITH THE GREEKS, AND OF THE GRECIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SICILY AND ITALY.

## SECTION I.

*Of Carthage. — Of Sicily : Agrigentum : Phalaris : Syracuse : Gelon. — Invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians. — Battle of Himera.*

DURING those great transactions in Greece and its eastern colonies, which decided, for the time, the fate of Europe and Asia, and then first displayed that superiority of the former over the rest of the world, which it still maintains, events less important for their consequences, and less intimately affecting the interests of the mother country, less accurately also related to us, yet upon sufficient evidence great and glorious, were taking place among the western settlements of the nation.

The warlike and enterprising spirit of the Greeks had long ago driven the industrious and informed Phenicians from all their ancient establishments in the Grecian seas; had then wrested from them the greater part of the distant and large island of Cyprus, whose situation would seem to allot it rather to the Phenician than the Grecian dominion, and had appropriated all that valuable part of the African coast which, after the powerful kingdom of Egypt, lay nearest to the Phenician shore. But in maritime skill, and still more in commercial system, in the spirit of commercial adventure,



and in those manufactures which formed the principal and most advantageous basis of commerce, the Phenicians remained yet unrivalled. On the coast of Africa, from the deserts bounding the Grecian colonies on the west, they had extended their settlements to the western extremity of the Mediterranean, penetrated into the ocean beyond, and have been supposed to have carried their traffic as far as the shores of Britain, then the extreme of the known world, and, excepting the Phenicians, unknown among civilised nations. Wherever the Greeks did not interfere, the Phenicians were superior, in arms as in arts, to all maritime people. Nevertheless, confined at home within a narrow territory; pressed, on the land first by the power of the Jewish kingdom, then by the more overbearing weight successively of the Assyrian and Persian empires; and, on the sea, interrupted by the Grecian spirit of war, and, it must be added, of piracy, they were equally prevented from becoming a great nation on their own continent, and from assuring their dominion over their distant maritime settlements.

In their voyages westward, the large projection of AFRICA, over against Sicily, could not fail, by its position to attract, and by its circumstances to fix, the attention of the Phenician navigators. At a very early period accordingly some settlements were formed there, among which Utica had the fame of being the most ancient. Afterward the princess immortalised by Virgil's poetry, driven to seek refuge with her adherents from the tyranny of her brother the king of Tyre, is said either to have founded or increased the colony which in process of ages became the powerful and renowned CARTHAGE. The era of these transactions is very uncertain. The more received system places Dido two centuries later than the Trojan prince, whose intercourse with her the Roman bard

Vell. Pater.  
l. 1. c. 2.  
Justin. l. 18.  
c. 4 & 5. Strab.  
l. 17. p. 832.

hath so interestingly described: Newton's calculation, reducing the age of the Trojan war, makes them contemporary. Carthage however, situate nearly midway between Phenicia and the ocean, happy in its climate and territory, and preferable to Utica for its port, was a most eligible situation for a place of arms, to command the communication with the invaluable western settlements, with Spain, the country of silver and gold mines, the Indies of the old world. For in the eastern part of the Mediterranean navigation was ex-

*Strab.* l. 5.  
p. 219.

posed to continual piracy from the Greeks, who possessed the northern and southern shores; and

in the western from the Tuscans. Thus principally Carthage seems to have risen early to eminence, and to have become in some degree the capital of the Phenician colonies. The

*Hist. des Anc.  
Colonies, par le  
baron de S.  
Croix, p. 32.*

troubles of Phenicia, and the wars which, with its very scanty territorial strength, it had to sustain against the force of the Assyrian empire, seem to

have given to its dependencies an emancipation which perhaps they did not desire; and for which no struggle remains

*Ch. 6. s. 2. of  
this Hist.*

reported. Probably, on the reduction of Tyre by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria, many Tyrian

families would migrate to the colonies; and Carthage was likely to attract the greatest number. Carthage however then, profiting from its strength and its situation, appears to have taken decidedly the lead. It is remarkable that, excepting Assyria and Egypt, whose extreme antiquity, together with the uncertainty of their early history, makes them exceptions to all rule, none of the ancient people, who flourished by arts, arms, and policy, were great nations, like those which form the states of modern Europe; but each a small society of men, inhabiting one city, and there served by slaves, who were commonly the far larger portion of the population. The Carthaginian government, established, like all the Grecian, upon these principles, in taking the lead

among the sister colonies, did not associate but subjected them. Even the towns in its immediate neighbourhood were not admitted to a share in the government: each had its own municipal administration; and so far each was a separate commonwealth; but all were held under political subjection, and that apparently a severe subjection, to Carthage; while Carthage itself appears to have had the best balanced and wisest constitution known to antiquity.

*Arist. Polit.*  
l. 2. c. 11.  
*Polyb. l. 6.*  
p. 498. *S. Croix,*  
p. 32 & 37.

As long as the Phenician settlements remained under the authority and protection of the mother country, few or perhaps none were more than factories; for the government of Tyre was little able to maintain armies and make conquests at the farther end of the Mediterranean. But when Carthage was become the independent capital of those colonies, greater views than the mere acquisition of riches by commerce began to animate the ambition of her citizens. Along the coast of Africa, as far as the Atlantic ocean, and on the extensive shores of Spain, having only ignorant barbarians to contend with, they established their dominion apparently with little difficulty, wherever they chose to exert their force. But on the nearer coast of SICILY, the Phenician factories, some of them probably as old as Carthage itself, had been disturbed by the successive arrival of Grecian adventurers; skilled as well as daring in the practice of arms, and, though not always averse to commerce, generally preferring piracy. Against those new occupants of that fruitful country other precautions were necessary than had sufficed against the simplicity of the native barbarians. Uniting therefore their factories, which had been scattered all around the island, the Phenicians confined themselves to three settlements; Solois and Panormus (now Palermo) on the northern coast, and Motya at the western extremity; and they began to cultivate

*Thucyd. l. 6.*  
c. 2. *S. Croix.*

c. 2.

more attentively the friendship of the ancient inhabitants, particularly of the Elymians, a mixed people, it is said, Greek, Trojan, and Sicel, who held the towns of Eryx and Egesta. This easy acquiescence of the Phenicians, which, till the age of Xerxes, allowed no opportunity for the Greek historians to boast of a single feat of arms to the honour of their nation in Sicily, sufficiently proves that, though the foundation of the city of Carthage may have been as ancient as it has been pretended, yet the power of the Carthaginian state was comparatively of late growth. The Phenician colonies thus assembled toward the western part of the island might readily receive such protection as Carthage could give; and their need of protection would lead them to admit willingly its superintending authority. As soon therefore as Carthage itself became independent, the Phenician settlements in Sicily would become appendages of its dominion; and disputes between Carthage and the Greek settlements would be consequently unavoidable.

Little remains for history concerning the GRECIAN COLONIES in Sicily, till toward that splendid period which has been treated in the preceding chapters; and indeed it appears that, before that period, the Sicilian and Italian Greeks had no important transactions, and little political connexion with the mother-country, unless with the one commercial commonwealth of Corinth. Some of the towns however appear to have been populous and wealthy; Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, Camarina divided between them the southern coast, fruitful beyond the rest of that island, fruitful especially in grain; Syracuse had one of the most commodious harbours of the Mediterranean, in a situation very advantageous for trade, and surrounded also by a territory of uncommon fertility.

Already in the age of Solon AGRIGENTUM, originally a colony from Gela, was become a considerable independent

commonwealth, when Phalaris, a Cretan, acquired the sovereignty. Crete had been, jointly with Rhodes, the mother country of Gela. Phalaris, whose history, on more than one account, excites curiosity, is represented as a monster in human nature; possessing, with very extraordinary abilities, the most opposite virtues and vices, the most abominable cruelty, with the most exalted magnanimity and generosity. But though all traditions concerning that famous tyrant are extremely doubtful and imperfect, yet the contradictions concerning his character are not wholly unaccountable. He fell, we find, a victim to the party in opposition to his government, and that party held the sway in Agrigentum, under a democratical form of administration, sixty years. What happened in Athens, on the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, would happen during this period, from the same causes, in Agrigentum. To render odious the character of the deceased tyrant would tend to weaken the credit of his party, and proportionally to strengthen the situation of the ruling party and advance their power. Nothing therefore that could produce such effects would be neglected.

SYRACUSE was already considerable, yet not, as far as appears, particularly eminent among the Sicilian Greek cities till, toward the age of Xerxes, it was raised to power and fame by its great and beloved tyrant Gelon. That illustrious man was born of an ancient and noble family, of Rhodian origin, established at Gela. The Sicilian colonies, beyond all other Grecian states, were remarkable for frequent revolutions, the sudden elevation and downfall of tyrannies, and every change of government and every calamity which faction and internal war could occasion. Cleander, tyrant of Gela, being killed by Sabyllus, a Geloan citizen, was neverthe-

B. C. 560 to  
570. Ol. 54.  
nearly.

Cic. de Off.  
l. 2.

Ch. 7. s. 5.  
of this Hist.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 153.

c. 154. Ol. 74.  
l. B. C. 484.\*  
Dodw. Ann.  
Thucyd.

[\*This date is at variance with the computation of Mr. Clinton, who con-

less succeeded in the sovereignty by his brother Hippocrates. Gelon, already of reputation for abilities and bravery, was appointed by the new tyrant commander-in-chief of the Geloan cavalry: for in Sicily, a country much more generally adapted than Greece to the breeding of horses and the operations of cavalry, that service was early and extensively cultivated.<sup>1</sup> Hippocrates, an ambitious and able prince, made successful war upon some of the Sicel tribes, and upon the Grecian states of Syracuse, Callipolis, Naxos, Leontini, and Messena; all of which, excepting Syracuse, he compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. The Syracusans, defeated in a great battle and reduced to extremity, applied to Corinth, their metropolis, for assistance. The interference of that rich maritime commonwealth, in conjunction with its powerful colony of Corcyra, procured an accommodation; by which however the town of Camarina, previously subject to Syracuse, was yielded to the Geloan prince. Hippocrates was soon after killed in an action with the Hyblæan Sicels. Gelon, who had distinguished himself very advantageously in all the late wars, was left guardian of his infant sons, and administrator of their government. To this trust, according to Herodotus, Gelon was unfaithful. Gathering a pretence of some commotions among the Geloans, which were repressed by arms, he assumed the sovereignty. At Syracuse, about the same time, in the prosecution of that contest for power between the higher and lower citizens, which was nearly perpetual in almost every Grecian commonwealth, the leaders of the populace, engaging the slaves of the rich in the party against their masters, compelled

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 155.

siders B. C. 485 to be the date of the occupation of Syracuse by Gelon, as he reigned seven years, and was succeeded in the eighth by Hiero, B. C. 478.]

<sup>1</sup>

Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe  
Mœnia, magnanimùm quondam generator equorum.

Virg. Æn. l. 3. v. 703.

these to seek their personal safety by flight. Finding refuge at Casmenæ they applied to Gelon, who readily undertook their cause. The Syracusans in possession dreaded the power of that prince; but, according to the same historian, who imputes to him treachery against the sons of Hippocrates, they had confidence in his character. The result is highly remarkable. They professed themselves not unwilling to readmit the refugees, and to restore their property, provided only security could be given that an equal government should be established; that an act of amnesty for what had passed should be strictly observed; that the nobles, on being restored to wealth, honour, and authority, should neither exert their power and influence to the persecution of individuals who had been active in expelling them, nor to the subversion of the constitution of the commonwealth, by the establishment of oligarchal despotism. The expedient in which both parties concurred was to appoint Gelon supreme moderator between them, making him king of Syracuse.

This important acquisition of dominion thus extraordinarily made, it became the object of Gelon to mould into one the many little states which acknowledged his authority. The circumstances of every Grecian government required that the capital should be strong, and all the dependent towns weak. For, on account of the universal narrowness of territory, occasion has occurred heretofore to observe, Ch. 4. s. 1. of this Hist. it was necessary that every cultivated spot should have its fortified town at hand for refuge and protection; and, on account of the universal scantiness of public revenue, it was necessary that the inhabitants of every town and its district should be the garrison. If then these were able to defend themselves against an enemy, they might also defy the authority of their own capital. The interest or the ambition of individuals would often lead the municipal

government to aspire to independency; and the interest or ambition of neighbouring states would seldom fail to afford encouragement for such views. But if it was necessary for every Grecian government to attend to these circumstances, it was peculiarly so for the dominion of Gelon, composed of so many conquered cities, comprising now, with a small part of the northern coast and the greatest part of the southern, the whole eastern of the island.

Among the towns of this range of country Syracuse possessed advantages which attracted the notice of Gelon. His native city, recommended by its territory, the celebrated Geloan plain, eminent even among the Sicilian fields for fruitfulness, was near one extremity of his dominion, and without a port. A central situation, the completest harbour of the island, the largest town, a rich surrounding country, and a people of whose favour he was apparently most secure, determined Gelon to make Syracuse the seat of his government. This being decided, he proceeded to the arduous business of forming the heterogeneous parts which composed his dominion into one harmonised whole. His measures, in the present circumstances of Europe, would appear violent and extravagant; yet, if we may judge from what we learn of their effects, they were wisely accommodated to the times in which he lived; and perhaps beyond any other that could have been devised productive of happiness to his subjects, as well as of security to his own authority. Without a distribution of powers legislative, judicial, and executive, among a favouring party, a tyranny could hardly subsist. Of that favouring party it was necessary to have in the capital a decided majority; and it was also necessary that the other towns should want the protection of the capital, and be unable to resist its force. With these views, destroying Camarina, Gelon established all its people

Strab. l. 6.  
p. 270.

Thucyd. l. 6.

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 156.

Thucyd. l. 6.

c. 5. Strab.

l. 6. p. 268.

& l. 10. p. 449.



in Syracuse: he removed thither more than half the Gelons: of the Eubœans in different towns he gave the higher ranks only to enjoy the privileges of the capital<sup>2</sup>; leaving the poorer, with their several municipal administrations, to cultivate the country: but the lower people of the Megarians of Hybla he sold for slaves, with an express obligation on the purchasers to transport them out of Sicily, as the last resource against those disturbances which their mutinous disposition, and rancour against their superiors, would, if they lived within the same country, perpetually occasion.

The state of Sicily when Xerxes invaded Greece then appears to have been this: the barbarian Sicans and Sicels yet held the centre of the island, and the Elymians the western corner. A part of the northern coast was possessed by the Carthaginians; never, probably, in perfect friendship with all the Greeks, and lately in open hostility with some; for, while Cleomenes, king of Sparta, was yet living, his half-brother Dorieus, elder brother of the renowned Leonidas, conducting a fleet with the view to settle a colony in Sicily, in action with a Carthaginian fleet, was defeated and killed. The dominion meanwhile commanded by Gelon, very small, compared with the kingdoms of modern Europe, and still more below comparison with the Persian empire then existing, was yet considerably larger than any under one government elsewhere among the Greeks; and this he ruled with such wisdom, uprightness, and vigour that he was equally beloved by his subjects and respected by all neighbouring powers. At the same time Agrigentum was administered by Theron, a man also of high merit, who had

Herodot. 1. 5.  
c. 41. & 46. &  
1. 7. c. 158.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 17. Herodot.  
1. 7. c. 165.  
Diod. 1. 9.  
c. 20. & 77.

<sup>2</sup> Πολιήτας ἐποίησε. Herodot. 1. 7. c. 156. Πολίτης δ' ἀπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρέζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μετέχειν κρείστος καὶ ἀρχῆς. Aristot. Polit. 1. 3. c. 1.

raised himself to that called tyranny; and he had lately reduced Himera on the northern coast, ejecting its tyrant Terillus.

This was what gave immediate occasion to the first considerable effort of the Carthaginians toward extending their dominion in Sicily; the first important transaction in which they were engaged with the Greeks, while the Romans, afterward conquerors of Carthage, Greece, and the known world, had yet scarcely a name among nations. It is therefore to be regretted that Herodotus has treated this part of history so slightly, and that little satisfactory remains upon it from any other writer. The narrative of Diodorus is the injudicious, and sometimes even ridiculous attempt of a man little versed in political, and still less in military business, to exalt his fellow-countrymen, the Sicilian Greeks, above the fame of Lacedæmon and Athens. Circumstances enough however remain, either reported or confirmed by better authority, whence a general idea may be gained of the principal events.

It was a solace, among the miseries occasioned by the frequent revolutions in the little Grecian republics, that, as every state had always enemies, open or secret, the exiled of every state could generally find some degree of friendship and a disposition to protection somewhere. But beside the resources within Greece itself, the Persian empire had been, for some time, a common refuge for the unfortunate who were of any consideration in their own country: Tuscany also had afforded settlements to some; and now Carthage, rising to new importance among foreign powers, offered prospect of new relief. Here the expelled prince of Himera applied, and found a favourable reception. The opportunity was inviting for the Carthaginians to extend and secure their own dominion, by crushing that of the Greeks in Sicily; while the collected force of the Persian

Herodot. 1.7.  
c. 165.

empire, on the point of overwhelming Greece itself, would effectually prevent any assistance thence. Under pretence therefore of reinstating their ally in his dominion they assembled a very powerful armament. By a Pindar. Pyth. 1. & Ephor. ap. Schol. treaty with the Tuscans they engaged the naval force of that people in their service; and, according to the practice which is found afterward usual with them in their wars with the Romans, they collected mercenary land forces from many of the barbarous nations with which they had commercial intercourse. Beside those of Phenician blood, Herodotus mentions Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Elisycians, (a name not occurring elsewhere,) Sardinians, and Corsicans. The command in chief was committed to Hamilcar, one of the two magistrates who, with the title of Suffete, presided over the Cartha- Herodot. 1. 7. c. 165. Polyb. 1. 6. ginian commonwealth, and whose eminence of dignity and authority was such that the Grecian writers, generally averse to foreign terms, not unusually styled them kings.

In the same summer in which Xerxes invaded Greece Hamilcar passed into Sicily, and immediately laid siege to Himera. Theron, unable with his own forces to cope with the Carthaginian armament, applied to the king of Syracuse for assistance. Though the war was professedly intended only against the Agrigentine prince, yet the whole Grecian interest in Sicily was too evidently concerned in the event for Gelon to remain a quiet spectator. Putting himself therefore at the head of his army, which, according to the most probable accounts, consisted of about ten thousand heavy-armed foot, and two thousand horse, and, with the usual addition of light-armed slaves, might be in all perhaps twenty-five thousand men, he marched to join the Agrigentine forces. His fleet, according to Herodotus, two hundred trireme galleys, and, as we are assured by Thucydides,

more powerful than that of any other Grecian potentate of the age, he committed to his brother Hieron. This prince met and defeated the combined fleets of Carthage and Tuscany. About the same time the united armies of Syracuse and Agrigentum engaged the Carthaginian army near Himera, with complete success. Hamilcar himself fell; a large proportion of his army was destroyed, and almost the whole remainder were made prisoners.

The concurring testimony of ancient writers to these glorious events, which appear to have at once terminated the war, little as we are assured of any particulars, is confirmed by the irrefragable evidence of the growing greatness and lasting splendour of Syracuse and Agrigentum. The prisoners, according to the practice of the times, were all condemned to slavery. The larger share, we are told, was acquired by the Agrigentines, who employed great numbers on public works, which remained to late ages, and some even yet remain, proofs both of the greatness of the victory, and of the taste of the victors. Here however, on considering the account given by the Sicilian Diodorus, the zealous eulogist of his country, a suspicion cannot but arise that all those prisoners were not Carthaginian soldiers. For the battle was fought near Himera, on the northern coast of the island. The Carthaginians, in the confusion of their defeat, says Diodorus, fled in great numbers up the country, and mostly toward the Agrigentine territory, where they were afterward taken by the Agrigentines. It seems much more probable that they would have directed their flight toward their own garrisons of Soloïs and Panormus, which were not far distant on the coast; or, if they were cut off from these, and compelled to take an inland road, Egesta, the stronghold of their Elymian allies, would have been their object, rather than the Agrigentine territory. But if they fled up the country, and did not reach Egesta, they

would get among the highlands held by the Sicans and Sicels; and would be much more likely to stop there than pass on into the Agrigentine lands. It seems farther improbable, that the powerful Gelon would permit his people to be defrauded of their fair share of the booty by those who owed to them, not only the victory, but perhaps even their existence as a people. Upon the whole therefore it seems more than probable that the Agrigentines took advantage from the blow given to the Carthaginian power, perhaps making a pretence of some shelter afforded to fugitives, for oppressing the Sicans and Sicels of their neighbourhood; and that the stupendous works of art, which travellers yet admire at Girgenti, were in large proportion the produce of the labour and the misery of those unfortunate barbarians. It is the purpose of history to represent men, not such as they should be, but such as they have been: and thus learning what they should be, through observation of what they should not be, far more valuable instruction, both political and moral, may be gathered than from any visionary description of perfection in human nature. Thus at least Herodotus and Thucydides and Xenophon and Polybius and Sallust and Tacitus thought; though some other historians, Greek, Roman, and modern, have written upon a different plan. It is indeed little allowable for the historian to go beyond authority; yet when some important facts are certain, with some attending circumstances doubtful, it will be his duty to lead his reader as near to the whole truth as he can. The general spirit of the Grecian commonwealths, and even the doctrine of the Grecian philosophers, the methods ordinarily practised among the Greeks to obtain slaves, the full assurance we have of the great works executed at Agrigentum, and the account even of Diodorus, partial as he is to his fellow-countrymen, compared with the known state of Sicily at

the time, all concur to mark the conjecture ventured concerning the prisoners made by the Agrigentines as very likely to be true, and even very near the truth.

Among the deficiencies of Sicilian history however nothing is so much to be regretted as the scantiness of information about the form of government established by Gelon, and the civil occurrences of his reign. It is not the number of prisoners he made nor the buildings he erected that excite curiosity, so much as the general prosperity of the country under his administration, and the lasting popularity of his character. Of the former some valuable testimony remains transmitted by the arts, which the literature of his age, much less proportionally advanced, does not afford. There are golden coins yet existing of Gelon and his immediate successor, though no commonwealth of Greece, not Athens itself, coined gold, as far as can now be discovered, for more than a century after. Nor are the coins of Gelon more remarkable on this account than for the beauty of the design and workmanship; which are of a perfection at any rate surprising, and which would appear almost miraculous, did we not learn from an author living so near the time and so possessing means of information as Herodotus, that the western Greek colonies had constant communication and intimate connexion with those of Asia. With regard then to the government of Gelon, comparing what remains from Herodotus with the anecdotes reported by later writers, we can but gather some general idea. Power, it appears, was committed principally to the higher ranks of citizens, yet Gelon was always the favourite of the lower; and in this he appears to have been singular among the Grecian political leaders, that he could reconcile the jarring pretensions of the two, and maintain concord between them. Probably the forms of a mixed republic were observed, as under the Pisistratidæ at Athens, and an

impartial administration of just laws assured property and civil liberty to all. We are told that, after the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the return of the Grecian forces to their several homes, the people

Diodor. 1. 11.  
c. 26.  
Æl. Var. Hist.  
l. 13. c. 37.

were summoned to a general assembly at Syracuse, with a requisition that they should come completely armed as for a military expedition. Gelon attended in the habit of a private citizen, unarmed and without guards. The assembly being formed, he mounted the speaker's stand, and, after giving a detailed account of his administration in peace and in war, concluded with observing to the people that he was now in their hands: if he had done well, they would reward him with their good words and good wishes; if he had done ill, his doom was in their power. He was answered with loud acclamation; styled benefactor, deliverer, and king, and required to continue the exercise of the supreme authority; and a decree was passed directing that a statue should be erected at the public expense, representing him, in memory of this transaction, habited as a private citizen.

Nor was this mere flattery to the living prince: above a hundred and thirty years after, when, in

Demetr. de  
eloc. s. 312.  
Plut. vit.  
Timol.

circumstances most likely to excite democratical fury, a decree was proposed for the demolition or removal of all statues of tyrants, the surviving fame of the just and beneficent administration of Gelon had such weight with the popular mind that an exception was made in favour of his statue, which was accordingly preserved in its place.

The history of Carthage, where literature never flourished, is still more defectively transmitted than that of Syracuse; so that it does not appear to what should be attributed the total in exertion of its government in Sicily for near a century after the battle of Himera. The testimony of Aristotle to the lasting internal quiet of that wisely-constituted commonwealth seems to warrant belief that no domestic trouble

impeded; and this tends to corroborate the presumptive evidence, arising from other circumstances, that Carthage had yet no great resources. She was providing them by the successful extension of her commerce, and of her settlements on the western shores of the Mediterranean; and, accordingly, between sixty and seventy years after, Carthage is found accounted by Thucydides, not formidable as a warlike state, but the richest commonwealth known. Her factories in Sicily therefore, where less profit was to be acquired with far greater difficulty and hazard, were neglected; and thus Motya became an Agrigentine garrison. Panormus and Solois appear to have remained to the Carthaginians, who, as we learn from Thucydides, continued to hold establishments in the island; but among the various wars of the Sicilian Greeks, between themselves and with the barbarians, in whose number Thucydides reckons the Elymians of Egesta, for more than seventy years no mention occurs of any interference of the Carthaginian government.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Scarcely any equally important transactions in Grecian history remain so unsatisfactorily related as those of the Himeræan war. Herodotus says the Carthaginian army was of three hundred thousand men. This, the only improbable circumstance (indeed nearly an impossible one,) in his concise narrative, and expressly given, not as what he would vouch for, but only as a Sicilian report, is the only one in which he has been followed by Diodorus and some later writers, who have added largely to the tale from stores now unknown. They say the fleet consisted of two thousand galleys; nearly double the number reported of the fleet of Xerxes, which has passed with some for incredible. (Diod. l. 11. c. 20.) The Carthaginians never, in the most flourishing times of their empire, sent out an army of half three hundred thousand men, and still less a fleet of two thousand galleys. They say then that Gelon led from Syracuse fifty thousand foot and more than five thousand horse; neglecting the account of Ephorus, a much earlier writer than Diodorus, (which has been preserved to us by the scholiast on Pindar,) who says Gelon's army was of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Neither has the confident assertion of Diodorus, that the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily was made in consequence of a treaty between the Carthaginian commonwealth and the Persian court, merited the credit that it has found. Herodotus evidently had never heard of such a treaty: indeed his account virtually contradicts its ex-



## SECTION II.

*Of Italy : Tuscany : Rome : Latium : Sybaris : Crotona : Pythagoras : Thurium : Pæstum : Cuma : Campana : Lucania.*

AMONG the early inhabitants of Italy, the people named by the Romans Etruscans and Tuscans, and by the Greeks

istence. Not that it was impossible but, through the medium of Tyre, there may have been communication between the Carthaginian commonwealth and the Persian court. It was however widely alien from the temper of that court at that time to make treaties with little, distant, and almost unheard-of republics upon the terms mentioned by Diodorus. Herodotus sufficiently expresses it as Gelon's opinion, that the only terms upon which alliance could be made with Persia were submission, not only to the humiliating ceremony of delivering earth and water, but also to the payment of tribute. (Herod. 1. 7. c. 163.) That the Carthaginians were not, in that age, powerful enough to attract the notice of Persia upon a footing at all approaching to equality, the annoyance which the disunited little piratical Grecian republics in Sicily were always capable of giving them, and the success of the distant colony of Massilia against their fleet, amply indicate. (Herod. 1. 1. c. 166. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 13.) Justin, in reporting a treaty between Carthage and the Persian court, which however he attributes to the reign of Darius (Justin. 1. 19. c. 1.), describes terms that could only be imposed on a subject people, and would never be acceded to by a state capable of raising at the same time an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of two thousand ships of war. But what Herodotus relates of the leading steps to the Carthaginian expedition into Sicily, is perfectly consistent with everything that we learn on best authority of the circumstances of the times, and fully sufficient to account for the undertaking, without any assistance from fancied treaties with the court of Susa, by which the merchants of Carthage were to share the conquest and spoil of Europe with the monarch of the Persian empire. Finally, the silence of Thucydides concerning the immensity of the Carthaginian armament, and the splendour of the victory of Gelon, where, in treating of the principal military actions of the Greeks, he speaks of the power of the Sicilian tyrants of that age (Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 14.), sufficiently proves that, if any such reports were in his time current, he thought them unworthy of notice. The account which Diodorus proceeds to give of the terrors at Carthage, lest Gelon, with his victorious army, should immediately cross the sea and lay siege to that city; of the tears of the Carthaginian ambassadors, and the generosity of the Syracusan prince, who scorned to conquer Africa, while he was really unable to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily; all these, with some other circumstances in the course of his narrative of this war, are too puerile for serious criticism. The naval victory is not noticed by either Herodotus or Diodorus, but remains reported in a quotation from the historian Ephorus by the scholiast on Pindar, and is mentioned by Pindar himself in his first Pythian ode, which is addressed to Hieron. Some notice of it also occurs in Pausanias, b. 6. c. 19. p. 499. The value of these authorities has been very ably discussed by West in a note to his translation of the ode above mentioned.

Tyrrhenes or Tyrsenes, became eminent, not only by their military prowess, and the extent of dominion which they acquired, but by their policy, their knowledge of letters, and

Herodot. 1. 1.  
c. 94. Strab.  
1. 5. p. 219.  
Dion. Hal.  
Ant. Rom.  
1. 1.

their proficiency in arts. Concerning their origin, which the existing monuments of early art among them principally makes an object of reasonable

curiosity, Strabo agrees with Herodotus in tracing it from Lydia.<sup>4</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus dissents; yet a concurrence of ancient testimony makes it appear probable that the Tuscans migrated from the shores of the Ægean sea, where the Tyrrhene name appears to have been once ex-

Thucyd. 1. 4.  
c. 109.

tensive, and so late as the age of Thucydides was retained by a people on the Thracian coast. These

were of acknowledged Pelasgian origin; and, notwithstanding the declared opinion of Dionysius, the evidence collected by him tends strongly to show that the Tuscans, like the Greeks, were at least in part of Pelasgian race.<sup>5</sup> The question however is not important to Grecian history: and it may suffice that, according to every report collected on the subject by Dionysius and Strabo, and every thing re-

T. Liv. Hist.  
Rom. 1. 1.  
c. 1. & 5.

maining from the Roman writers, traditions of some authenticity were preserved of migrations

from the countries around the Ægean sea, at different times of the early ages, into Italy, and of settlements in Tuscany

<sup>4</sup> The ancient vases, which of late years have so much excited the attention of the lovers of antiquity and the arts, have contributed in some instances to give a celebrity to the Etruscan name which is not its due. The proof however of the proficiency of the Etruscans in the arts does not rest only upon the merit and the authenticity of the vases attributed to them. The sepulchral monuments of the ancient city of Tarquinii give more unquestionable and more complete information upon the subject. It is to be regretted that these are not yet better known by the publication, long promised, of the accurate delineations and description of the late James Byres.

<sup>5</sup> According to Thucydides the ancient inhabitants of Athens, and according to Sophocles those of Argos, were Tyrrhene Pelasgians. Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 109. Sophocl. ap. Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 1. 1. p. 17. This indeed is testimony only to a name; but from such early authors it is remarkable testimony.

and on its northern and southern borders. The Ligurians were supposed a colony from Greece; Pisa and Cære in Tuscany, Formiæ, Antium, Aricia, Ardea, Tibur and Præneste in Latium, and Rome itself, were held to be Grecian towns.

A colony however of later date, and concerning which testimony is more ample and more precise, may have carried science and the arts into Tuscany, in a state of at least as much advancement as they seem ever to have attained there. It

was led by Demaratus from Corinth, upon occasion of the revolution in that city, through which the democratical party, under Cypselus, became masters of the government: when the oligarchal chiefs, and particularly the family of the Bacchiadæ, of which Demaratus is said to have been, would find it desirable, or perhaps necessary, to seek settlements elsewhere. Demaratus found in Tarquini, the principal city of Tuscany, a safe and honourable retreat for himself, his friends, and dependents; he married a lady of high rank there, and died in the peaceable possession of wealth, then esteemed extraordinary. A son of that marriage, inheriting the wealth, became, with the name of Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome by election of the Roman people. The concurrence of testimonies, Greek and Roman, to these facts, though of so early an age, seems to go far toward proving one of two things; either that the Tuscans, and it may be added, the Romans, esteemed the Corinthians a kindred people, or that they found them a people superior to themselves in arts and general knowledge.

For the history of Etruria materials are very scanty. It appears however that its people, like the Greeks, but unlike the other Italians, applied themselves much to maritime affairs. Like the Greeks also they were at the same time a piratical and a commercial

Fab. Max. & C. Sempron. ap. Dion. Hal. c. 1. p. 9. Strab. l. 5. p. 220. 222. 228. 232. & 233. Virg. Æn. l. 6. v. 96. & l. 8. v. 54. 313. Cecili. ap. Strabon. p. 230. & Liv. Hist. Rom. ut sup. Strab. l. 5. p. 22. Dion. Hal. l. 3. p. 136. T. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 1. c. 34. Ch. 4. s. 1. of this Hist.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 196. Strab. l. 5. p. 219. & 232. & l. 6. p. 267.

people. While they remained united under one government their power by land and sea was formidable; they extended their arms with success into Lombardy; they conquered Campania; and the shores of Sardinia and Corsica became appendages of their dominion. Afterward, separating into several commonwealths, power sunk, arts declined, and while the growing strength and growing ambition of Rome gave constant alarm on the land side, the Etrurian maritime force went into neglect and decay. Thus, except in one instance, which will require notice hereafter, they were prevented from interfering very materially with the interests of the Grecian colonies in Italy.

In the decline of the power of Tuscany the Carthaginians succeeded to a more entire command of the western parts of the Mediterranean: the shores of Sardinia and Corsica passed from the Tuscan to the Carthaginian dominion; and but for the newly risen power of Rome there would have been Carthaginian garrisons on the Latin coast.

Polyb. l. 3.  
p. 177. Assurance of this remains in that remarkable treaty between Carthage and Rome, in the time of the first consuls, twenty-eight years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the original of which, engraved on a brazen tablet, remained to the time of Polybius among the archives in the Capitol. What gave cause to the treaty, Strab. l. 5.  
p. 232. with assistance from a passage of Strabo, its own words explain. The maritime towns of Latium carried on some commerce, but were more addicted to piracy. Even after their subjection to Rome, associating themselves with the corsairs of Tuscany, they pushed maritime depredation sometimes as far as the African coast; but they were principally annoying to the commerce with the new Carthaginian settlements in Sardinia and Corsica. At the same time Rome itself, powerful enough to hinder those strong measures of coercion by land, which the Car-

thaginian government had apparently attempted, was also rich enough to be an object for the Carthaginian merchants. Hence the equality established for the subjects of the two republics by some articles of the treaty, while the general tenor of it is accommodated entirely to secure and promote the peculiar interest of Carthage; and nothing in it affords the least ground for supposing, with some modern writers, in opposition to all the Roman historians, that Rome had then any naval establishment.

While therefore the Sicilian Greeks, by their success against the Carthaginians, earned a glory which we want means justly to estimate, their fellow countrymen in Italy, unassailed by any formidable foreign power, had no opportunity to acquire any similar fame. Their republics have nevertheless become objects of curiosity to posterity by the residence of the philosopher Pythagoras, and some of his principal disciples among them, and by the wonderfully beneficial effects, political and moral, attributed to the propagation of his doctrine there. Unfortunately however, Pythagoras living while writing was little practised in Greece, both the doctrine and its effects, notwithstanding very assiduous researches of many learned men, remain very deficiently and uncertainly known; and the reports of the extraordinary populousness of some of the Italian Greek cities, and of the military force which, for want of a foreign foe worthy of it, they exerted against one another, though supported in some degree by authority so far respectable that they excite wonder, will not be found, upon examination, to deserve belief.

We learn however on sufficient authority, that about the age of Solon and the Pisistratidæ, some of the Italian Greek cities were considerable. SYBARIS had

Strab. l. 6.  
p. 263.  
Athen. l. 12.  
c. 6.

twenty-five towns within its territory, and held four neighbouring tribes of barbarians in subjec-

tion. The luxury of its citizens became proverbial. The application of the term luxury to anything that could exist among the little republics of that age has been ridiculed by some eminent modern writers; yet, if we sufficiently consider the circumstances of those republics, we shall find perhaps reason to think the charge of luxury against them may have been founded, though the accounts of their military force are evidently fabulous. The luxury indeed of a narrow society, where manual labour is the business of slaves only, will differ from that of a great nation where all ranks are free; and it will be likely to differ particularly in this, that, while general elegance in the style of living of persons in easy circumstances will be very inferior, particular indulgences will be carried to greater extravagance. We are told by Diodorus that, in consequence of the victory of the Sicilian Greeks over the Carthaginians near Himera, the number of slaves acquired by the Agrigentines was so great that many individuals shared each five hundred; and it is to be presumed, from his account, that no citizen would be without a share. Allowing here largely for exaggeration, a probable fact may yet remain, so involving with it a sudden, general, great, and most pernicious change of manners that, among the modern nations of Europe, nothing can be imagined within the bounds of possibility parallel to it. Would we indeed see examples of the character of luxury among the ancient republics, we must seek them perhaps rather in our colonies than in our capitals. Though then the luxury of Sybaris remains chiefly recorded by writers who lived not till some centuries after Sybaris ceased to exist; for Herodotus mentions only one Sybarite remarkably luxurious; yet we may not unreasonably believe that luxury was extravagant there. It may have been even elegant, through the intercourse, which we learn was intimate, with the

Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 25.

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 127.

Asiatic Grecian cities; and in regard to some Herodot. l. 6. c. 21. points we are assured of its elegance; for some of the Sybarite coins, yet existing, are of a beauty that modern art will with difficulty rival. Indeed the Lydian court might communicate, among the Greeks of its neighbourhood, many refinements little known in Proper Greece, which yet from Miletus might pass to the wealthy towns of Italy.

The government of Sybaris however was not Diodor. l. 12. c. 9. better established than that of many other Grecian states. In the usual contest of the aristocratical and democratical factions the lower people, under the conduct of a demagogue named Telys, expelled the richer citizens, to the number of five hundred, and shared their property. The exiles found refuge in the neighbouring city of CROTONA. The Sybarite people under Telys, confident in their strength (for the population of Sybaris far exceeded that of any other Italian city), demanded the fugitives, and, on refusal, made war upon Crotona. Herodotus, in his account of this war, speaks with little confidence of any particulars, though, within little more than half a century after, he resided upon the spot. The current reports were evidently known to him, and his history appears to have been finished in Italy: yet he mentions neither the philosopher Pythagoras, whom some later writers have made the counsellor of the Crotoniats upon the occasion, nor his disciple, the celebrated athlete Milo, who is asserted, on the same authority, to have been their general and hero. The event, which alone we learn with certainty, was, that the Sybarites were defeated, their city taken and destroyed, their commonwealth annihilated, and the very name lost.

Such is the account that can be now collected of Sybaris; and it involves almost the whole political history of the rival and conquering city, Crotona. But the fame of Crotona does not rest on its political eminence only. We have

already had occasion to observe, that, in many points of art and science, the Grecian colonies went before the mother-country. The medical school of Crotona, probably derived from Pythagoras, who is universally said to have applied himself, and to have directed his scholars, much to the study of nature, was of reputation, before the first Persian war, superior to any then in the world; insomuch that its fame reached the court of Susa, where the Crotoniat Democedes became the most esteemed physician, and acquired high favour with Darius. It is indeed remarkable that not any school within Greece, but that of the distant colony of Herodot. 1. 3. c. 131. Cyrene in Africa, held even the second rank in medical reputation. But Crotona acquired extraordinary renown also in another line; its air was esteemed singularly salubrious; whence the natives were supposed to derive a peculiar firmness of muscle, with a general superiority of strength and agility; and no city boasted so many victors in the athletic contests at the Olympian games. Of the political system established in Crotona by Pythagoras, or the scholars of Pythagoras, we have little or nothing on any good authority. The later Greeks alone mention it; while the earlier agree in ascribing all that was most valuable in legislation among the Italian and Sicilian cities to Zaleucus and Charondas. That the arts however flourished, the Crotoniat medals, yet remaining, testify; and the reputation of the physical school, in the want of authentic information more precise, would suffice to mark Crotona for a populous, wealthy, and well regulated city, where security and leisure were enjoyed for the pursuit of science, and means for its encouragement.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The accounts given by Diodorus, and other ancient writers, of the wonderful populousness of Crotona, and still much more of Sybaris, in themselves utterly improbable, are not only unauthorised, but virtually contradicted by the earlier Greek authors. They have therefore been rejected from the text; yet, as they have not only been followed by modern writers on the subject, but are



The other Italian Greek cities, of which Cuma, Rhegium, Locri-Epyzephyrii, Tarentum, Brundusium, were populous and rich, are scarcely objects for history, but as they become

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countenanced by the respectable authority of Strabo among the ancients, it may be proper to take some farther notice of them in a note. The Sybarites, according to Diodorus, marched against Crotona, forming an army of three hundred thousand citizens. The Crotoniats met them with only one hundred thousand; but their general Milo, habited and armed in the wild manner ascribed by the poets to Hercules, was himself equal to half an army; and the astonishing slaughter, which he made with his club, was a principal cause of the victory in consequence of which Sybaris was destroyed. Strabo also reports that the Sybarite army was of three hundred thousand men: but he has not, like Diodorus, called them citizens; so that, admitting his account, the greater part might be slaves. Before this event, according to Justin, l. 20. c. 3. et. 4., (though he makes no mention of the event itself) but after it, as it should seem from Strabo, l. 6. p. 261., a hundred and thirty thousand Crotoniats were defeated by the Locrians and Rhegians. This then will deserve notice: Strabo informs us that Herodotus the historian accompanied the Athenian colony which raised Thurium on the ruins of Sybaris, about sixty years, according to Diodorus, after its overthrow; and the authority of Strabo here is supported by a passage in the history itself of Herodotus which has manifestly been written in Italy, and for the Italian Greeks. The traditions preserved among the descendants of the Sybarites concerning their city, as well as those of their conquerors, have evidently enough been known to him. But if only a report remained of such a superiority of population in the Italian cities over those of Greece, it must have been striking. It never was nor can be imputed to Herodotus that he was backward to relate reports; and yet, though he mentions the destruction of Sybaris, with some disputed circumstances concerning it, he has not a syllable of the extraordinary numbers of the Sybarite and Crotoniat armies. Herodotus and Thucydides are very seldom found in contradiction; and the silence of the latter upon this occasion strongly confirms the negative testimony of the former; for Thucydides, professedly enumerating all the Grecian states which had been eminent for military power, and mentioning the naval strength of the Sicilian tyrants, far inferior to what Athens afterwards possessed (Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14.), could not through ignorance, and would not through design, have omitted all notice of those immense armies of the Italian Greeks, to which no other Grecian state ever had anything comparable, had such armies existed. It is farther observable that Aristotle mentions Sybaris only to quote an instance of sedition. The name I believe never occurs in Plato's works, and the name of Crotona is mentioned by neither of them: an omission utterly unaccountable but upon the supposition that the effects attributed by later writers to the doctrine of Pythagoras were, for some ages after the time to which they are ascribed, unheard of. We may indeed wonder where later writers, and particularly Cicero (Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. c. 16. and l. 4. c. 1.), had their information. Herodotus, who mentions Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus (l. 4. c. 90.), as an eminent sophist in Samos, has not taken the least notice of his residence in Italy. Plato, in the same passage in which he speaks of Charondas as the admired legislator of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, mentions Pythagoras in contra-

occasionally connected in transactions with states of greater political importance. To avoid interruption therefore in the account of the affairs of the leading republics of Greece, it may be convenient here to look forward to some of those transactions of the Italian states which principally deserve attention.

Among the consequences of the conquest of Sybaris by the Crotonians, one is recorded, which particularly merits notice; because, though now of extraordinary appearance, yet, in the early ages, it was so far from uncommon that it forms one among the characteristic marks of difference between the political state of the ancient and of the modern world. The Sybarite territory, chiefly a plain, watered by the little rivers Sybaris and Crathis,

Diodor. l. 12.  
c. 10. Strab.  
l. 6. p. 263.

distinction to the great reformers of republics, as a private teacher, singularly beloved and respected indeed by his disciples, but the mere founder of a sect. (Plat. de Rep. l. 10. p. 599, 600. v. 2.) It is there only in Plato's works that his name occurs. Aristotle (Ethic. l. 1. c. 1.) mentions him as the first who attempted to teach moral philosophy among the Greeks, and refers to his physical and metaphysical doctrines, but nowhere gives the least hint that he was even a speculative politician. Isocrates (Busir. encom. p. 402. t. 2.) also affirms that he was the first who brought philosophy into Greece, and that he introduced new magnificence in religious ceremonies, but of his politics he says nothing. The earliest testimony, in any extant author, to the Pythagoreans of Italy, is that of Polybius (b. 2. p. 126.): of Pythagoras himself that author makes no mention. In short, what remains from earlier writers concerning this celebrated philosopher is next to nothing; later accounts are contradictory, and abound with gross and palpable fictions. "Ne' libri che si leggono," as the learned Florentine doctor Antonio Cocchi, in his treatise concerning the Pythagorean diet, observes, "ci si vede far figura, or di operator di miracoli per la sua bontà, ed ora di mago ridicolo e d'impostore." That the Samian Pythagoras was eminent among the earliest fathers of Grecian philosophy is clearly established; but that he was a legislator, the silence of all the earlier writers, and especially of Aristotle, seems to confute.

The passage of Herodotus which proves that a part of his history was written in Italy, and for the Italian Greeks, is in his fourth book; where, after describing some circumstances of the Tauric Chersonese, he illustrates them, for the inhabitants of Proper Greece, by a comparison with some circumstances of Attica; but as this might be no illustration for many of those among whom he then lived, he proceeds thus: "Ὅς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυργίης ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυργες, ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντισίου λιμένος, ἀποταμοῖατο μέχρι Τάραντος, καὶ νεμοῖατο τὴν ἄκρην. — l. 4. c. 99.

of no great extent, but uncommon fertility, scarcely forty miles from the conquering city Crotona, and adjoining, or nearly so, to its domain, after the destruction of the city lay fifty-eight years unoccupied. The Crotoniats were unable to protect their own people in the cultivation of it, and their jealousy, perhaps a reasonable jealousy, deterred others. At length some Thessalians ventured to attempt a settlement there; but they were quickly expelled by the Crotoniats. Not thus however totally discouraged, associating such remnant of the Sybarite people as they could collect, they applied first to Lacedæmon and then to Athens for support. It was little in the general disposition of the Lacedæmonian government to engage in such enterprises; and, its circumstances at the time being adverse, as occasion will occur to observe more particularly in the sequel, nothing was obtained there. The circumstances of Athens, on the contrary, made such an application welcome. Under authority of the Athenian government, a proclamation was published over Greece to engage volunteers for the colony. To give efficacy to this an encouraging response was procured from the oracle of Delphi; and ten ships of war, under the command of Lampon and Xenocritus, were furnished for the expedition. The adventurers became numerous, and some were of eminence; particularly Herodotus the historian, Protagoras the philosopher, scholar of Democritus, and Lysias, son of Cephalus, the friend of Socrates, himself afterwards the celebrated rhetorician, many of whose orations remain extant. Measures were wisely taken; and the colony was established, as far as appears, without opposition. The chosen spot was at a small distance from the ancient site of Sybaris, where the fountain Thuria afforded the advantage of a plentiful supply of water. The town was built on a regular plan, with three streets crossing four others at right angles; and

Strab. l. 14.  
p. 656. Diog.  
Laert. v. Pro-  
tag. Lys. or.  
con. Eratosth.

the ancient name being rejected, as of ill omen, the colonists assumed the appellation of Thurians, and the town was called Thuria or Thurium.<sup>7</sup> A constitution was framed for the new state, according to Diogenes Laertius, by Protagoras. Probably he took the system of Charondas for his model, and thence may have arisen the mistake of Diodorus, who attributes to Charondas the honour of having founded the Thurian constitution.

When the advantageous circumstances under which this colony was established are considered, the uncommon abilities and uncommon power of the patron of the undertaking, (the great minister of Athens, Pericles,) the superiority of the men engaged in it, and the celebrity of the laws under which it long flourished, and we then look forward to what remains of its history, it is at the same time curious and shocking to find how little personal security was enjoyed under the best political constitutions of that age; how much less than under those governments of modern Europe which we, under a better constitution, are accustomed most to reprobate and despise; and then, while we exult in the singular blessings which we ourselves enjoy, we may be less disposed to blame others, who, in political circumstances far less fortunate, choose yet rather to rest under the lot derived from their ancestors than risk the horrors of civil war, to obtain, with final success, perhaps only a revival of those miseries with which most of the ancient republics abounded, and from which the happiest were never secure.<sup>8</sup> All the

<sup>7</sup> Λέγεται δὲ Θουρία καὶ Θούριον. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 331. Diodorus has transmitted the ichnography of Thurium and the names of the streets. The four parallel streets were called Heraclea, Aphrodisias, Olympias, Dionysius; or Hercules-street, Venus-street, Olympia-street, and Bacchus-street. Instead of favourite deities an analogous superstition, in the same country, in modern times, would have named them from some favourite saints. The other streets were called Heroa, Thuria, and Thurina.

<sup>8</sup> This sentiment was deduced simply from Grecian history; having been long written, and some time published, before France began to exhibit horrors beyond all recorded example.

wise regulations of Protagoras could not prevent the growth of sedition in Thurium. Disputes arose early between the foreign colonists and the Sybarites who were associated with them; and those disputes ended only with the massacre of a part, and the final dispersion of the rest, of that remnant of unfortunate people.

Arist. Polit.  
1. 5. c. 3.  
Strab. 1. 6.  
p. 263.

A remnant of the Sybarite people nevertheless survived, and it may be ventured even to add that they flourished; though ancient history has left scarcely three words about them. We are uninformed whether it was in the exuberance of the population of Sybaris that the colony was sent out, or in the calamity of the city that a portion of its people fled, to that extensive bay on the western coast of Italy, now called the gulf of Salerno; where the Greek city of POSIDONIA, otherwise named PÆSTUM, acknowledged Sybaris for its mother-country. To this day the magnificent remains of the public buildings of that place, amid the desolation surrounding them, interest as they astonish the curious traveller, whether ancient political history, or the history of the arts, or art itself, be his object; while the obscurity and almost nullity of tradition concerning them afford endless room for conjecture.

It were difficult to say what advantage the world may or may not derive from those speculations on the ancient state of mankind, those visionary inquiries into ancient history, in prosecution of which so much ingenuity hath of late been employed, to overthrow every traditionary testimony transmitted by the earliest writers. But when, on one side, we see it asserted that what have been four thousand years the finest climates of our globe, were in its first ages uninhabitable through excess of heat, and that all science had its birth in the now frozen regions of Tartary, then alone, by their height above the ocean, affording that temperature of air in

which men could live ; when, on the other, we find not less force of erudition or of reason engaged in the attempt to show that the progress of things has been the reverse ; and that the first civilised nations lived on a portion of the globe now covered to the depth of many hundred fathom by the Atlantic ocean ; it seems probable that, these militating systems destroying one another, the fashion of all will pass ; and that learned men, however wishing for better information about the early state of mankind than the oldest authors furnish, may nevertheless come to acknowledge that better is not likely to be obtained. In the spirit of inventive history it has been a supposition of late cherished by some among the curious and learned, that the noble piles whose ruins remain at Pæstum, as well as the various existing monuments of the arts of ancient Etruria, have been the produce of science and improvement not derived from Greece or the East, but the native growth of Italy ; or however that, whether Italy received the arts from the lofty plains of Tartary, or from the submerged Atlantic continent, she had them before Greece, and at least assisted the eastern nations in communicating them to that country. I would avoid long discussion of matters which are rather of the province of the antiquarian : and indeed upon the subject in question it seems enough for the historian that neither Cicero, with all his partiality for Italy, and all his diligence, and all his means of inquiry, nor Horace, with all his desire to gratify his Etruscan patron, nor Virgil, nor Livy, nor Pliny appears to have had the least suspicion that their fellow-countrymen had any claim to the priority in science and art which it has been proposed by some learned moderns to attribute to them. Without therefore adding anything to what has been already said about Tuscany, I shall proceed to state some circumstances, not alien from the purpose of Grecian history, which may afford ground for

estimating the state of civilisation and improvement among the inhabitants of the middle and southern parts of Italy, previous to the migration of the first Grecian colonies thither.

Occasion has heretofore occurred to mention that CUMA, situated a few miles north-west of the present city of Naples, was esteemed the oldest Grecian colony westward of the Ionian sea. The distance of Cuma from its mother-country Eubœa, and the extent of barbarian shores that, in the coasting navigation of the age, must be passed to reach it from any part of Greece, here deserve consideration. Of the course that was usually, or, it may be said, constantly held, if storms did not force the navigator out of his way, we are perfectly informed. The shores of Greece were measured, in fair weather, from headland to headland; but if the sky threatened, it was along the windings of the coast, as far as the island of Corcyra. The navigator then became particularly anxious for a serene sky and quiet water to cross the Ionian gulf. Having made the Iapygian promontory, if fair weather continued, he would avoid the circuit of the gulf of Tarentum, and stretch away for the Lacinian promontory, whence the coast would conduct him to the Messenian strait. The ancients seem to have little known the art of profiting from any wind that did not blow nearly in their course. The wind therefore which had favoured the navigator from Eubœa to the southern capes of Peloponnesus, would oppose his progress toward the Epirot coast. In proceeding then to Messina, he would want another change; and to hold his way thence, between two and three hundred miles northward to Cuma, a third; or, in defect of these, weather so calm as not to impede his oars. The course from the nearest part of Greece to Cuma would be, even with favouring weather, about six hundred miles, and from Eubœa near a thousand.

Ch. 5. s. 2. of  
this History.

Thucyd. 1. 6.  
c. 34. et al.  
Xen. Hel. 1. 6.  
c. 2. s. 17, 18.

With this length of navigation, and these difficulties insuperable from it, difficulties with which the Mediterranean coasting seamen are to this day well acquainted, the settlers at Cuma, it is evident, must rest their safety upon their own strength, compared with that of those who were likely to oppose them, and not upon any assistance to be expected from Greece. Those adventurers then, so risking themselves out of all reach of support from home, chose for their settlement no barren and worthless corner, likely to be neglected in a country which had any civilised inhabitants, but a critical post, on the verge of the CAMPANIAN plain, emphatically named the Happy Campania, the richest, and, from earliest ages, the most coveted part of Italy. The local circumstances deserve notice; and the whole Cumæan territory is so trodden by travellers, for the sake of the antiquities, the natural curiosities, and the picturesque beauties with which it abounds, that in speaking of it I shall speak of what is more familiar to many English readers than most parts of their own country; and its features are so characteristic that, to those who never saw it, a good map may give sufficient assistance.

Polyb. l. 5.  
p. 336. Strab.  
l. 5. p. 243.

At the foot of the mountains which occupy so large a portion of the interior of Italy, the Campanian plain stretches about fifty miles in length, from the Massic hills to those which divide the bay of Naples from that of Salerno, and sometimes twenty in width, from the Apennine to the sea. The inclination of the ground suffices, in most parts, to give course to the streams which cross this plain, and yet scarcely any visible inequality interrupts the apparent level of the surface, except where a series of volcanoes has given form to the coast, from the bay of Cuma to the bay of Stabia. Of the hills however in this tract, except Vesuvius, none are too high for cultivation; and the subterranean fires, which produced them, had long been quiet before the



Greeks became acquainted with them; even Vesuvius having been unknown to any ancient writer as a burning mountain till the eruption happened which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii.<sup>9</sup>

When Megasthenes, with his band of Eubœan adventurers, arrived on the Campanian coast, the bay of Baiæ, one of the best roadsteads that the Italian shores afford, presented harbours so commodious for the vessels of the age that they might have fixed the choice of those whose object was either commerce or piracy. But Megasthenes looked to greater things. The Oscans, who then held the Campanian plain, are said to have won it by arms from the Ausonians; yet the evident weakness of those barbarian conquerors excited a hope that so rich a possession might be ravished from them. This view seems to have directed the founder in choosing the site of his town: and for the three purposes of security to a garrison, of commanding an extent of coast abounding with harbours, and of carrying on enterprise against the possessors of the plain, a spot could not perhaps have been more judiciously selected than the rocky summit, toward the western end of the volcanic hills, and at some distance from the shore, where the ruins of the castle of Cuma still remain. Immediately below is a small plain, guarded on the land side by the castle and by the hills themselves; and so protected toward the sea, by marshes, lakes, and broken ground, that a small force might defend it against a large one. This plain, in the infancy of the colony perhaps nearly sufficing to supply it with bread, became, in its increase, as relics everywhere still to be discovered testify, in large proportion covered by the city and its appendages.

<sup>9</sup> The Cumæan territory was however known to be volcanic ground as early as Pindar's time, as we learn from his first Pythian ode. Perhaps Mount Epomeus, in the neighbouring island of Ischia, might then emit flame. For this Strabo may be seen, b. 5. p. 248.

For his port Megasthenes chose, not the harbour of Misenum, whose superior advantages, considered by themselves, decided the Romans afterward to make it their principal naval arsenal, but a spot preferable for his purpose, on account of its readier communication with Cuma, where the town of Dicæarchia was built, better known afterward by the Roman name Puteoli.

The early success of the Eubœan adventurers answered the prudence with which their measures appear to have been concerted; for, though at what time and through what struggles we are uninformed, they conquered the Campanian plain. But they were not allowed the quiet enjoyment of so valuable an acquisition; the Tuscans, then in the height of their power, whether solicited by the oppressed Oscans, or incited merely by ambition and avarice, carried their arms thither, and the force of Cuma was unequal to the contest. The Tuscans made themselves complete masters of the plain; they founded the city of Capua, which became its capital; and from them, according to Strabo, descended the people afterward known by the name of Campanians.

The Cumæans, after this reverse, which extinguished their hope to become a considerable power by land, nevertheless prospered as a maritime colony. They extended their maritime settlements, and, in spite of the force of Campania, vindicated to themselves the possession of the hills on the coast, at the eastern extremity of which they built the town of Naples. It was not till after they had flourished some centuries that faction, the common bane of Grecian cities, at length superinduced their ruin. The Campanians, with whom they seem to have had almost perpetual warfare, thus first got footing in Naples; and afterward reduced Cuma itself.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> According to Diodorus, in the fourth year of the eighty-ninth Olym-

Such then having been the weakness and barbarism of the Italian tribes, the Tuscans alone excepted, that, according to every testimony of Greek and Roman writers, wherever almost a Grecian pirate chose to form a settlement on the coast he found no force among the natives capable of preventing his purpose, it seems needless to seek for other proof that such people were not the founders of those edifices at Posidonia, which have existed now between two and three thousand years, and survived, nine centuries, the total destruction of the city. It appears from Strabo Strab. l. 5. p. 251. that, when the Sybarite adventurers arrived there, they found a town either unfortified, or fortified so slightly that the barbarous inhabitants abandoned it almost without resistance, and betook themselves to the neighbouring mountains. The local circumstances were not such as Ch. 1, sect. 3. of this Hist. the Greeks generally coveted for a settlement, yet such as they sometimes accepted. The place was strong, not by a lofty rock offering itself for a fortress, but by a marsh on which it bordered, and by a stream with which a surrounding ditch might be floated. These, with the neighbourhood of the sea, and the extent and fertility of the adjacent plain, were the advantages of the situation. The inconveniences at the same time were great. Strab. l. 5. p. 251. The neighbouring marsh infected the air, and the water of the stream is brackish and unwholesome. But security and sustenance were the great objects of the Sybarites. Having fortified the town, they thence commanded a large portion of the plain; and how they flourished, their works, now remaining amid wide desolation melancholy monuments of past human grandeur, largely testify.

But though, in the early ages, a small body of Sybarites, not the most renowned in arms among the Greeks, was supe-

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piad, the twelfth of the Peloponnesian war, and 420th before the Christian era. Diod. l. 12 c. 76.

rior to any force the barbarian Italians could oppose to them; though a few fugitive Phocæans from Asia Minor could establish themselves, and flourish in their settlement of Velia on the LUCANIAN coast, which became one of the earliest seats of philosophy; yet in process of years, arts and knowledge introducing themselves among the Italians, their population and their political strength increased; and those who had been unable to oppose the infancy of the Grecian towns could overpower their maturity. Thus not only the Campanians, who came originally fraught with all the arts of Etruria, reduced Cuma and its dependencies, but the once savage Lucanians conquered Posidonia and Velia.<sup>11</sup> Afterward, under Roman protection, Posidonia prospered again with the name of Pæstum, survived the Roman empire in the west, and about the beginning of the tenth century, in one unhappy hour, received its total ruin from the destructive hands of the Saracens.<sup>12</sup>

Ch. 7. sect. 1.  
of this Hist.

Strab. l. 6.  
p. 254.

<sup>11</sup> Virgil, expressly bringing civilisation to Italy from Asia Minor,

(Æneas ———

Bellum ingens geret Italiâ, populosque feroces

Contundet, moresque viris et mœnia ponet.

Æn. l. 1. v. 263.)

attributes barbarian cruelty and ignorance particularly to the tribes in the neighbourhood of Velia. Æn. l. 6. v. 359. 366.

<sup>12</sup> The style of the ruins of Pæstum, nearly resembling that of most of the temples remaining in Sicily, and of one of which small relics only are left at Pompeii, differs from what is found common in Greece and among the Grecian settlements in Asia, by greater massiveness, and a characteristic simplicity. Hence some have been disposed to infer that the Pæstan, Sicilian, and Pompeian buildings have all been anterior to the age to which they are commonly attributed, and that they are Italian and not Grecian architecture. But, without referring to the total want of testimony to the existence of an Italian people capable of teaching architecture to the Greeks, the following considerations may account for the difference between the style of the Attic, and that of the Sicilian and Pæstan buildings. Sybaris was destroyed about eighteen years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and the buildings of Agrigentum, where the noblest ruins of Sicily remain, were raised, according to Diodorus, immediately after that event, when Athens was also to be restored, after its complete destruction by the Persians. It is likely that the

Agrigentines and Sybarites would build in the style of their forefathers: but we are well informed that the Athenians did otherwise. Themistocles, who superintended the rebuilding of Athens, splendid in his disposition, rather to excess, acquainted with the elegancies of Asia Minor, and possessing power to command the science, art, and taste of that country, would not restore when he could improve. Cimon, who succeeded him in the administration, was also remarkable for his magnificence; and he too had seen whatever the Asiatic coast possessed of great and beautiful. But the ornamental buildings of both these great men were comparatively little to what were afterward raised under the superintendence of Pericles and the direction of Phidias. The fame of the buildings of Athens then spreading over Greece, a new style of architecture was introduced gradually everywhere. The Ionic order had been imported into Attica from Asia; the Corinthian was soon after invented by an Athenian architect; and the Doric itself began to change its ancient simple and massive grandeur, for more embellishment, lightness, and grace.

Mistakes about things often arise from mistakes about names. The order of architecture called Doric has been supposed, even by Vitruvius, originally peculiar to the Dorian Greeks; but apparently, indeed almost evidently, without foundation. For till after the age of Xerxes only one order of architecture, as we are well assured, was known in Greece; and that is not likely to have had a name; because names arise only from the necessity of distinguishing in speech two or more things of the same kind. But when the Ionic order was imported from Ionia in Asia by the Athenians, who were themselves original Ionians, the term Ionic would naturally grow into use as a distinguishing name for the new order; and then, and not before, a name was wanted for the old one. Ionic and Doric being the two great distinctions of the Greek nation, and the old style of architecture holding its vogue among the Dorian cities, for some time after the new one had been adopted by the Athenians, the Doric name thus would as naturally adhere to the one as the Ionic to the other.

## CHAPTER XI.

AFFAIRS OF GREECE FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THAT COMMONLY CALLED THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECURITY FOR THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS BY THE SUCCESSES OF CIMON.

## SECTION I.

*State of the known World at the Time of the Retreat of Xerxes from Greece. — Dedications, Festivals, and Monuments in Greece occasioned by the Victories over the Persians. — Restoration of Athens. — Jealousy of the Peloponnesians. — Administration of Themistocles : Parties at Athens : Banishment of Themistocles.*

RETURNING to the period whence we digressed, and looking over the world as far as history may carry the view, this appears to have been nearly the state of things : toward the east, the Persian empire, crippled for external exertion by immense waste of men and treasure, nevertheless continued to hold its power over almost all that was known of the Asiatic continent ; for Scythia, though its formidable hordes had military fame, as a country, may be said to have been almost unknown. In the west, the rising power of Carthage had been checked by the great defeat received from the Greeks in Sicily ; Tuscany, divided into several republics, was in a kind of natural decay ; the growing strength of Rome, engaged in continual struggles with little states in its immediate neighbourhood, was hardly heard of beyond them ; the southern Italians, excepting the Campanians, lived unpolished among their mountains ; the Greek

cities on the Italian coast, unconnected, and thus, in the concerns of nations, inconsiderable, were nevertheless prosperous and wealthy seats of science and arts; the Sicilian Greeks, united under the abilities of Gelon, were the most powerful and flourishing people of the Grecian name. Civilisation had hitherto moved in a line eastward and westward, in the climate most favourable for the first exertions of man in society; and was confined there to the countries in the most favourable circumstances. It could not penetrate the mountainous and frozen continent immediately north of Greece. Under a more genial sky, Spain, though a great object for Carthaginian commerce, affords nothing for history; and of the extensive country of Gaul little was known beyond the small portion of its coast washed by the Mediterranean, the most inviting spots of which were occupied by the Massilian Greeks. Germany was one vast forest, impenetrable to civilised man; and Britain, esteemed almost beyond the limits of the world, was heard of only through uncertain reports of traders<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The earliest mention of the British islands, that has fallen in my way, is that of Aristotle, in his treatise entitled, "On the World." Great Britain, with the name of Albion, and Ireland, with that of Ierne, (the same evidently with the modern Celtic name Erin,) were known to him to be islands, larger than any in the Mediterranean, with many smaller islands, near their shores; and all together were called the *BRETANIC ISLANDS*. *Aristot. de Mundo*, c. 3. In the age of Augustus, according to the circumstantial and probable account of Diodorus, the trade between the shores of the Mediterranean and those of Britain was carried across Gaul, by using the ready advantage of the rivers Rhone and Seine. Phœnician or Carthaginian barks may possibly have explored the length of hazardous coast from the strait of Gibraltar to that of Dover, and so may have reached Britain; but I know of no ancient authority for the notion of some modern writers, not, I think duly considering the imperfection of ancient navigation, that the commerce of tin, the principal object of trade with Britain, was so carried on. The situation of Massilia afforded advantage to the Greeks of that eminent commercial republic, which, according to all indications, they used, for becoming masters of the trade with Gaul, and through them probably came that knowledge, not of Britain only, but also of the sea northward, which Aristotle possessed.

Ireland seems not then to have been known by any description but that of one of the *Bretanic islands*. Even Diodorus mentions it without a distinguishing

Carthaginian or Phœnician, unless the Massilian Greeks might have already interfered in the distant and hazardous, yet perhaps often lucrative, commercial adventure hither.

Such was the state of the known world, when the Persian monarch withdrew from those great scenes of action where his immense armies and fleets had been destroyed, leaving to his officers, instead of the splendid views of conquest with which the war had been undertaken, the melancholy care to defend the maritime provinces of his vast empire. Among the Greeks on the other hand the late events, dispelling those terrors of subjection to a foreign yoke which had been long impending, gave them, in the security of peace, to enjoy at leisure their exultation in the wonderful and glorious deliverance, which, under Divine Providence, their own valour and skill in arms, and the wholesome institutions, prevailing under pressure of necessity against the vices of their governments, had procured for them.

Ol. 75.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .  
B. C. 478.  
Plut. vit.  
Aristid.

The usual piety of the Grecian people, exerting itself upon this great occasion, was not limited to the dedications made or decreed as already related, immediately after the division of the Persian spoil. Eighty talents of silver, allotted to Plataea, were employed by that heroic little commonwealth in building a temple to

name, but Strabo describes it by that of the "Bretanic Ierne." The three writers agree in calling all the islands, great and small collectively, "the Bretanic Islands." Diod. l. 3. c. 38. Strabo, l. 2 pp. 63. & 129.

When the crowns of England and Scotland were united, James the First wisely promoted the abolition of habitual antipathies, and assisted the foundation laid for uniting the people, by affording them one common name, through the elegant title he assumed, of King of Great Britain. When the union was lately formed with Ireland, it may seem that the same just policy, and a similar sense of elegance, led to the Latin title which his Majesty's ministers recommended. Why the English title should so differ, has never been declared, and is not obvious. Its unwieldy frame seems calculated for nothing but to exclude the Irish from community in a name to which they have so old and clear a title, and to prevent the advantage of such a community, which is important for people living under one government.



Minerva, and adorning it with paintings by the most eminent artists of the time, which were preserved with so much care that they remained perfect above six hundred years, according to Plutarch's testimony, to his time. A funeral solemnity was at the same time instituted, to be annually performed by the Plataeans; in which the first-fruits of their country were offered to the gods, preservers of Greece, and to the souls of the heroes who had died in its defence; and this also remained in Plutarch's time. A festival repeated every fifth year in commemoration of the victory, probably not instituted till after the age of Thucydides, who mentions only the annual ceremony, was of similar duration.

Thucyd. l. 3.  
c. 58. Plut.  
vit. Aristid.

After thanks to the gods, the merits of the men who had fallen in their country's service were taken into consideration. Means had not hitherto been open for paying due honours to the heroism of those who, in the preceding year, had fallen in the extraordinary action under Leonidas. The care of their obsequies, and of erecting monuments to perpetuate their well-earned fame, was now committed to the Amphictyonic Assembly. Two structures of marble marked the place of the engagement, with inscriptions which remained many ages; and which, having been recorded by Herodotus, will probably be secured by the press against perishing while the world shall last. One was in honour of the Peloponnesians collectively, without mentioning the other Greeks who, under Leonidas, defended the pass; the other commemorated only the Lacedæmonians who fell with that prince. The simplicity of these inscriptions characterises the manners of the age; and the partiality to Peloponnesus and Lacedæmon marks the prevalence of Peloponnesian influence in the assembly. They were, as was then usual, in verse. The former may be literally translated thus:

Herodot. l. 7.  
c. 228. Lycurg.  
or. con. Leocr.  
p. 215. or. Gr.  
ed. Reiske.  
Strab. l. 9.  
p. 429. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c. 33.  
Antholog.

“ Here four thousand men from Peloponnesus fought with three millions :” the other, “ Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that here we lie in obedience to their laws.”<sup>2</sup>

More pressing cares meanwhile engaged the Athenians, the restoration of their country laid waste, and of their city reduced to ruins and ashes : yet now, according to Diodorus, they also instituted their public funeral anniversary ; to which the superior genius of their orators, who pronounced the praises of the deceased, together with the political eminence which their commonwealth acquired, gave afterward a celebrity unequalled in other parts of Greece. Public funerals in honour of those who had merited highly of the commonwealth, as we learn from higher authority, were of earlier date ; yet the ceremony may have been now first established in that form which became the rule for following times. Now also probably were raised the columns or terms, which remained many ages, on the barrows covering the bodies of those who fell in the field of Marathon ; for it is little likely that monuments erected for such a purpose would have escaped the destructive hands of the Persians,

Diod. Sic.  
l. 11. c. 35.

Thucyd. l. 2.  
c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo says the monument, with the inscription, was in his time still in its place. The inscription remains reported by Herodotus, the Athenian orator Lycurgus, Strabo himself, Diodorus, and others, with some little variations, which show that some of them at least have trusted to memory. Cicero says it was composed by Simonides, and he has given a Latin translation of it thus :

Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hîc vidisse jacentes,

Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

M. T. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 101.

The original is thus variously reported :

“Ω ξείν’, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτι τῆδε

Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι. — Herodot.

“Ω ξείν’, ἀγγείλον Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτι τῆδε

Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

Lycurg. & Diod.

“Ω ξείν’ ἀπάγγειλον, κ. τ. λ. — Strab.

and of those Greeks who sided with the Persians, while they possessed the country. Pausanias, visiting the spot above six hundred years after, found them, with the inscribed names of the slain, still perfect. One barrow covered the Athenians, another the Plataeans, together with the slaves; and to make some amends to the memory of Miltiades for the ingratitude with which he had been treated when living, though he had not fallen in the field, a particular monument to his honour was erected there.<sup>3</sup>

Pausan. l. 1.  
c. 32.

The Athenians, in retaking possession of the site of their city, found only a small part of the walls standing, with a few houses which had been reserved for the residence of the principal Persian officers. During the past summer Themistocles appears to have been in no public situation. Some jealousy excited by the high distinction shown him at Sparta, and too boastful a display of his own glory, had given disgust, and the chief commands had been committed to Aris-

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 89.

tides and Xanthippus. In the following autumn however, when the reparation of the ravages of war came under deliberation, Themistocles again stepped forward, again found means to acquire the favour, and through that favour to become the ruler of the Athenian people. In restoring the city, which was the most urgent business, the late events would impress strongly upon their minds the necessity of providing, in the most effectual manner possible, for its future security. What others were anxious for, each with a view to his domestic ease, Themistocles urged to promote the political

Herodot.  
l. 8. c. 125.  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 27. Plut.  
vit. Themist.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription on the Athenian barrow remains reported by the orator Lycurgus, thus :

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
Χρυσόφορον Μήδων ἐσπόρεσαν δύναμιν.

“ The Athenians, fighting at Marathon as the advanced guard of the Greek nation, overthrew the force of the gold-bearing Medes.”

greatness of his country, to which he looked for the foundation of his own greatness. At his instigation therefore it was determined to postpone every thing to the completion of the fortifications; and these were put under his direction. A larger space was marked out than had been included within the former walls, and the work was prosecuted with the most zealous diligence.

While the Athenians were thus employed in repairing the past mischiefs of war, and providing against the future, the Lacedæmonians, who had suffered nothing but the loss of a very inconsiderable proportion of their citizens, had full leisure to contemplate the state of things around them, and the probable consequences of the late events. They had long been accustomed, not only to esteem themselves, but to be esteemed by all Greece, as the superior state, entitled by a kind of prescriptive right to take the lead in all common concerns of the nation. This right had been disputed hitherto only by the Argives, who still claimed hereditary pre-eminence, transmitted, as they urged, from the Danaidean, Persidean, and Pelopidean monarchs, through the elder branch of the Heraclidean family. But Argos, continually torn by internal faction, and weakened by almost every external war in which it had been engaged, wanted force to support its claim; while Sparta had the advantage, in public opinion, of boasting the regular descent of its reigning princes from Hercules, Pelops, and Perseus, with the more solid advantage of possessing superior military strength; and this farther supported by the confidence of the Peloponnesian states in the wisdom and steadiness, which, through the superiority of its constitution, seldom failed to appear in its counsels. But the late transactions had brought forward a people hitherto of very inferior political weight among the Grecian states, of very inferior military power, and of the Ionian race, far inferior, in general

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 93.  
 Isocrat. ad Philip. p. 340.  
 t. 1. ed. Auger.

estimation, to the Dorian. This rising state had been nearly crushed under the overwhelming pressure of the Persian arms; but what had threatened its annihilation directed its strength to a new mode of exertion, through which it had acquired a new kind of power, to an amount that Lacedæmon could not hope immediately to rival. A jealousy thus unavoidably arose, and every motion of the Athenians was watched with suspicious attention; a jealousy, according to the candid Thucydides, greater among some of the allies of Lacedæmon than among the Lacedæmonians themselves.

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 90.

No sooner therefore were the new fortifications of Athens begun than the Æginetans, whose ancient enmity had been smothered, not extinguished, by the terrors of the Persian invasion, sent ministers to excite the interference of Sparta.

Ol. 75. 3. 4  
B. C. 477. \*  
Diodor. 1. 11. c. 59. Plut. & Corn. Nep. vit. Themist.  
Justin. 1. 2. c. 15.

A remonstrance came in consequence to Athens. "Experience," it was urged, "had proved, that Athens, however fortified, could not withstand the force of the Persian empire. The erection therefore of fortifications, beyond Peloponnesus, was but forming a stronghold for the enemy; and the common interest of Greece required rather that all fortified places, so situate, should be dismantled. Peloponnesus would suffice as a temporary retreat for all who should be obliged to quit their possessions in the more exposed part of the country." Such, we are told by Thucydides, was the avowed policy, not of the Lacedæmonians only, but of all their Peloponnesian allies. If these arguments should immediately be enforced by arms, Athens was not in condition to resist: to temporise was necessary; and the conduct of Themistocles, upon this occasion, has

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 90.

<sup>4</sup> This date and the next are conjectural. Dodwell is evidently wrong in supposing the walls completed, as well as all the negotiations about them, within the year. [\* B. C. 478. "The Athenians rebuild their walls, and complete the walls of the Piræus." Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, p. 254.]

been celebrated as a masterpiece of policy, where nothing was omitted by which a genius equally fertile, pliable, and daring could prosecute its purpose. To the Lacedæmonian ministers, who brought the remonstrance, it was answered, "That their government must certainly have been misinformed, both of what was doing and what was intended by the Athenian people. Athens was not, like Lacedæmon, an inland town: near as it lay to the coast, if totally unfortified, it would be liable to insult from every daring pirate. But, for their own sakes, not less than for the common interest of Greece, (for which of all Grecian people surely the Athenians least merited the suspicion of deficient zeal,) they would be careful not to form strongholds for the common enemy. Ambassadors should however be immediately sent to Lacedæmon, who should account satisfactorily for the proceedings of the Athenian government." With this reply the Lacedæmonians were dismissed, according to the usual practice of the Greeks, the jealous temper of whose little commonwealths did not readily admit any long residence of foreigners in a public character.

Themistocles himself undertook the embassy to Sparta; and, to give it all possible weight and dignity, as among the ancients an embassy commonly consisted of more than one person, Aristides was appointed to accompany him, together with Abronychus, otherwise known only as the officer commanding the vessel stationed at Thermopylæ to communicate between the army under Leonidas and the fleet at Artemisium.<sup>5</sup> Themistocles hastened his journey; but he provided that his colleagues, or at least one of them, should be detained till the walls of the city were of such a height as to give some security to a garrison. In the prosecution of the work the

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 91.

Ch. 8. s. 4. of this Hist.

<sup>5</sup> The name of his father, Lysicles, mentioned both by Herodotus and Thucydides, identifies him.

zeal of the people seconded the policy of their leader: freemen did not scruple to toil among slaves; the very women and children would assist for whatever their strength and skill were equal to; reliefs were established, so that in no hour of the day or night was the business intermitted; and, to save the time which the preparation of materials would have consumed, whatever could serve the purpose was taken, wherever it could be found, from the remains of buildings public and private, and even from the tombs. The patchwork thus occasioned, Thucydides observes, was evident in his time, in the external appearance of the walls of Athens.

Themistocles meanwhile arriving at Sparta was in no haste to open the business of his embassy. When at length urged by the Spartan ministry, he excused himself by saying, "He waited for his colleagues, who had been detained by some business for which their presence was indispensable; but he expected them hourly, and indeed wondered they were not yet arrived." The Lacedæmonians, it appears, even at home, notwithstanding the severity of their institutions, were not universally inaccessible to bribery; and of the expertness of Themistocles in the use of that engine of policy instances are recorded. Plutarch mentions it as reported by the historian Théopompus that he found means to corrupt even some of the Ephors. Certain it is that, through his management, time was gained for the Athenians to execute a very great work. The progress made however could not remain entirely unknown at Lacedæmon, and Themistocles was reproached with it. In reply, he denied that the Lacedæmonians had any just information upon the subject, and urged that it ill became them to found their proceedings upon unauthenticated reports. "Let men of sufficient rank," he said, "and un-

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 131.

Plut. vit.  
Themist.

Thucyd. ut  
sup. Demosth.  
in Leptin.  
p. 478. t. 1.  
ed. Reiske.

unimpeachable character be sent to Athens, whom the Athenians may respect, and in whom yourselves may place entire confidence. I will remain a hostage in your hands, to insure the proper conduct of the Athenian people." This requisition, boldly put, appearing in itself not unreasonable, was complied with. Three persons of the first consequence in Lacedæmon were sent to Athens; where, in pursuance of directions from Themistocles, they were received and treated with the utmost respect, but secretly watched; and effectual measures were taken to prevent their departure, should any violence or restraint be put upon the Athenian ambassadors.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 91.

Not till the walls of Athens were advanced to that height which was, according to the expression of Thucydides, most indispensably necessary to give due advantage to a garrison, Aristides and Abronychus joined Themistocles at Sparta. The senate being then assembled, gave audience to the embassy; and Themistocles, laying aside that dissimulation which was no longer necessary, declared that "By the last intelligence received, he had the satisfaction to learn that Athens was now sufficiently fortified for its security. The Lacedæmonians," he added, "and their allies, whenever they communicated with the Athenians by embassies, ought to consider them as a people capable of judging both what their own interest and what the common cause required. With regard to the object of their present meeting, all Greece surely ought to rejoice in the restoration of a city whose people, by their counsels, their actions, and their sufferings, had demonstrated that they consulted the interest of the whole nation not less than their own: nor would the Lacedæmonians themselves blame what had been done, unless they would prove to the world that, not the welfare of Greece, but the extension of their own command, was the object of their solicitude." Whatever the Lacedæmonians



might feel upon this occasion, the steady wisdom usual in their administration, showed itself in the suppression of all appearance of resentment. No reproaches of any kind were vented; but, on the contrary, a civil apology was made for the interference of the Lacedæmonian government in a matter concerning which the Athenian people, it was acknowledged, were to decide for themselves; though admonition (which was all that had been intended) to an ally, and concerning a point in which it was supposed the common interest and that of the Athenian people were one, could not be improper. The ambassadors of each state then returned home: and thus, by a train of conduct hazardous to comment upon, for its policy admirable, for its morality doubtful, yet commendable at least for its patriotism, Themistocles delivered his country from imminent danger of falling under the yoke of Lacedæmon, immediately after, and almost as a consequence of, its glorious exertions and heroic sufferings in the common cause against Persia.

This important and difficult negotiation thus successfully concluded, the views of Themistocles were yet but opening. Amid all her sufferings from the Persian war, Athens, through the superior abilities of her leaders, had been gradually rising to a rank far above what she had formerly held among the Grecian states. It had been the ancient policy, we are told, of the Athenian government, to discourage maritime commerce and a turn to naval affairs among the people; relying upon agriculture as the source of wealth, and the land force as the means of being secure and respectable. Themistocles had already successfully combated this policy, with the highest, most undeniable, and most flattering advantage to the commonwealth; for Athens not only owed the preservation even of its existence to its navy, but for the last two years had existed almost only in its navy; and this navy was become, not only superior in strength to that

of any other Grecian state, but superior, by the glory of its actions, to any the world had yet known. It was now the purpose of Themistocles, after having given security to the Athenian people, to lead them to empire; and with this view he extended his favourite policy to a very extraordinary length. The circumstances of the times had indeed already gone far in preparing the business, for they had made almost all the Athenian people seamen; his object was to keep them so always.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 93.

The first thing wanting was a sufficient port.

The Attic shore, in the part nearest to the city, had three nearly adjoining inlets, named, from three adjacent villages, Phalerum, Munychia, and Piræus. Phalerum, nearest of the three to the city, had been hitherto the principal harbour and arsenal; and it had sufficed for all the purposes of the state when, without assistance from Corinth, Athens could not meet at sea the inhabitants of the Ægine-tan rock. But it was insufficient for the actual navy, and still more unequal to the great views of Themistocles. Munychia, much the smallest, was also otherwise comparatively incommo-  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 41.

Descr. Geogr.  
du Golfe de  
Venise, &c.  
par Bellin.

but far most capacious, might, with some labour, be so improved as to form, for vessels of the ancient construction, drawing little water, the completest harbour of Greece. It was naturally divided into an inner port and an outer; the former capable of being made a perfect basin, fortified so as effectually to prevent the entrance of an enemy's fleet. Within this basin

Wheeler's and  
Chandler's  
Travels in  
Greece.

is a smaller basin, now, according to the report of travellers, choked with sand, but in the age of

Themistocles, in a different state; whence Thucydides describes Piræus as having three natural harbours. Adjoining to the outer port, on the south-west, is an excellent roadstead, protected by the islands Psyttalea and

Salamis, which would be inestimable for a modern navy, and was not without its value to the ancients.

The natural advantages thus offered did not escape the penetrating eye of Themistocles. When in the office of archon, in the year, it is supposed, before the expedition of Xerxes, having already meditated to make Athens a naval power, works had been under his direction begun for improving the port of Piræus, and constructing a naval arsenal there. He would now pursue the plan, but he still feared interruption from the jealousy of Lacedæmon. This he would have precluded by secrecy in preparation; but a democratical government little admits secrecy: it was absolutely necessary to have the sanction of the assembled people. To obtain this therefore, without betraying his project, he declared that he had measures to propose of the utmost importance to the prosperity and greatness of the commonwealth; but a public communication of them would defeat the purpose. He therefore wished that two men might be chosen, who should be thought best to deserve public confidence, to whom he might propose his plan; and who, if they judged it for the public good, might be authorised to direct the execution. Aristides and Xanthippus were accordingly named; popular jealousy itself favouring so advantageous a choice; for those two great men were generally political opponents of Themistocles. They nevertheless declared their approbation of his proposal. But fresh jealousy seized the people; they suspected that apparent coalition of the leaders of opposite parties, and nothing less would satisfy them than the communication of the project to the council of Five Hundred, who should be bound to secrecy. The council however also approved, and then the business was committed to Themistocles.

B. C. 481.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 93. Ann.  
Thu. ad ann.  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 41.

Ol. 75. 4. 76. 1.  
B. C. 476.  
[See note 4.  
sup.] Diodor.  
ut sup.

Preparations were made with the utmost dispatch, while

the purpose remained a secret. Whatever the keenest politician could devise was practised: first to lull the Spartan government, and then to gain its approbation of the measure; tending, it was asserted, to nothing more than the forming of a port fit for the combined navy of Greece, and not at all to interfere with the views of the Lacedæmonians, who never affected maritime power. Fortifications

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 93. Plat.  
Gorg. p. 455.  
t. 2.

meanwhile, much more complete than those of the city, arose around a space sufficient for a town almost equal to the city; the walls, of a thickness to admit two carriages abreast, were formed of large blocks of marble, squared and exactly fitted, without cement, but the outer stones firmly connected by cramps of iron fixed with lead. Only half the intended height was ever accomplished; the purpose of Themistocles having been to make the place defensible with the smallest possible garrison, old men and boys, so that every citizen capable of more active service might be spared, and the whole force of the commonwealth exerted at sea; yet, such as Piræus under his care became, it was the completest naval arsenal that the world had yet seen.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch delighted in telling a good story, and, for what is here related, he has substituted one so brilliant that among modern writers of Grecian history (the diligent compilers of the ancient Universal History, as far as my observation has gone, are alone to be excepted) it has quite eclipsed the simple and probable narrative of Diodorus. The Athenian assembly, says Plutarch, (vit. Themist.) directed Themistocles to communicate his proposal to Aristides alone. Aristides declared that nothing could be either more advantageous or more wicked; upon which the people commanded that it should be no more thought of. Whether Aristides was the rogue, or Themistocles the fool, afterward to divulge the secret, Plutarch, with a thoughtlessness ordinary with him, omits to inform us: but he asserts, with perfect confidence, that the proposal of Themistocles was to burn the allied Grecian fleet assembled in the bay of Pagasæ; and with a farther thoughtlessness, which has justly excited the indignation of the good Rollin, he appears to give his approbation to such an infernal project as a great idea. But the evident impolicy of the measure, without taking anything else into consideration, might reasonably lead us to doubt the truth of the tale. Had it been executed, the Athenians indeed alone would have had a fleet; but where would they have found an ally? What would have been their prospect of command, and what even the

Meanwhile the disappointment, rather a disgracing disappointment, which had attended the attempt to prevent the fortifying of Athens, had not damped the ambition or changed the policy of the Lacedæmonian government. Ever attentive to strengthen and extend their ascendancy over the other Grecian commonwealths, and now more than ever jealous of Athens, yet cautious of farther interference in its internal concerns, they directed their intrigues to another quarter. In the council of Amphictyons, at their instigation, it was proposed that every Grecian state, Plutarch. vii. Themist. which had taken part with the Persians in the late war, should be deemed to have forfeited all its Amphictyonic rights. This was particularly aimed against the Argives and Thebans; in the well-grounded hope that two of the most powerful states, and most inimical to Lacedæmon, being excluded, Lacedæmonian influence would thenceforward govern the assembly. But the vigilance and activity of Themistocles here again thwarted them. Inciting the sluggish and encouraging the cautious, he procured a

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security of their country, a continental territory, against the united resentment of Greece?

Thucydides mentions neither Plutarch's tale, nor what is related by Diodorus. But it was not his purpose to give a connected history of this period; and though Diodorus might perhaps stretch a point to favour his fellow-countrymen the Sicilian Greeks, or to tell a story of a hero with a club and a lion's skin, yet it was not his disposition, without authority, to relate a simple fact, merely illustrative of the inconvenience of democracy and of the temper of the Athenian people. We find however in Tully's Offices, b. 3. c. 2. the very story which Plutarch has told, but with the material difference, that the proposal of Themistocles was to burn, not the fleet of the whole Grecian confederacy in the bay of Pagasæ, where, after the battle of Salamis we may venture to affirm that fleet never was, but only the Lacedæmonian fleet in the port of Gythyum. This indeed appears not at all an improbable project for Themistocles to have conceived, when the forcible interference of Lacedæmon for preventing the fortifying of Athens and Piræus, was apprehended; but we still want information how, consistently with the other circumstances of the story, it could be publicly known. Farther then it is to be observed that in Tully's moral works many doubtful and even contradicted reports are stated, not as authenticated, or even believed by the writer, but merely as ground for animadversion.

decision, "That it would be utterly unjust to deprive any Grecian state of its ancient privileges, on account of the crimes of those who, at any particular time, had directed its councils."

Thus successful in his political administration, Themistocles took the command of the fleet, and going round the Ægean, collected the subsidies apportioned to the island and Asiatic states, toward carrying on the war against Persia. In the course of this business he was attentive to strengthen and extend the influence of

Athens; but he is accused of having been on this occasion, and not on this alone, too attentive to his own interest. The factions, between which almost every little Grecian commonwealth was divided, would furnish abundant opportunity for both public service and private lucre. In one place nearly balanced, and each party, beyond all things, afraid of the other, they would contend for the favour and support of the Athenian government: in another, some wealthy citizens, banished, would be ready to pay largely for the interest of the Athenian admiral to procure their restoration. Loud complaints of partiality were

circulated against Themistocles; and Plutarch has transmitted some fragments of poems composed on the occasion by Timocreon, a principal man of Ialysus in Rhodes, valuable as genuine relics of political invective, of an age prior to the oldest remaining Greek historian. Timocreon had been banished for treason to the common cause of Greece, or, as the Greeks termed it, for Medizing, and he had gone far, for it appears by his own free confession that he had bound himself by oath to the Persian cause. He hoped nevertheless, through his interest with Themistocles, with whom he was connected by hospitality, to procure his restoration. Being disappointed, he exerted his poetical talents in revenge. "Let others," his

Plutarch. vit.  
Themist.

Plut. ut sup.  
Herodot. l. 8.  
c. 111, 112.

Plutarch vit.  
Themist.

poem says, “extol Pausanias, or Xanthippus, or Leotychildes: my praise shall be for Aristides, the best man of sacred Athens. For Latona detests Themistocles, the false, the unjust, the traitor; who for paltry pelf deserted the interest of Timocreon, his friend and host, and refused to restore him to his native Ialysus. Money guided the destructive course of the fleet; while the corrupt commander, restoring unjustly, persecuting unjustly, some into banishment, some to death, as the larger bribe persuaded, filled his coffers. Most ridiculously then at the isthmus he courted favour with his entertainments: those who feasted on his dainties wished his ruin.” From the concluding sentence it appears that a splendid hospitality was among the means by which Themistocles endeavoured to extend his influence in Greece.

Though we should not perhaps give entire credit to the angry Rhodian, yet imputations against Themistocles are too numerous, and too general among ancient writers, to permit the supposition that he supported a rigid integrity. Openings were thus found for giving efficacy to intrigue, which was always busy against every great public character in Athens. The superiority which Themistocles was not contented to possess, but would ostentatiously display, excited heartburnings among the old Athenian families. In political opposition to him Aristides had been scrupulously just, Xanthippus moderate, but Alcmaëon, head of the long powerful house of his name, became violent. He was warmly supported by all the influence of the Lacedæmonian government. Aristides and Xanthippus, though not disposed to entire concurrence with him, were among his friends: the latter was his near kinsman. To gain the zealous co-operation of Cimon son of Miltiades seemed the one thing wanting to acquire to the party a decisive superiority. Cimon, yet a young man, was however of young men by far the first in Athens: great by his

father's greatness ; powerful by his large possessions and the inherited influence of his family ; of eminent abilities ; of rough yet condescending and popular manners ; with a supercilious neglect of elegant accomplishments, the reverse of the general Athenian temper, but marking him as a man to be connected with the Lacedæmonians. The house of Alcmaeon had indeed been the principal agents in procuring the condemnation of Miltiades. To overcome the repugnance which a generous young mind would feel at the proposal of a coalition with that house, much diligence was used to stimulate the ambition of Cimon. To connexion with the Lacedæmonians he did not object, but by a union with the powerful house of Alcmaeon only he could hope to rise to the first situations in the commonwealth. Flattery, ably and assiduously applied, gained him to their party, while his openness, simplicity, and unbending integrity, not less than his abilities and influence, recommended him to Aristides ; who wanted his support against the overbearing ambition of Themistocles.

But another party in Athens, more formidable than all the rest, was growing adverse to Themistocles. The party of the lower people, by whom he had raised himself, and whose power therefore it had been his policy to favour, was become of increased importance, by the events of the Persian war, beyond what even Themistocles desired. The temporary ruin of the country, the destruction of houses and estates, the ceasing of all income, the community of lot among families in the removal beyond sea, and the still nearer equality among men long engaged together in one common military service, from which no rank gave exemption, had tended strongly to level distinctions. Flattery and indulgence to the multitude had often been necessary toward keeping order and persuading to patience under hardship and misfortune. The extraordinary success afterward of their arms

Plutarch. vit.  
Cim.



elevated and emboldened them. Victory they would then consider not as their leader's, but as their own. Did the commonwealth require their arms by sea or by land, they were ready to serve the commonwealth, because they were the commonwealth: having fought for their existence, they were ready still to fight for glory and power; but it must be for themselves, not for others as their superiors. Argument, such as will weigh with the people, and orators to urge it, may always be found in favour of the popular cause; and so irresistible the torrent of popular ambition became that even Aristides was reduced to temporise, so far as not only to admit, but to promote, a very great change Plutarch. vit. Aristid. in the constitution of the government. The laws of Solon had gone far to level distinctions of birth: all Athenian citizens were reckoned sufficiently noble to execute the highest offices in the commonwealth, the priesthood only excepted; though for civil offices a qualification by property was yet required. This restraint was now wholly done away. In the actions of Marathon, Salamis, Arist. Polib. 1. 2. c. 12. and Plataea the poor had contributed equally with the rich to save and to ennoble their country. All civil and military offices were therefore laid open, not only to those of meanest birth, but to those totally without property; and the most important of the civil offices being conferred by Ch. 5. s. 4. of this Hist. ballot, though the expensiveness of most of them generally deterred the indigent from seeking them, yet the scrutiny of the Dokimasia, often perhaps a vain form, remained the only legal check.

While this condescension of Aristides to the ambitious requisition of the multitude increased his popularity and strengthened his situation, various clamours of the allies reached Athens against Themistocles. Occasional sallies of that ostentation in the display of his glory, which had before injured him, again gave umbrage. The intrigues of Lacc-

dæmon were at the same time taking effect: reports were circulated of secret correspondence with the Persian satrap; and it was insinuated that Themistocles carried his views to the tyranny of Athens, if not of all Greece. This probably was calumny; for Aristides, we are told, refused to join in any severe measure against him. But Alcmaëon, taking the lead of the opposition, engaged Cimon in his purpose. A capital accusation was not yet ventured; but that less invidious attack of the ostracism, against which the integrity and modesty of Aristides had formerly been insufficient protection, all the policy of Themistocles proved now unable to resist, and he was compelled to leave Athens.

When this took place we are with no certainty informed. The summary account remaining from Thucydides of transactions in Greece from the Persian to the Peloponnesian war, inestimable for the authority with which it ascertains most of the principal facts reported by later writers, does not always distinguish their dates, or even the order in which they happened\*; and, though we have the lives of Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon written with much detail by Plutarch, and in a more abridged manner, with the addition of the life of Pausanias, by Cornelius Nepos, though we have the history of the times by Diodorus, distinguishing, as far as his information and judgment enabled him to distinguish, the events of every year, marking the year by the names of the archons of Athens and the consuls of Rome, and stating

[\* In his *Fasti Hellenici*, p. 253., Mr. Clinton denies that the Summary of Thucydides is liable to these imputations. "In reality," he says, "that Summary is valuable with a view to the chronology of the times; and accurate in following the order of time, which is only neglected in two cases; the first is the case of the Messenian war, the termination of which, for the sake of clearness, is subjoined to the account of its commencement: the other is the Egyptian war, the termination of which is also related in connexion with the preceding events of that war. And the recital of these had been delayed by the historian that he might not break the continuity of his narrative."]

both the number of the olympiad and the name of the victor in the stadion, yet the chronology of these times remains very imperfect.<sup>7</sup> The removal of Themistocles would seemingly be the removal of an obstacle to that concert, which was now renewed between Lacedæmon and Athens, for the prosecution of hostilities against Persia. But the great works executed at Athens under his direction required considerable time. His policy might incline him to yield something to Spartan jealousy, rendered more dangerous by the state of parties at home, and perhaps even to desire the appointment of his rivals, Aristides and Cimon, to a distant command. His own residence at Athens would enable him the better to prosecute those great public works by which he meant to establish his country's power and his own glory; and it may have been desirable either for the prosecution of the projects of which he was accused, or to counterwork the calumnies of his accusers.

<sup>7</sup> "Tandem aliquando ad Pausaniæ, Themistoclis, et Cimonis chronologiam constituendam acingimur, que omnis est in Diodoro vitiosissima." Dodw. Ann. Thuc. ad ann. A. C. 470. The faults in the chronology of Diodorus are evident and gross, and the labours of Dodwell to elucidate the order of the transactions of these times are highly valuable. His assistance indeed is so great a relief to me, that I can never willingly reject it; but he has certainly trusted too much to Plutarch, Justin, and other late writers, sometimes giving authority to merely constructive evidence from them. Plutarch seldom aims at exactness in the course of events. When he means to be exact indeed, he generally quotes his authorities, and thus gives additional value to his testimony. But taking Thucydides for my polar star, and trusting later writers only as they elucidate what he has left obscure, and for the rest, comparing circumstances, and considering the probable, or even the possible connexion and course of things, I cannot but sometimes differ from Dodwell. I never quit him however but with regret, and always put myself under his guidance again the moment I can regain the same track.

## SECTION II.

*War prosecuted against Persia, under Pausanias and Aristides. — Treason of Pausanias. — Athens Head of a new Confederacy, composed of the Greeks of the Ægean Islands, Asia Minor, and Thrace.*

CIRCUMSTANCES yet called for exertion against Persia. The efforts of that empire had been severely checked by the late glorious successes of the Greeks; but its disposition to hostility remained, and its resources were immense; its spirit was damped more than its power was reduced; and many Grecian towns, not only in Asia, but even in Europe, remained yet under its dominion. A fleet was therefore assembled, to the command-in-chief of which Pausanias was appointed: Aristides, attended by Cimon, commanded the Athenian squadron. They sailed first to Cyprus. The Persian garrisons there, cut off from all support through the mastery which the Greeks possessed of the sea, were apparently more solicitous to obtain favourable terms for themselves than to defend the island for their prince. It has already occurred to observe that it was ordinary with the Persian government to entrust command largely to persons selected from among the conquered

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 94. Diodor.  
l. 11. c. 44.  
Plut. vit.  
Arist. et Cim.  
Ol. 77. 2-3.  
B. C. 470.  
Ann. Thuc.  
[Ol. 75. 4.  
B. C. 477.  
Cl.\*]

[\* In affixing the date to this event Mr. Mitford has adopted the theory of Dodwell. Mr. Clinton, in his *Fasti Hellenici*, pp. 248—252, controverts Dodwell, and follows Diodorus. His careful and minute discussion of this point forms Chap. VI. of the Appendix, which, though too long for quotation here, will not admit of abridgment. The concluding words however present a summary of the objections which he considers established by his arguments against the hypothesis of Dodwell: "There is nothing then in Isocrates to warrant the theory of Dodwell. It is contrary to the probable course of events; contrary to the implied meaning of Thucydides, and to what has been delivered by Plutarch and Aristides; and to the duration assigned to the Athenian empire by Lysias, Isocrates himself, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristides, and, we may perhaps add, Lycurgus."]

people, and it seems probable that so it has been in Cyprus. Most of the Cyprian Greek cities however were rescued from the Persian dominion with so little effort that historians have left no particulars of the transactions. The fleet then proceeded to the Hellespont and the Propontis. The extraordinary advantages of situation which Byzantium possessed had not escaped the observation of the Persian commanders. It was made their principal place of arms for the countries around, and the key of communication with their European dominions. Pausanias laid siege to it, which the garrison maintained some time, but at length capitulated on such terms that several Persians of high rank, among whom are said to have been some connected by blood with the royal family, became prisoners.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 94. & 128.

The mind of Pausanias was not of strength to bear his fortune. The lustre of his own glory won by the victory of Plataea (the greatest yet known on the records of European fame) had dazzled him. Early after that victory he had displayed a very indiscreet instance of vanity and arrogance. On the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi, in pursuance of a common decree of the confederates, an inscription was to be engraved commemorating the glorious event. The business being committed to Pausanias, he directed what may be literally translated thus: “Pausanias, general of the Greeks, having destroyed the Persian army, dedicated this memorial to Apollo.” This gave great offence at Lacedæmon as well as throughout Greece. Accordingly the words were by order of the Spartan government erased, and a new inscription engraved, attributing the dedication to the cities of the confederacy, without any mention of the general. The splendour of Persian magnificence and the sweets of Persian luxury, laid open to his view, allured him; the austere

Herodot. l. 9.  
c. 64.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 132. Corn.  
Nep. vit: Paus.

simplicity of Spartan manners began to appear sordid and miserable, and especially the return from a great command to the insignificance and even subjection of Spartan royalty in peace too degrading. But beyond all things his haughty temper could least support the consideration, that, after shining the first character in the known world, the leader of the glorious confederacy which had brought the pride of the Persian empire to crouch beneath it, he must yield the reins of command to the young king his kinsman, and sink into the situation of a private citizen of Sparta.

But his communication in Asia, and the circumstances attending the conquest of Byzantium, completed the corruption of the mind of Pausanias and decided his views. He observed his kinsman, Demaratus, the banished king

Xen. 1. 3. c. 1.  
s. 4. of Lacedæmon, lord of the Æolian cities of Pergamum, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, given by the Persian monarch to himself and his heirs, living in ease and splendour that might leave, in most minds, little regret of the parsimonious and jealousy-watched dignity of Spartan royalty; perhaps indeed more an independent sovereign

than a Spartan king living in Sparta. He became acquainted with an Eretrian, named Gongylus, whose treachery to his country, at the time of the invasion under Datis and Artaphernes, had been rewarded by the liberality of the Persian court with the hereditary lordship of four towns, also in Æolia. On the capture of Byzantium he became, through the Persians of rank, his prisoners, more intimately acquainted with Persian manners; the pomp of command, the wide distinction between the higher and lower people, and all the refinements of the table, the bath, and every circumstance of Asiatic luxury. He formed friendship with Gongylus, already master of the Persian language, and versed in Persian manners. He even committed to that refugee the govern-

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 128. Xen.  
Hel. 1. 3. c. 1.  
s. 4. Diodor.  
1. 11. c. 44.  
Corn. Nep. vit.  
Paus.

ment of Byzantium, together with the custody of the principal Persian prisoners. These were all permitted, at several times, to escape, and at length Gongylus himself was dispatched to the Persian court, carrying proposals from Pausanias for services, but stipulating for very high conditions. It is asserted to have been proposed that all Greece should be reduced under the Persian dominion; that, in reward for this, a daughter of Xerxes should be given in marriage to Pausanias, with every advantage of rank, command, and fortune that might become such lofty alliance. Not only this proposal is said to have been very favourably received, but Artabazus was sent to supersede Megabates in the Phrygian satrapy, purposely to prosecute the negotiation. Pausanias became elated beyond all bounds of moderation and discretion. As if already a Persian satrap, and son-in-law of the great king, his manners, dress, table, and his whole style of living and communication became Persian; insomuch that a guard of his Median and Egyptian prisoners became his constant attendants.

While the extent of the treason was yet hardly suspected high discontent arose in the armament. The Spartans were disgusted by the splendid and luxurious manner of living of their general; the allies were incensed by his tyrannical haughtiness; his affectation of Asiatic pomp was offensive to all, and excited suspicion. Consultations were held among the principal officers; by some of whom Pausanias was publicly insulted; and shortly a general determination was taken to submit to his arrogance no longer. The Peloponnesian allies sailed to their respective homes; the Asiatics, Hellespontines, and islanders, who had a nearer interest in the prosecution of the war, offered to follow Aristides, if, in taking them under his command, he would assure them of his protection. The Lacedæmonians themselves then, neither able nor desirous to support

Thucyd. I. 1.  
c. 95. Diodor.  
I. 11. c. 44.

their chief in his extravagant and odious conduct, sent home charges against him, in consequence of which he was recalled, and Dorcis came commissioned to supersede him.

But the Lacedæmonian command had received a wound not of easy cure. The allies, whose affections the great and amiable characters of Aristides and Cimon had largely conciliated, refused obedience to Dorcis. That commander then with his principal officers, judging that to act in an inferior situation neither became themselves, nor would be satisfactory to the Spartan government, withdrew that portion of the allied armament which remained attached to Lacedæmon, and returned home. The principal men in the Lacedæmonian administration seem to have thought, and perhaps justly, that the present was not a moment either for resenting the conduct of the seceding allies, or for making any farther attempt to resume their lost authority. By a most sudden, unprojected, and unforeseen revolution thus that superiority among the Grecian states, which all the energy of the administration of Themistocles had been unable to procure for his country, was gratuitously given to the mild virtues, accompanying great abilities, in Aristides and Cimon.

The moderation of the Lacedæmonian government upon this occasion, like that of the Athenian when the confederate fleet was first assembled to oppose the invasion of Xerxes, has been a subject of eulogy among ancient and modern writers. Commendation is certainly due to the wisdom of the leading men of both states; but it may be useful toward obtaining an insight into Grecian politics, having observed the causes of that moderation among the Athenians upon the former, to advert also to what appears to have influenced the conduct of the Lacedæmonians upon the present occasion. The Lacedæmonian administration was



evidently weak: probably distracted by party. One of the kings, Leotychides, being of advanced age, and under imputation of taking bribes when commanding an expedition in Thessaly, the other, Plis-tarchus son of Leonidas, having scarcely reached manhood, neither, implicated as Greece yet was in war with the Persian empire, could stand in any competition, among the allies, with the great and popular characters of Aristides and Cimon. Even at home the small power which the constitution gave them was overborne by the influence and the intrigues of Pausanias. The change of the seat of war moreover was unfavourable to the Lacedæmonian command. Led, or rather forced, by the circumstances of the times to exertions toward the establishment of a marine, little congenial either to the temper of the government or the disposition of the people, Lacedæmon was yet so inferior as to be almost without a hope of equalling the naval power of Athens. If therefore weakness and distraction had not prevented exertion, policy, even an ambitious policy, might have induced the Lacedæmonian administration quietly to let the rival republic waste itself in distant warfare, and in making precarious distant acquisitions, while Sparta, nourishing her force at home, might watch opportunities for extending her power and influence in Greece itself, where her former connexions remained entire, and no subordination to Athens was acknowledged. Thus Lacedæmon wisely yielded to the necessity of the moment, while the weak ambition of Pausanias assisted Aristides and Cimon to make Athens, for the purpose of prosecuting the war beyond sea against Persia, the leading state of Greece.

Herodot. 1. 6.  
c. 72. Diod. 1.  
11. Pausan. 1.  
3. c. 8. Thucyd.  
1. 1. c. 132.

But probably neither the Lacedæmonian, nor even the Athenian administration, was immediately aware of all the extent of advantage about to accrue to Athens from this revolution. No great dissatisfaction, we are assured, appeared

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 95.

in Lacedæmon upon the occasion. Themistocles, was obnoxious there; but the Athenian people, whatever jealousies existed among some warmer politicians, were not generally so. On the contrary, there was virtue enough among the greater part of the Lacedæmonian people to induce them to admire and esteem the Athenian character for the noble spirit shown during the Persian invasion.

c. 75.

They were besides generally desirous to avoid being farther engaged in the prosecution of a war which must now lead them far from home; and they were therefore not displeased to have the Athenian government undertake the direction of those operations, whether for protecting Greece against attacks by sea, or for prosecuting hostilities offensively beyond sea, in which the superiority of its fleet to that of all other Grecian states gave it the fairest claim to command.

The wise moderation of Aristides and Cimon meanwhile in the direction of the Athenian affairs, tended greatly to prevent occasion of jealousy among the Lacedæmonians and their adherents, and to strengthen the attachment of the other Grecian states to Athens. A system of executive command, and in some degree even of legislation, for the new confederacy was necessary. Corinth, as the place most equally accommodating the confederated states within and without Peloponnesus, had been originally chosen for the meeting of deputies from all: but latterly the superiority

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 43. Diodor.  
1. 11. c. 45.

generally allowed to Lacedæmon had led to the consideration of Sparta as a common capital, and the place of assembly. Aristides, avoiding to claim any such superiority for Athens, appointed, for the place of meeting, the little island of Delos; venerated all over Greece

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 96. Diodor.  
1. 11. c. 47.  
Plut. vit. Arist.

as sacred ground, the favourite property of Apollo, and of whose people no state could have any political jealousy. The temple itself of the deity

was made both senate-house and treasury. Some indication however of a disposition to arrogate a dangerous superiority seems to have appeared in the appointment of treasurers, who with the name of Hellenotamiæ, Treasurers of Greece, became a permanent magistracy, at the election, and under the control, of the Athenian people. But the wisdom and equity of Aristides, who was first placed at the head of that board, satisfied the allies in present, and blinded them to consequences. The sum agreed upon to be annually raised was four hundred and sixty talents, about a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling; and this was assessed upon the different states with such evident impartiality that not a murmur was heard upon the occasion, but, on the contrary, every part of Greece resounded the fame of the just Aristides.

The extraordinary success of that truly great man, in the execution of so hazardous and invidious an office, is the last public act in which history has noticed him. Probably he died soon after; but we are without certain information of the time, the place, or any of the circumstances of his end. Employed as he had been in the most important offices of the Athenian commonwealth, civil and military, and vested with its highest honours, it is said that he lived poor, and at his death left not enough to pay for a funeral. The commonwealth therefore, in honour of his virtues and in gratitude for his services, took upon itself the charge of his obsequies and the care of his family. A monument to his memory was raised in Phalerum, which remained in the time of Plutarch: an allotment of land, a sum of money, and a pension were given to Lysimachus, who seems to have been his only son, and suitable marriage-portions to his daughters. Lysimachus never put himself forward in public business, but the testimony of Plato remains to his having

Plut. vit.  
Aristid.  
Demosth. in  
Aristocr.  
p. 690.

Plat. Laches,  
p. 180. t. 2.

been of respected character in private life, living in intimacy with Sophroniscus the father of Socrates: and in advanced years, after the death of his friend, still the companion in leisure of the first men of the commonwealth.

### SECTION III.

*Administration of Cimon. — Death of Xerxes, and Accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian Throne. — Successes of the Confederate Arms under Cimon. — Piracy in the Ægean Sea. — Battle of the Eurymedon.*

THE banishment of Themistocles and the death of Aristides left Cimon without an equal in favour and authority with the Athenian people; at a time when, through the exertions of a succession of great men, amid favouring contingencies, to be the first citizen of Athens was nearly to be the most important personage in the world. No state ever before had such a fleet, such naval arsenals, such naval skill and discipline, as Themistocles had formed for his country, to promote her glory and his own, and had left in the hands of his rivals. With these advantages, in addition to those of

Ol. 77. 3.  
B. C. 470.

high birth, hereditary fame, and great talents, in the ninth year after the battle of Platæa Cimon was appointed to the command-in-chief of the confederate forces by sea and land.

The circumstances of the Persian empire at this time invited attempts against it. Xerxes, disgusted with public affairs through the miserable failure of his great enterprise against Greece, is said to have abandoned himself to indolence and debauchery. In one of those intrigues of the palace, often so full of horrors in despotic countries, but of which the final catastrophe commonly alone becomes with certainty known to

Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 69. Ctesias,  
Persic. Justin.  
l. 3. c. 1.  
Arist. Pollt.  
l. 5. c. 10.

the public, the monarch and his eldest son were murdered; each under the shocking imputation of having at least intended the murder of the other. A civil war ensued; and it was not till after a bloody contest that peace was restored to the interior of the empire, Artaxerxes, third son of the late king, then obtaining possession of the throne.

It was important for the Greeks to avail themselves of the opportunity for strengthening their confederacy, by rescuing from the Persian dominion the many Grecian cities yet remaining under it. Those of Europe attracted the first attention. Cimon led the confederate armament against Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, formerly the settlement of the unfortunate Ionian chiefs Histiaëus and Aristagoras, and now commanded by a Persian noble, whose name, variously written by Greek authors, was, in the orthography of Herodotus, Boges. Cimon, having reduced the garrison to extremity, offered permission for their retreat into Asia. But Boges, with that ferocious heroism which is sometimes found in sultry climates and under despotic governments, obstinately refused all terms; and, when provisions totally failed, scattering all the gold and silver within the place into the Strymon, he caused a vast pile of wood to be formed, killed his wife, concubines, children, and slaves upon it, and then setting fire to it, killed himself, and all were consumed together. The garrison, in no condition to stipulate, surrendered at discretion; and, according to the common practice of the Greeks of that age, were made profitable by being made slaves.

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 107.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 98. Diod.  
Sic. 1. 11.  
c. 60. Plut. &  
Corn. Nep.  
vit. Cim.

Mascames, the Persian governor of Doriscus, either was more able than Boges, or commanded a stronger garrison. He baffled all the many attempts made by different Grecian commanders against him, and, while he lived, held Doriscus for the Persian king. Herodotus

Herodot. 1. 7.  
c. 106.

alone, among the Grecian historians remaining, has had the candour to mention this, or to acknowledge that a Persian garrison continued to exist in Europe. But these events, being posterior to the period which he had fixed for the term of his history, he has noticed them only incidentally; so that we are without information of any farther particulars concerning that remarkable defence of Doriscus by Mascames. Every other garrison, both in Thrace and on the Hellespont, a name under which the early Grecian writers commonly included the whole water from the Ægean sea to the Euxine, with the shores on each side, yielded to the Grecian arms.

From the Trojan war to the invasion of Xerxes, Greece had never seen a fleet assembled from its several maritime states; nor had any extensive confederacy been formed among them. It had depended therefore upon every state by itself to take the measures which its own convenience required, or its power admitted, for repressing those piracies which had never ceased to disturb the navigation of the Ægean. The inhabitants of the little island of Scyrus, of Thessalian origin, had made themselves particularly obnoxious by maritime depredations. The Amphictyonic assembly therefore, according to Plutarch, demanded that the armament which Cimon commanded should put an end to such enormities, and give peace to the Grecian seas, as well against domestic ruffians as foreign enemies. The Scyrians however, compelled to surrender at discretion, were sold for slaves, and their lands were given to a colony from Athens. The Carystians of Eubœa by some means also incurred the indignation of the confederacy, insomuch that war was made upon them; but they obtained terms of accommodation.

Plut. vit.  
Cim.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 98. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11. c. 60.  
Corn. Nep. &  
Plut. vit. Cim.

Those great interests and urgent necessities, which had

given birth to the confederacy against Persia, now ceased to exist; for Greece could no longer be supposed in any immediate danger from the ambition or the resentment of that empire. Yet the maintenance of a powerful navy, to deter or to repel any future attacks from a neighbour still so formidable, might be highly advisable; and the private interest of individuals, who enjoyed or hoped for commands, and the particular political interest of the Athenian commonwealth, whose power and influence were so greatly increased by its situation at the head of the confederacy, would concur both to enforce the maintenance of the navy, and to keep that navy employed. Many of the inferior states however, when danger no longer pressed, became first lukewarm, then averse to the continuance of the war and the burthens with which it loaded them. The citizens grew tired of an endless service on shipboard, under what they esteemed, in some measure, a foreign command, and to promote no obvious interest of their several commonwealths. Their administration, therefore, accustomed to perfect independency, would still determine, each for itself, when it would no longer exert itself in the irksome and invidious office of taxing its citizens for the expenses of the navy, and the still more invidious office of compelling them to take their turn of personal service. The Athenian government, on the other hand, at first modest, and, under the administration of Aristides, scrupulously just in the exercise of its supremacy, began to grow first rigid, and then imperious<sup>8</sup>: and some of the subordinate commonwealths, either by some public interest, or by the interest and influence of a party, induced to concur in the measures of Athens, were jealous of the defection of others, and ready to join in compelling adherence to the confederacy.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 97. & 99.  
Plutarch, vit.  
Aristid. &  
Cim.

<sup>8</sup> Ἀπειθῶς ἑπαρσάντων καὶ λυπητοῖ ἦσαν, is the candid confession of the Athenian historian. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 99.

The first to venture opposition were the people of the rich and populous island of Naxos. Confiding in that strength with which they had once baffled the force of the Persian empire, they sustained war for some time against the confederate arms. They were however at length compelled to capitulate, upon terms by which they surrendered their independency, and, contrary to the articles of confederacy, were reduced under subjection to the Athenian commonwealth.<sup>9</sup>

This example being made of the Naxians, some exertion against the common enemy became perhaps necessary to prevent clamour, and to keep up that spirit of enterprise without which the confederacy could not long exist in vigour; and circumstances arose to call for the efforts of its arms. For, in the Grecian states bordering on the Persian empire, all who had been or who aspired to be tyrants, all, and they were often very numerous, whom faction had banished, all who were discontented at home with the government under which they lived, and bold enough to be active in attempting a change, but too weak to depend for success upon themselves alone, still looked to Persia for patronage. The prospect of revived vigour in the councils of that empire, under the administration of the new king, gave encouragement to such views, and most of the Cyprian towns had renounced the Grecian confederacy. There were moreover Grecian cities in Lesser Asia which had not yet been rescued from the Persian dominion. The confederate arms had not been carried so far southward as Caria; and the people of Phaselis, a Grecian settlement in the adjoining province of Pamphylia, did not scruple to profess preference of the Persian dominion to the Grecian alliance.

Ol. 77. 4.  
B. C. 469.  
Ann. Thu.

These considerations directing the Athenian councils, Cimon led his forces to the Carian coast.

<sup>9</sup> Παρά τὸ καθιστηκὸς ἰδουλώθη, is again the free confession of Thucydides.



Such then was the terror which the fame of their uninterrupted success inspired that several towns were deserted by those who bore arms before any enemy came in sight; and the spirit of the confederate troops, directed by the abilities of Cimon, quickly brought all the rest to surrender. Conquest was yet pursued; the army entered Pamphylia, and laid siege to Phaselis. But here was experienced the common bane of confederacies, discordant interests and jarring affections. The friendly connexion between the people of Phaselis and of Chios had been such that the Chians of Cimon's army still considered the Phaselites, attached as they were to Persia, and consequently inimical to Greece, as friends to Chios. To save them therefore from the ruin which now threatened, they gave information by letters, fastened to arrows, of all measures taking against the town. The treason however was discovered, and Phaselis was at length compelled to submission.

The government of Artaxerxes was yet insufficiently established in the centre of the extensive empire to admit any great exertion on the frontiers, but it was beginning to acquire steadiness. The command of so many maritime provinces, especially Phenicia, gave means to be still formidable at sea. For the purpose of defence, nevertheless apparently rather than of conquest, a numerous fleet had been assembled in the river Eurymedon on the Pamphylian coast, and an army, to co-operate with it, encamped on the banks: a reinforcement of eighty Phenician triremes was expected, and upon its arrival it was proposed to begin operations.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 100. Diodor.  
l. 11. c. 60, 61,  
62. Corn. Nep.  
& Plut. vit.  
Cim.

Intelligence of these circumstances determined Cimon to quit the objects before him on the continent, and endeavour to bring the enemy to action by sea before the arrival of the expected squadron. Embarking therefore a considerable part of his forces, for, among the ancients, naval

operations were almost always intimately connected with those by land, he sailed for the Eurymedon. On his arrival the enemy's fleet, already much more numerous than his own, came out to meet him. But the Persians, disheartened by the repeated ill success of their arms, sustained the action with no vigour. Quickly retreating with much confusion into the river, the crews landed to join the army drawn up on the shore. The ships being thus abandoned to the enemy, no less than two hundred trireme galleys, little damaged, are said to have been taken; some were destroyed in action; a very few escaped.

The Greeks, elate with this easy victory, joyfully received their commander's orders immediately to land, and attack the Persian army. Here the contest was more obstinate; and in the exertion of the Athenian leaders, anxious to support a reputation equal to the new glory of their country, many men of rank fell. After a long and bloody struggle however the Greeks obtained a decisive success; what survived of the Persian army was dissipated, and its camp became the prey of the conquerors. Thus Cimon acquired the singular glory of erecting two trophies for two victories, one at sea, the other at land, gained by the same armament in one day. Receiving intelligence then that the re-enforcement of Phœnician galleys, which had been expected to join the Persian fleet, lay in the port of Hydrus in Cyprus, he hastened thither with a sufficient squadron of his best ships, and every trireme was either destroyed or taken.<sup>10</sup>

By this great success the naval strength of Persia was so broken, its land forces so disheartened, and the spirit of

<sup>10</sup> This fact I have ventured to relate on the authority of Plutarch; Thucydides, in his concise mention of the affair of the Eurymedon, saying nothing of it. According to Diodorus, the Athenian fleet went twice to Cyprus: but his account altogether is both romantic and blind, and appears indeed to have been written with little consideration of what was possible.

enterprise, which had formerly animated its councils and excited its commanders, was so depressed that offensive operations against Greece were totally intermitted; and it became the boast of the Greek nation that no armed ship of Persia was to be seen westward of the Chelidonian islands on the coast of Pamphylia, or of the Cyanean rocks at the entrance of the Euxine; and that no Persian troops dared show themselves within a horseman's day's journey of the Grecian seas.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In aftertimes report arose that a treaty of peace was regularly made between the Persian monarch and the Athenian commonwealth, in which it was forbidden for any Persian forces of land or sea to come within the limits mentioned in the text. Plutarch, in his life of Cimon, speaks of it as the immediate result of the battle of the Eurymedon. Diodorus reports confidently that it took place twenty years later, in the fourth year of the eighty-second Olympiad; and he asserts it to have been stipulated, that no Persian ship of war should appear between Phaselis and the Cyaneans; that no land forces, nor even a satrap, should approach within three days' journey of the Grecian seas; and that all Grecian towns should be free.

Plutarch, not here bold in assertion like Diodorus, has treated the subject in his best manner, warning his reader that the existence of such a treaty was not undisputed, and giving authorities on both sides. Craterus, he says, in a collection of state papers which he published, inserted a copy of the treaty in question, as a genuine deed. But Callisthenes affirmed that no such treaty was ever concluded: Persian subjects indeed, he said, avoided navigating the Ægean sea, and approaching its shores by land; but it was only through fear of the Greeks, and not in consequence of any treaty. In the sequel of this history occasion will occur to observe that pretended state papers, among the Greeks, were not always to be trusted.

But, beyond the doubt that may thus arise, supported by the positive denial of credit by Callisthenes, powerful objections remain from the highest authorities. From the informed and accurate Thucydides we have a summary of the principal transactions of the Grecian republics before the Peloponnesian war. It is hardly imaginable that one so remarkable as such a treaty should escape his knowledge, or that he should leave one so important unnoticed; but in his history no mention of any such appears. Nor is his testimony simply thus negative: a degree of positive proof is involved in his narrative; which shows that hostilities between the Greeks and Persians, though at times remitted, never entirely ceased; and that the Persian court, though perhaps not the worst patron of the free constitutions of the Asian-Greek cities, yet, far from admitting the perfect independency asserted by the pretended treaty, never desisted from its claim to a paramount dominion over all their territories, or from a requisition of tribute from all. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5, 6. Consonant testimony is found in a summary of the transactions of the same age by Plato, or however an author of Plato's age. No such treaty as Diodorus and Plutarch describe is mentioned; but the existence of such a treaty is virtually

## SECTION IV.

*Treason and Death of Pausanias. — Prosecution and Flight of Themistocles : his Reception at the Persian Court : his Death.*

WHILE the power and renown of Athens were thus wonderfully advancing under the conduct of Aristides and

contradicted, in the boast that Greece owed its freedom from foreign attack to the perseverance of Athens in active hostilities against Persia, far from home, in Cyprus especially and in Egypt. Plat. Menex. p. 241. t. 2. To the same purpose also Isocrates has spoken. The Ionians, he says, never ceased to wage war with the barbarians, whose lands they held in spite of them. Isocr. Paneg. p. 246. t. 1. ed. Auger.

Nevertheless it is proper to observe that two of the most eminent Athenian orators, Lysurgus and Demosthenes, mention a treaty in some degree corresponding in character with that reported by the authors before mentioned. They do not indeed pretend stipulations so disgraceful and injurious to Persia: they describe the treaty only as generally advantageous and honourable to Greece, and commonly allowed so among the Greeks. The negotiator, Callias, is named; but the time is not indicated. It seems however to have been long after that to which Plutarch and Diodorus attribute the treaties they describe, and apparently not long before that concluded by the Lacedæmonians, which became so well known by the title of the treaty of Antalcidas. Probably some treaty was made by Callias with some of the satraps, which may have afforded some ground for the assertions of Lysurgus and Demosthenes. But had a treaty of the tenor reported by Diodorus and Plutarch ever been concluded, its existence would not have been left doubtful by Grecian writers; it would not have had less notoriety than the treaty of Antalcidas; it would not less have been blazoned with panegyric than that treaty has been with reproach. The treaty of Callias, it may be reasonably presumed, from its being so little noticed, afforded really little ground for boasting.

But the fact, that Persian subjects dared not navigate the Ægean sea, that at times they could not even by land approach its shores, was, not unreasonably, matter of great national pride among the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. It would be a favourite topic for orators, desiring to cultivate popularity, or to put the people in good humour; and we find even the sober Isocrates, when his purpose was to improve the joy of the Panathenaic festival, pushing the boast to great extravagance. Not contented with asserting the exclusion of Persian subjects from the Ægean sea and its Asiatic shore, he says, (as if he would imply, though he could not venture to state, a treaty,) that the Persians were not allowed to come with arms westward of the river Halys. We must yield to the judgment of Isocrates for what might become the orator of the Panathenaic festival: but it could not be too much to pronounce such an assertion, from an historian, a monstrous extravagance; since it would make Sardis, with all Lydia and Phrygia, Grecian conquests, whereas it is

Cimon, a train of circumstances continued long to deprive the Lacedæmonian government of the ability to take any leading part in the common concerns of the Greek nation. Pausanias, when recalled from his command, had been brought to trial; but his interest had sufficed to procure his acquittal from all public crimes; though suspicion, and, as it should seem from Thucydides, even proof was strong against him. He was however convicted of injuries to individuals, and condemned to amends. But this did not suffice to repress his rash and extravagant ambition. The king his nephew was yet a minor, and himself still in the high office of regent.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 96.

c. 151, 152.

Without commission or authority from the government, hiring a Hermionian trireme galley, he went again to the Hellespont, and renewed his negotiation with Artabazus. As a more commodious situation for communicating with the satrap, he ventured even to proceed to Byzantium, then occupied by an Athenian garrison; hoping perhaps to find the more favour there as he had less in his own country. But he was quickly compelled to leave that place, and he passed to Colonæ in Troas. The Lacedæmonian government meanwhile, informed of his procedure, and both irri-

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abundantly evident, from Thucydides and Xenophon, that no Grecian force before that under Agesilaus, could ever venture fifty miles from the shore, and Agesilaus himself never was within a hundred of the Halys.

Since the first publication of these observations, the very learned Dr. Hales of Dublin has controverted my conclusion. I have thence been led to advert to some passages of Thucydides bearing upon the point, which, while engaged with the foregoing note, had escaped me. Occasion has occurred to notice both in the sequel of this history; one at the end of the 5th section of the 16th chapter, the other in the 6th section of the 19th chapter; the former showing that the Persian territory extended in one part to the Ægean sea, the other, that a Lacedæmonian in high authority acknowledged the king of Persia's authority over the whole of Lesser Asia.

For the reader practised in observing matters for history otherwise than in his closet, it may seem superfluous to add the consideration of the evident want of inducement for the Persian court to conclude any such disadvantageous and disgraceful treaty.

tated and alarmed by the audaciousness of it, sent a herald bearing a scytale to Colonæ. The scytale was the ensign of high office among the Lacedæmonians, common to the general and the herald. It was a staff exactly tallied to another in possession of the ephors; and all orders and communications requiring secrecy were so written that, till applied in a particular manner to that staff, they were illegible.<sup>12</sup> By such an order Pausanias was commanded to accompany the herald whithersoever he should go; with a denunciation of the enmity of the Spartan state against him if he disobeyed. His former indiscreet conduct had so baffled his own purposes that his scheme was yet very far from ripe for execution: he could have no hope of prosecuting it with success unless he could reingratiate himself with his own country; and such was already the deviation from the institutions of Lycurgus at Lacedæmon that, as Thucydides says confidently, he trusted in means to bribe the leading men for security against accusation. Obeying therefore implicitly the order contained in the scytale, he accompanied the herald to Sparta. On his arrival he was arrested by authority of the ephors, whose power now extended to the imprisonment even of the kings; but intrigue shortly procuring his liberty, he publicly defied accusers.

Plut. vit.  
Lysand.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 131, 132.

Emboldened now by repeated success in repelling crimination, he began again to seek means for prosecuting his treachery, and realising his dreams of enjoyment in all the oriental splendour and luxury of royalty. The obstacles to his reinstatement in that foreign command, which had formed his fairest ground of hope, seemed insuperable; but

<sup>12</sup> The Athenian proboulos, in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (v. 985.), mistook the scytale borne by the Lacedæmonian herald for a spear. The staff and the written order communicated by it seem equally to have borne the name of scytale.

prospect appeared of other means to accomplish his purpose. The neighbouring commonwealth of Argos not only bore the most inveterate enmity to Sparta, but had sought alliance with Persia; and at Argos resided Themistocles, whose banishment might induce him to join in a project for his own aggrandisement at the expense of his country. It appears that they actually corresponded on the subject; though how far Themistocles acceded to the views of Pausanias remains uncertain. But in every Grecian state, and particularly in Laconia, the number of slaves, very far exceeding that of freemen, invited the attention of the seditious. Pausanias tampered with the Helots; proposing not only freedom, but all the rights of Spartan citizens as the reward of their successful support to him. Some of them betrayed his secret: but the deposition of slaves was esteemed insufficient ground for proceeding against a citizen. His correspondence with Artabazus meanwhile was continued as opportunity offered; till a slave, charged with a letter to the satrap, suspecting danger in the service he was sent upon, from having observed that, of many messengers dispatched toward the same quarter, not one had ever returned or been heard of, opened the letter intrusted to him; and having thus assured himself both of his master's treason and of his own intended fate (for the letter mentioned that the bearer should be put to death), he carried it to the ephors. The extreme wariness which the Spartan institutions prescribed, and which the temper of the government disposed it to observe, in criminal prosecution against any Lacedæmonian citizen, but particularly against one of the blood of Hercules, uncle to the king, and actually in the high situation of regent, had very much favoured the treason of Pausanias, and encouraged him in it. c. 133.

Even his own letter was not thought ground to.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 135. Plut.  
& Corn. Nep.  
vit. Them.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 132.

convict him upon, the evidence to its authenticity being deemed incomplete.

But the knowledge of his treasonable practices was now become too certain, and the danger of them too great and alarming, to allow the Spartan administration, however composed in part of those who were still his friends, any longer to neglect measures for putting an effectual stop to them. To obtain complete legal proof against him was the object, and the superstition of the age furnished the means. The slave, who brought the letter, must avoid the revenge

of his master. While therefore his communication with the ephors remained yet unknown to Pausanias, he was directed to betake himself as a suppliant to the temple of Neptune on mount Tænarus; and, within its sacred precinct, to form a hut for his shelter, with a partition, behind which witnesses might be concealed. Pausanias, alarmed, as was foreseen, on hearing that his messenger, instead of executing the commission intrusted to him, had fled to an asylum, hastened to the place; and the conversation ensuing afforded the most unequivocal

proof of his guilt. The ephors, who, with some chosen attendants, overheard all, proposed to arrest him on his return to the city; but one of them, more his friend than the rest, giving him intimation of his danger,

he resorted to the temple of Minerva Chalciæa, a sanctuary highly venerated. Religion forbidding to force him thence, and yet his execution appear-

ing absolutely indispensable for the security of the commonwealth, a wall was built around the temple, and he was starved to death; but to obviate profanation, when it was known that he was near expiring, being brought without the sacred place, he died in the hands of those who bore him. Superstition however being even thus alarmed, the Delphian oracle was consulted; and, in obedience to the supposed

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 133. Diod.  
Sic. l. 11.  
c. 45. Corn.  
Nep. vit.  
Pausan.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 134.

Ibid. Lycurg.  
or. con. Leocr.  
p. 226. Ol.  
77. 3. B. C.  
469. Ann.  
Thu.



meaning of the obscure response, the body was buried in front of the temple<sup>13</sup>, the spot remaining marked by a monument with an inscription in the time of Thucydides, and two brazen statues were dedicated to the goddess.

The fate of Pausanias involved with it that of Themistocles. The Spartan administration pretended that, in the course of their inquiry into the conduct of the former, full proof was discovered of the participation of Themistocles in the concerted treason against the liberties of Greece; and they insisted that he ought to be brought to trial, not before the Athenian assembly, or any Athenian judicature, but before the Amphictyons, or some other court of deputies from all the states of the Greek nation. The party adverse to him, now ruling at Athens, acceded to the requisition; and, under the joint authority of the government of Athens and Lacedæmon, persons were sent with orders to apprehend him, wherever he could be found. He had resided, since his banishment, principally at Argos; but he went occasionally to other parts of Peloponnesus, where he had cultivated an interest. Through his numerous friends and adherents he received information of his danger in time to pass to the island of Corcyra; whose people, in gratitude for particular good offices done to their commonwealth, were disposed to show him kindness. Though among the most powerful of the Grecian maritime states, they however could not venture to protect him in defiance of the united force of Lacedæmon and Athens. He proceeded therefore to the coast of Acarnania, and, at a loss otherwise to evade his pursuers, resolved to apply to Admetus king of the Molossians: trusting apparently in his knowledge of the magnanimity of that prince, from whom otherwise he had

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 135. Diodor.  
1. 11. c. 55.  
Corn. Nep.  
& Plut. vit.  
Them.

Ol. 78. 2-3.  
B. C. 466.  
Ann. Thu.  
Thucyd. *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Ἐν τῷ προσημνίσματι.

little reason to expect offices of friendship, Admetus having formerly been his open opponent in a transaction with the Athenian government.

The anecdote of his reception, reported by the authentic pen of Thucydides, affords a curious specimen of the relics then still subsisting in that remote province of the ancient hospitality connected with religion, which, with some difference of ceremony perhaps in different places, appears to have prevailed in the days of Homer throughout Greece. It happened that, when Themistocles arrived at the usual residence of Admetus, that prince was absent. He applied

*Thucyd.* 1. 1.  
c. 136.

however to the queen; and, having the good fortune to conciliate her favour, she furnished him with means to insure protection from her husband.

Among the Greeks, some altar was the usual resource of fugitives; if they could reach one, their persons were generally secure against violence.

But the queen of the Molossians delivering her infant son to Themistocles, directed him to await the king's return, sitting by the hearth, with a child in his arms. No manner of supplication was held by the Molossians so sacred, so enforcing attention as a religious duty. An audience being thus insured, Themistocles won Admetus to receive him, not only into protection, but into friendship. The Lacedæmonian and Athenian messengers arrived soon after. The Molossian prince then, careful not to give unnecessary offence, urged the custom of his country, sanctified by religion, in excuse for a decisive refusal of permission to apprehend, within his dominion, a suppliant who had acquired a claim upon him so implicated with duty to the gods.

Molossis however was not a situation in which it was desirable for Themistocles to remain. With assistance therefore from his protector, having made the difficult journey across the mountains of Epirus and Macedonia to the sea-

*Aristoph.*  
*Lysistr.* v.  
1139. *Thucyd.*  
1. 1. c. 24.

port of Pydna, he embarked, in disguise, aboard a merchant-ship going for Asia. In the passage he was forced by stress of weather to the island of Naxos, where the confederate armament under Cimon then lay. Choosing among dangers before him, he made himself known to the master of the vessel, alarmed him with representation of the consequences of having so far favoured the escape of a proscribed person, allured him with promises of large reward, and at length prevailed on him to put to sea again without permitting any of his people to go ashore. Arriving then safe at Ephesus, he proceeded immediately up the country under protection of a Persian to whom his introduction had been prepared. All his property that could be discovered at Athens, when the order was issued for apprehending his person, had been confiscated; yet his faithful friends there and at Argos had found means to preserve effects to a large amount, which they remitted to him as soon as they learned that he was in a place of security. The sum confiscated, as Plutarch informs us, was, according to Theophrastus, eighty talents; but, as Theopompus reported, a hundred, about twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. What was the value of the effects preserved by his friends we are not informed, but before entering on public business his whole property, according to Plutarch, had not amounted to three talents.

Though we are not assured that Themistocles was entirely innocent of the crime for which Pausanias suffered, yet that the prosecution against him was principally urged by party-spirit is sufficiently evident; and it is therefore no wonder if it was conducted with an acrimony regardless of justice, of humanity, and even of policy. Plutarch reports, on the authority of the historian Stesimbrotus, that Epicrates, at the prosecution of Cimon, was condemned to death and executed, for procuring the escape of the wife and children of Themistocles from Athens, and

Plut. vit.  
Themist.

conveying them in safety to the residence of Admetus. It may be hoped, for the sake of the generally amiable character which Cimon bore, that this was not strictly true in the unqualified manner in which it is related to us; yet the report shows, at least, what was thought possible of the temper of party-spirit in Athens. No law surely could exist at Athens to make the friendly and humane action of Epicrates a capital crime. His condemnation could proceed only from a decree of the absolute sovereign, the people. Plutarch expresses himself doubtful of the authority of Stesimbrotus, yet it appears not to have been because he thought the Athenian people incapable of making such a decree.

The sole hope then of security, remaining to Themistocles, against the most cruel persecution that party-spirit could urge, was in the chance of protection from the great enemy of his country, the king of Persia. He might indeed think himself, beyond all others, obnoxious to the Persians, as a principal cause of their disgraces and losses in their attempts against Greece. Yet, as it had long been the policy of the Persian court to protect and encourage Grecian refugees, he might hope that the acquisition of him as a future friend would be valued, in proportion as he had been heretofore a formidable enemy. The state of the Persian empire, scarcely yet restored to secure internal quiet, moreover favoured his views. Thus encouraged he ventured to address a letter to Artaxerxes, then lately settled on the throne. Receiving a favourable answer, he applied himself diligently to learn the Persian language, and acquire information of Persian manners. Not then till he had thus employed a year did he go to Susa. His reception at the court there was such as no Greek had ever before experienced. After having been treated some time with the highest dis-

Thucyd. i. 1.  
c. 138.

Ol. 78. 3.  
B. C. 465.  
Ann. Thu.

inction, an extensive command in Asia Minor was conferred upon him, with a revenue far exceeding ordinary Grecian ideas of private wealth. In the usual style of oriental magnificence, three the most flourishing of the Grecian cities yet remaining under the Persian dominion were, with their territories, assigned for the nominal purpose of supplying his table only: Magnesia was to furnish bread, Myus meat, Lampsacus wine. According to Thucydides, the reduction of Greece under the Persian dominion was the return which he was expected to make to the king for such munificence.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 138. Strab.  
1. 14. p. 636.

Plutarch says that Themistocles lived long in this splendid banishment; but his account is not altogether coherent; and from earlier writers it rather appears that he did not live long: from all accounts it is evident that he did nothing memorable; and probably he had little real enjoyment in all the advantages of high fortune, to which the bounty of the Persian monarch raised him. His warm temper is likely to have been violently agitated by consideration of the circumstances in which he stood, and the business he had undertaken. To raise his country to power and splendour had been the object that through life his mind had pursued with singular ardour. He had succeeded, and his success had covered him with no common glory. The thought of being engaged, now in advanced years, in the purpose of bringing on that country destruction or slavery, of ruining his own great work, could not but embitter his best hopes; while at the same time every fair hope was highly precarious; the envy and jealousy of his new friends being little less to be apprehended than the swords of his enemies; and defeat, in such a cause, must involve him in tenfold misery and disgrace. Reports gained that he procured a voluntary death by poison: but, though the truth was not certainly known, Thucydides seems rather

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
Diodor. 1. 11.  
c. 57, 58, 59.

to have thought that his end was natural. A magnificent monument raised to his memory in the agora of Magnesia on the Mæander, where had been his principal residence, mentioned by that early historian, is reported by Plutarch as yet remaining, but his bones, in pursuance of his dying request, were carried to Attica, and privately buried there. This circumstance, to which, though it seems not to have been fully authenticated, Thucydides evidently gave credit, would mark strongly the regret he had in undertaking the part against his country to which the ruthless violence of his political opponents drove him.<sup>14</sup>

It cannot but be wished that the imputations against this great man could, with due regard to historical authority, be more completely done away: yet it may be owing to him to make large allowance for calumny, arising from that party-spirit from which in Greece, beyond all other countries, high political worth was wont to suffer.<sup>15</sup> In abilities, and by his actions, Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece or the world ever produced. Not, like Leonidas and Pausanias, placed by the accident of birth at the head of the affairs of Greece, but born to an inferior station in an inferior commonwealth, he first raised himself

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch omits, in his life of Themistocles, to inform us at what time the death of that extraordinary man happened. In his life of Cimon, he says that Themistocles died about the time of the expedition into Cyprus under Cimon, and but little before the death of Cimon himself. Neither Thucydides nor Diodorus give any precise information upon the subject; but it is rather implied in their narrative, and seems upon many accounts more likely, that he died some years earlier.

Dodwell, following Plutarch, places the death of Themistocles in the same year with that of Cimon, B. C. 449, twenty after his banishment, and sixteen after his journey to Susa.

<sup>15</sup> Plato and Xenophon, whose authority is weighty, from the age in which they lived, as well as from their characters, and whose united authority is the greater on account of their difference in political principles, both give very honourable testimony to Themistocles. Plato in *Theages*, p. 126. v. 1. and in *Menon*, p. 93. v. 2., and Xenophon in his *Memorials of Socrates*, b. 2. c. 6. s. 13. Nor is the eulogy of Aristophanes, in his comedy of *The Knights*, v. 812. and 884., of no consideration.

to the head of that commonwealth, and then raised his little commonwealth, the territory of a single city, to be the leading power in the political affairs of the known world; and, even when afterward banished from that commonwealth and from Greece, and reduced to the simple importance of his own character, he remained still the most important political character of his time. Whatever relates to such a man is interesting. It appears, says Plutarch, by his statue still remaining at Athens in the temple of Diana Aristobule, built under his direction, that his person and countenance announced something uncommonly great and heroic. For the character of his understanding, we may best take it from Thucydides; who, by his own abilities, and by the age in which he lived, was most competent to form a just judgment. “In the mind of Themistocles,” says that historian, “seems to have been Thucyd. l. 1. c. 133. displayed the utmost power of human nature; for the evident superiority of his capacity to that of all other men was truly wonderful. His penetration was such that, from the scantiest information and with the most instantaneous deliberation, he formed the justest judgment of the past, and gained the clearest insight into the future. He had a discernment that could develop the advantageous and the pernicious in measures proposed, however involved in perplexity and obscurity; and he had not less remarkably the faculty of explaining things clearly to others than of judging clearly himself. Such, in short, were the powers of his genius and the readiness of his judgment, that he was beyond all men capable of directing all things upon every occasion.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> From Lysias we have a corresponding eulogy of him in one short sentence — *Στρατηγὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα, ἰκανώτατον εἶπῆν καὶ γινῶναι καὶ πράττειν*, (Or. fun. p. 194. vel 105.) and from Cicero, in a still shorter phrase, a very high panegyric, “Themistoclem, quem facile Græciæ principem ponimus.” M. T. Cic. Lucullus, s. 1.

He died, according to Plutarch, in his sixty-fifth year, leaving a numerous progeny, to whom a large share of the bounty of the Persian monarch was continued.

Pausan. 1. 1.  
c. 1.

Nor was a restoration to the privileges of their father's country denied them, when, the interest of party no longer urging their persecution, the merits of Themistocles were remembered as far outweighing his failings.

Plut. vit.  
Themist. Plat.  
Men. p. 93,  
t. 2.

Some of his daughters were married to Athenian citizens; and Cleophantus, his third son, is mentioned by Plato as having resided at Athens, but remembered for no higher qualification than that of a most extraordinary horseman, such as might vie with those who in our days most excel in public exhibition. We do not indeed find that any of his posterity were eminent as political characters; but the estimation in which his own memory was held contributed to their benefit to late generations.

Plut. vit.  
Themist.

By a decree of the people of Magnesia honours were granted to his family, which were still enjoyed by Themistocles, an Athenian, the friend of Plutarch, above six hundred years after the death of his great ancestor.



## CHAPTER XII.

AFFAIRS OF GREECE FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ITS SECURITY AGAINST PERSIA TO THE TRUCE FOR THIRTY YEARS BETWEEN ATHENS AND LACEDÆMON.

## SECTION I.

*Athens the Seat of Science and Arts. — Extension of the Power of Athens : Revolt of Thasos : Jealousy of Lacedæmon. — Earthquake at Lacedæmon : Revolt of the Helots : Assistance sent from Athens to Lacedæmon : Renunciation of the Lacedæmonian Confederacy by the Athenians. — War of Argos and Mycenæ.*

ATHENS, become, within a very few years, from the capital of a small province, in fact, though not yet in avowed pretension, the head of an empire, exhibited a new and singular phenomenon in politics, a sovereign people; a people, not, as in many other Grecian democracies, sovereign merely of that state which themselves, maintained by slaves, composed, but supreme over other people in subordinate republics, acknowledging a degree of subjection, yet claiming to be free.<sup>1</sup> Under this extraordinary political constitution phi-

<sup>1</sup> Through alterations which have taken place in things, words are not always to be found in any modern language to express with precision ancient ideas. Perhaps the word *vassal*, most nearly of any in our language, expresses what the Greeks understood by their word Ἰπικουός. Yet feudal vassalage, though in many circumstances similar, so differed in the original idea from the kind of subjection by which the inferior Grecian commonwealths were bound to the more powerful than the use of the term in Grecian history, wanting as a term may be, would not be warrantable. Similar difficulty may be observed about many other terms. Λιμὴν signified a port or harbour for shipping; but the ancients often called by that name what our seamen would not allow to be a

losophy and the arts were beginning to make Athens their principal resort. Migrating from Egypt and the east, they had long been fostered on the western coast of Asia. In Greece itself they had owed some temporary encouragement principally to those called tyrants; the Pisistratidæ at Athens, and Periander at Corinth. But their efforts were desultory and comparatively feeble till the communication with the Asian Greeks, checked and interrupted by their subjection to Persia, was restored, and Athens, chief of the glorious confederacy by whose arms the deliverance had been effected, began to draw everything toward itself as a common centre, the capital of an empire. Already science and fine taste were so far perfected that Æschylus had exhibited tragedy in its utmost dignity, and Sophocles and Euripides were giving it the highest polish, when Cimon returned in triumph to his country. Together with trophies, such as Greece had never won before in so distant a field, he brought wealth to a large amount, the fruit of his victories; part of which enriched the public treasury, part rewarded the individuals who had fought under him; and a large proportion, which he had had the virtue and the good fortune to acquire without incurring any charge of rapaciousness, became an addition to the large property inherited from his forefathers.

It was the peculiar felicity of Athens in this period that, of the constellation of great men which arose there, each was singularly fitted for the situation in which the circumstances of the time required him to act; and none filled his place more advantageously than Cimon. But the fate of

port or harbour. We are often at a loss to render the verb *πλείω* otherwise than by our verb *to sail*, though they are far from being of the same precise import. The use of oars, so prevalent in Grecian navigation, is so little known in our seas, that *to sail* is our only general term for going by sea, and sailor is another word for seamen. Thus also for *ἀνάγω* and *ἐξορμείω* we must risk the sea-phrase *to get under way*, or content ourselves with the inaccurate expression *to set sail*.

all those great men, and the resources employed, mostly in vain, to avert it, sufficiently mark, in this splendid era, a defective constitution, and law and justice ill assured. Aristides, we are told, though it is not undisputed, had founded his security upon extreme poverty: Cimon endeavoured to establish himself by a splendid, and almost unbounded, yet politic liberality. To ward against envy, and to secure his party with that tremendous tyrant, as the comic poet not inaptly calls the sovereign people, he made a parade of throwing down the fences of his gardens and orchards in the neighbourhood of Athens, and permitted all to partake of their produce; a table was daily spread at his house for the poorer citizens, but more particularly for those of his own ward, whom he invited from the agora, the courts of justice, or the general assembly; a bounty which both enabled and disposed them to give their time at his call whenever his interest required their support. In going about the city he was commonly attended by a large retinue, handsomely clothed; and if he met an elderly citizen ill clad, he directed one of his attendants to change cloaks with him. To the indigent of higher rank he was equally attentive, lending or giving money, as he found their circumstances required, and always managing his bounty with the utmost care that the object of it should not be put to shame. His conduct, in short, was a continual preparation for an election; not as in England, to decide whether the candidate should or should not be a member of the legislature; but whether he should be head of the commonwealth or an exile. In his youth he had affected a roughness of manners, and a contempt for the elegancies generally reckoned becoming his rank, and which his fortune enabled him to command. In his riper years he discovered that virtue and grossness have no natural connection: he became himself a model of politeness, patronised

Aristoph. Eq.  
v. 1111.  
Theopomp. ap.  
Athen. l. 13.  
c. 8. Corn.  
Nep. & Plut.  
vit. Cim. &  
Plut. vit. Peric.

every liberal art, and studied to procure elegant as well as useful indulgences for the people. By him were raised the first of those edifices which, for want of a more proper name, we call porticos, under whose magnificent shelter, in their torrid climate, it became the delight of the Athenians to assemble, and pass their leisure in promiscuous conversation. The widely celebrated groves of Academia acknowledged him as the founder of their fame. In the wood, before rude and without water, he formed commodious and elegant walks, and adorned them with running fountains. Nor was the planting of the agora, or great market-place of Athens, with that beautiful tree the oriental plane, forgotten as a benefit from Cimon, while, ages after him, his trees flourished, affording an agreeable and salutary shade to those who exposed their wares there, and to those who came to purchase them. Much, if not the whole of these things, we are given to understand, was done at his private expense; but our information upon the subject is inaccurate. Those stores, with which his victories had enriched the treasury, probably furnished the sums employed upon some of the public works executed under his direction, as, more especially, the completion of the fortification of the citadel, whose principal defence hitherto, on the southern side, had been the precipitous form of the rock.

While with this splendid and princely liberality Cimon endeavoured to confirm his own interest, he was attentive to promote the general welfare, and to render permanent the superiority of Athens among the Grecian republics. The

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 99. Plut.  
vit. Cim.

citizens of the allied states grew daily more impatient of the requisitions regularly made to take

their turn of service on shipboard, and longed for uninterrupted enjoyment of their homes, in that security against foreign enemies which their past labours had, they thought, now sufficiently established. But that the common interest

still required the maintenance of a fleet was a proposition that could not be denied, while the Persian empire existed, or while the Grecian seas offered temptation for piracy. Cimon therefore proposed that any commonwealth of the confederacy might compound for the personal service of its citizens, by furnishing ships, and paying a sum of money to the common treasury: the Athenians would then undertake the manning of the fleet. The proposal was in the moment popular; most of the allies acceded to it, unaware or heedless of the consequences; for, while they were thus depriving themselves of all maritime force, making that of Athens irresistible, they gave that ambitious republic claims upon them, uncertain in their nature, and which, as they might be made, could now also be enforced, at its pleasure.

Having thus at the same time strengthened itself and reduced to impotence many of the allied states, the Athenian government became less scrupulous of using force against any of the rest which might dispute its sovereign authority. The reduction of Eion, by the confederate arms under Cimon, had led to new information of the value of the adjacent country; where some mines of gold and silver, and a lucrative commerce with the surrounding Thracian hordes, excited avidity. But the people of the neighbouring island of Thasos, very anciently possessed of that commerce, and of the more accessible mines, insisted that these, when recovered from the common enemy by the arms of that confederacy of which they were members, should revert entire to them. The Athenians, asserting the right of conquest, on the contrary, claimed the principal share as their own. The Thasians, irritated, renounced the confederacy. Cimon then was commanded to lead the confederate armament against them. They venturing an action at sea, were defeated; and Cimon, debarking his

Herodot. l. 6.  
c. 47. Thucyd.  
l. 1. c. 100.  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 70. Corn.  
Nep. & Plut.  
vit. Cim.

B. C. 465.  
Ol. 78.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .  
Ann. Thu.

forces on the island, became quickly master of everything but the principal town, to which he laid siege. The Athenians then hastened to appropriate that inviting territory on the continent, which was their principal object, by sending thither a colony of no less than ten thousand men, partly Athenian citizens, partly from the allied commonwealths.

Thucyd. i. 1.  
c. 101. The Thasians had not originally trusted in their own strength alone for the hope of final success.

Early in the dispute they had sent ministers to Lacedæmon, soliciting protection against the oppression of Athens. The pretence was certainly favourable, and the Lacedæmonian government, no longer pressed by domestic troubles, determined to use the opportunity for interfering to check the growing power of the rival commonwealth, so long an object of jealousy, and now become truly formidable. Without a fleet capable of contending with the Athenian, they could not send succour immediately to Thasos: but they were taking measures secretly for a diversion in its favour, by invading Attica, when a sudden and extraordinary calamity,

B. C. 465.  
Ol. 78. 3.  
Ann. Thu.  
[B. C. 464.  
Cl. \*] an earthquake which overthrew the city of Sparta, and, in its immediate consequences, threatened destruction to the commonwealth, compelled them

to confine all their attention at home. Nevertheless the siege, carried on with great vigour, and with all the skill of the age under the direction of Cimon, was, during three

B. C. 463.  
Ol. 79. 1. years, obstinately resisted. Even then the Thasians obtained terms, severe indeed, but by which

they obviated the miseries, death often for themselves and slavery for their families, to which Grecian people, less able to defend themselves, were frequently reduced by Grecian

[\* Mr. Clinton settles this date from Pausan. iv. 24. 2. emended, compared with Diod. xi. 70., "consistently with Thucyd. i. 101. who states the earthquake at Sparta and revolt of the Helots to have happened *after* the Thasian revolt, and with some interval."]

arms. Their fortifications however were destroyed; their ships of war were surrendered; they paid immediately a sum of money; they bound themselves to an annual tribute; and they yielded all claim upon the opposite continent, and the valuable mines there.

The sovereignty of the Athenian people over the allied republics would thus gain some present confirmation; but in the principal object their ambition and avarice were, apparently through over-greediness, disappointed. The town of Eion stood at the mouth of the river Strymon. For the new settlement a place called the Nine-ways, a few miles up the river, was chosen; commodious for the double purpose of communicating with the sea, and commanding the neighbouring country. But the Edonian Thracians, in whose territory it was, resenting the encroachment, infested the settlers with irregular but continual hostilities. To put an end to so troublesome a war the whole force of the colony marched against them. As the Greeks advanced, the Edonians retreated; avoiding a general action, while they sent to all the neighbouring Thracian tribes for assistance, as in a common cause. When they were at length assembled in sufficient numbers, having engaged the Greeks far within a wild and difficult country, they attacked, overpowered, and cut in pieces their army, and annihilated the colony.

Cimon, on his return to Athens, did not meet the acclamations to which he had been accustomed. Faction had been busy in his absence.

*Corn. Nep.  
& Plut. vit.  
Cim. B. C.  
462. Ol. 79. 2*

Apparently the fall of the colony of the Nine-ways furnished both instigation and opportunity, perhaps assisted by circumstances of which no information remains. A prosecution was instituted against him, on the pretence, according to the biographers, that he ought to have extended the Athenian

<sup>2</sup> I am not perfectly satisfied with these dates assigned by Dodwell, but cannot undertake to correct them.

dominion by conquest in Macedonia, and that bribes from Alexander, king of that country, had stopped his exertions. The covetous ambition indeed of the Athenian people, inflamed by interested demagogues, was growing boundless. Cimon, indignant at the ungrateful return for a life divided between performing the most important services to his country, and studying how most to gratify the people, would enter little into particulars in refuting a charge, one part of which he considered as attributing to him no crime, the other as incapable of credit, and therefore beneath his regard. He told the assembled people, "that they mistook both him and the country which it was said he ought to have conquered. Other generals had cultivated an interest with the Ionians and the Thessalians, whose riches might make an interference in their concerns profitable. For himself, he had never sought any connection with those people; but he confessed he esteemed the Macedonians, who were virtuous and brave, but not rich; nor would he ever prefer riches to those qualities, though he had his satisfaction in having enriched his country with the spoils of its enemies." The popularity of Cimon was yet great; his principal opponents apparently found it not a time for pushing matters to extremity against him, and such a defence sufficed to procure an honourable acquittal.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 101. Diod.  
l. 11. c. 63,  
64. Plut. vit.  
Cim.

Meanwhile Lacedæmon had been in the utmost confusion and on the brink of ruin. The earthquake came suddenly at midday, with a violence before unheard of. The youths of the principal families assembled in the gymnasium at the appointed hour for exercise, were in great numbers crushed by its fall: many of both sexes and of all ages were buried under the ruins of other buildings: the shocks were repeated; the earth opened in several places; vast fragments from the summits of Taygetus were tumbled down its sides: in the end only five houses



remained standing in Sparta, and it was computed that twenty thousand lives were lost.

The first strokes of this awful calamity filled all ranks with the same apprehensions. But, in the continuance of it, that wretched multitude, excluded from all participation in the prosperity of their country, began to find hope on its distress: a proposal, obscurely made, was rapidly communicated, and the Helots assembled from various parts with one purpose, of putting their severe masters to death, and making the country their own. The ready foresight and prudent exertion of Archidamus, who had succeeded his grandfather Leotychides in the throne of the house of Procles, preserved Lacedæmon. In the confusion of the first alarm, while some were endeavouring to save their most valuable effects from the ruins of the city, others flying various ways for personal safety, Archidamus, collecting what he could of his friends and attendants about him, caused trumpets to sound to arms, as if an enemy were at hand. The Lacedæmonians, universally trained to the strictest military discipline, obeyed the signal; arms were the only necessaries sought; and civil rule, dissipated by the magnitude of the calamity, was, for the existing circumstances, most advantageously supplied by military order. The Helots, awed by the very unexpected appearance of a regular army instead of a confused and flying multitude, desisted from their meditated attempt; but, quitting the city, spread themselves over the country, and excited their fellows universally to rebellion.

The greater part of those miserable men, whom the Lacedæmonians held in so cruel a bondage, Thucyd. l. 1. c. 101. were descendants of the Messenians, men of the same blood with themselves, Greeks and Dorians. Memory of the wars of their ancestors, of their hero Aristomenes, and of the defence of Ithome, was not obsolete among them. Ithome

accordingly they seized and made their principal post; and they so outnumbered the Lacedæmonians that, though deficiently armed, yet, being not without discipline acquired in attendance upon their masters in war, they were capable of being formidable even in the field. Nor was it thus only that the rebellion was distressing. The Lacedæmonians, singularly ready and able in the use of arms, were singularly helpless in almost every other business. Deprived of their slaves they were nearly deprived of the means of subsistence; agriculture stopped, and mechanic arts ceased. Application was therefore made to the neighbouring allies for succour.

Thucyd. l. 2.  
c. 27. The zealous friendship of the Æginetans upon the occasion we find afterward acknowledged by the

l. 1. c. 101.  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 64. Lacedæmonian government, and assistance came from as far as Plataæa. Thus re-enforced the spirited and well directed exertions of Archidamus quickly so far

reduced the rebellion that the insurgents remaining in arms were blockaded in Ithome. But the extraordinary natural strength of that place, the desperate obstinacy of the defenders, and the deficiency of the assailants in the science of

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 102. Diodor.  
ut sup. Plut.  
vit. Cim. attack, giving reason to apprehend that the business might not be soon accomplished, the Lacedæmonians sent to desire assistance from the

Athenians, who were esteemed, beyond the other Greeks, experienced and skilful in the war of sieges.

This measure seems to have been on many accounts imprudent. There was found at Athens a strong disposition to refuse the aid. But Cimon, who, with a universal liberality, always professed particular esteem for the Lacedæmonians, prevailed upon his fellow countrymen to take the

B. C. 461.  
Ol. 79. 3.  
Ann. Thu. generous part; and a considerable body of forces marched under his command into Peloponnesus.

On their arrival at the camp of the besiegers an assault upon the place was attempted, but with so little success that

recourse was again had to the old method of blockade. It was in the leisure of that inactive and tedious mode of attack that principally arose those heartburnings which first occasioned an avowed national aversion between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and led, not indeed immediately, but in a direct line, to the fatal Peloponnesian war. All the prudence and all the authority of Cimon could not prevent the vivacious spirit of the Athenians from exulting, perhaps rather insultingly, in the new pre-eminence of their country: wherever danger called, they would be ostentatiously forward to meet it; and an assumed superiority, without a direct pretension to it, was continually appearing. The Spartan pride was offended by their arrogance; the Spartan gravity was disturbed by their lively forwardness: it began to be considered that, though Greeks, they were Ionians, whom the Peloponnesians considered as an alien race; and it occurred that if, in the continuance of the siege, any disgust should arise, there was no security that they might not renounce their present engagements, and even connect themselves with the Helots; who, as Greeks, had, not less than the Lacedæmonians, a claim to friendship and protection from every other Grecian people. Mistrust thus arose on one side; disgust became quickly manifest on both: and the Lacedæmonians shortly resolved to dismiss the Athenian forces. This however they endeavoured to do, as far as might be, without offence, by declaring that an "assault having been found ineffectual, the assistance of the Athenians was superfluous for the blockade, and the Lacedæmonians would not give their allies unnecessary trouble." All the other allies were however retained, and the Athenians alone returned home; so exasperated by this invidious distinction that, on their arrival at Athens, the party adverse to Cimon proposing a decree for renouncing the confederacy with Lacedæmon, it was carried. An alliance with Argos, the

inveterate enemy of Sparta, immediately followed ; and soon after the Thessalians acceded to the new confederacy.

While Lacedæmon was engaged with this dangerous insurrection, a petty war arose in Peloponnesus, affording one of the most remarkable, among the many strong instances on record, of the miseries to which the greater part of Greece was perpetually liable from the defects of its political system. Argos, the capital of Argolis, and formerly of Peloponnesus under the early kings of the Danaidean race, or perhaps before them, lost its pre-eminence, as we have already seen, during the reigns of the Persidean and Pelopidean princes, under whom Mycenæ became the first city of Greece. On the return of the Heraclidæ, Temenus fixed his residence at Argos, which thus regained its superiority. But, as the oppressions, arising from a defective political system, occasioned very generally through Greece the desire, so the troubles of the Argive government gave the means for the inferior towns to become independent republics. Like the rest, or perhaps more than the rest, generally oppressive, that government was certainly often ill-conducted and weak ; and Lacedæmon, its perpetual enemy, fomented the rebellious disposition of its dependencies. During the ancient wars of Sparta and Messenia the Argives had expelled the people of their towns of Asinæa and Nauplia, and forced them to seek foreign settlements ; a resource sufficiently marking a government both weak and oppressive. Mycenæ was now a much smaller town than Argos ; but its people, encouraged by Lacedæmon, formed lofty pretensions. The far-famed temple of Juno, the tutelar deity of the country, situated about five miles from Argos, and little more than one from Mycenæ, was considered by the Argives as theirs ; and, from the time, it was supposed of the Heraclidæ, the priestess had been appointed

Diodor. 1. 11.  
c. 65. Strab.  
1. 8. p. 377.  
Pausan. 1. 2.  
c. 15. & 1. 7.  
c. 25. & 1. 8.  
c. 35.

and the sacred ceremonies administered under the protection of their government. Nevertheless the Mycenæans now claimed the right to this superintendency. The games of Nemea, from their institution, or, as it was called, their restoration, had been under the direction of the Argives; but the Mycenæan government claimed also the prior right to preside there. These however were but branches of a much more important claim; for they wanted only power, or sufficient assistance from Sparta, to assert a right of sovereignty over Argos itself and all Argolis; and they were continually urging another pretension, not the less invidious to Argos because better founded, a pretension to merit with all the Greek nation for having joined the confederacy against Persia, while the Argives allied themselves with the common enemy of Greece. The favourable opportunity afforded by the Helot rebellion was eagerly seized by the Argives for ridding themselves of such troublesome and dangerous neighbours, whom they considered as rebellious subjects. Laying siege to Mycenæ, they took the place, reduced the surviving people to slavery, and, dedicating a tenth of the spoil to the gods, destroyed the town, which was never rebuilt.

B. C. 464.  
Ol. 78.4—79.1.  
[B.C. 468. Cl.]

## SECTION II.

*Change of Administration at Athens, and Banishment of Cimon. — Renunciation of the Peloponnesian Confederacy by Megara, and Accession to the Athenian. — Difficulties of the new Athenian Administration: Ephialtes; Pericles; Depression of the Court of Areopagus. — Expedition to Egypt. — War in Greece; Siege of Ægina; Relief of Megara by Myronides.*

AT Athens, after the banishment of Themistocles, Cimon remained long in possession of a popularity which nothing could resist; and his abilities, his successes, and his modera-

ation, his connection with the aristocratical interest, and his favour with the people, seemed altogether likely to insure, if anything could insure, permanency and quiet to his administration. But in Athens, as in every free government, there would always be a party adverse to the party in the direction of public affairs: matters had been for some time ripening for a change; and the renunciation of the Lacedæmonian alliance was the triumph of the opposition. The epithet *Philolacones*, friends to Lacedæmon, was circulated as the opprobrium of the existing administration. Cimon had always professed himself friendly to the Lacedæmonians, and an admirer of their institutions. His partiality had gone so far as to induce him to name his eldest son Lacedæmonius; and, the more completely to prove that he did not esteem the Athenian character a model of perfection (apparently by way of admonition, both to his family and to his country), he named his two other sons Thessalus and Eleus. All these circumstances were now turned to his disadvantage, with all the acrimony of party-spirit; a favourable moment was seized while the popular mind was heated; the ostracism was proposed and carried; and by his banishment the party in opposition to him became fully possessed of the government.

Plut. vit.  
Cim.

Plat. Gorg.  
p. 516. t. 1.  
Plut. & Corn.  
Nep. vit. Cim.

In the divided state of Greece meanwhile circumstances were arising still to promote the power of the Athenian commonwealth. An ancient dispute between Megara and Corinth about the limits of their respective territories led to hostilities, in which the Megarians were pressed by the superior strength of their enemy. Megara was of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, but so also was Corinth, and the leading Megarians could obtain no partial favour from the Lacedæmonian government. Under these circumstances the democratical party in Megara pro-

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 105.

posing to renounce the Peloponnesian for the Athenian confederacy, the oligarchal was obliged to yield. The situation and circumstances of their territory gave them importance. Almost wholly mountainous, it formed a very strong frontier for Attica against Peloponnesus: its situation against the isthmus completely commanded the communication by land between the peninsular and northern Greece; and its ports of Nisæa on the Saronic and Pegæ on the Corinthian gulf were valuable acquisitions to a maritime power; on one side depriving the enemy of means to annoy Attica, on the other affording opportunity to distress the Peloponnesians, and to extend the Athenian command in the western seas. The new Athenian administration therefore very gladly accepted the proposal of the Megarians; and under pretence of providing in the most effectual manner for the security of their new allies, they took the most effectual measures for holding them in subjection. Athenian garrisons were placed, not only in the port of Pegæ, but also in the city of Megara; those who led the Megarian affairs submitting to this through fear of domestic, far more than of foreign foes. Fortifications were then raised connecting the city with its port of Nisæa, and these brought Megara itself in some degree under the control of the Athenian fleet.

These circumstances, employing the minds of the Athenian people, and flattering their ambition, were favourable to the new administration. Probably also the party in Megara, which effected the revolution there, would not so readily have connected themselves with the former Athenian administration, which was better disposed towards Lacedæmon, and less friendly to unbalanced democracy. But the liberality of Cimon was quickly missed: to equal it from their own stores was beyond the private means of the new rulers; yet to find means for gratifying the people

as they had been accustomed to be gratified, or even more, was absolutely necessary for those who took the lead in public affairs, if they would hold their situation, or if they would avoid the risk even of taking the place of Cimon in banishment. The public treasury tempted; but all issues thence were under the control of the court of Areopagus, a large majority in which was of the aristocratical party, adverse to them and friendly to Cimon. No resource occurred but in that despotic power which the people in assembly might arrogate: the people might probably be persuaded to consent to the prostitution of the public money to their private emolument; and while thus, in reality, they bribed themselves, popular favour would accrue to the advisers of the gratifying measure. This was indeed hazardous in the extreme: the great barrier established by the constitution against excess of popular caprice would be done away: but the necessities of the administration were pressing; and the leading men, it was hoped, might still be able by their influence, or their oratory, to guide the proceedings of the general assembly.

It was indeed not by ordinary men that Cimon was removed from his situation at the head of the commonwealth,

*Plut. vit.  
Pericl.*

and that these violent and hazardous changes were made. The ostensible head of the party was

Ephialtes; but Pericles, son of Xanthippus, had lately been gaining a superiority in popular estimation. Pericles pos-

*Corn. Nep. &  
Plut. vit.  
Pericl.*

sessed extraordinary advantages from nature and from fortune. His father, a man of one of the

first families of Athens, and of large property, had distinguished himself in the prosecution of the great Miltiades, and had afterward much more advantageously distinguished himself in the command of the Athenian forces on the glorious day of Mycale. He married Agariste, niece of Clisthenes, chief of the Alcmaeonidean family, and leader of



the party that expelled the Pisistratidæ. Their son, born with uncommon abilities, was educated under the ablest of those fathers of science and fine taste who at this time arose in Athens, or resorted thither from the various establishments of the Greek nation. Anaxagoras and Pythoclines are mentioned as the instructors of his youth; Damon as the companion of his riper years. It was observed by old men that in person, manner, and voice he remarkably resembled Pisistratus: and this circumstance, communicated among a superstitious people, infused a jealousy that long deterred him from putting himself forward in public business. In his youth therefore arms employed his active hours, and science was the pursuit of his leisure. But when, Aristides being dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon mostly absent on military commands, no superior man remained to take the lead in the popular assembly, Pericles was induced to show himself. His powers of eloquence far exceeded those of any orator of his age; and his speeches were distinguished by a new polish of style and manner which singularly captivated the Athenian people. His family-interest and his party-connections joined to put him in unavoidable opposition to the aristocratical interest; which his private judgment and private inclination otherwise disposed him to support. He had taken a part in the prosecution instituted against Cimon on his return from the conquest of Thasos: yet the moderation with which he conducted himself in it showed private esteem in the midst of political opposition. The banishment by ostracism being reputed not a punishment, or at least no disgrace, he did not scruple to concur in such a measure, when its consequence would be to give his own party complete possession of the government. He was then induced, by the necessities of that party, to concur in the proposal, so fatal to the

Plutarch. vit.  
Pericl. Plat.  
Alcib. 1.  
p. 118. t. 2.

Plat. ibid.

Plut vit.  
Pericl.

Athenian constitution, for contracting the powers and reducing the dignity of the court of Areopagus. Ephialtes was the instrument to bring forward the measure. What Ephialtes proposed the people willed, and it was done: the more important of those causes which, under the constitution of Solon, were cognizable by the court of Areopagus only, in future were to be brought before the assembly of the people; and the assembly of the people was to direct, without control, issues from the public treasury.<sup>3</sup> This was the finishing stroke to form at Athens that union of all the powers of government, legislative, executive, financial, and judicial, in the same hands, which, according to the sage Montesquieu, constitutes the essence of despotism; and hence the term tyrant was, even in that age, applied to the assembled Athenian people.<sup>4</sup>

An individual despot has generally his favourites, who govern him, but a despotic multitude must necessarily have its favourites to guide its measures. The favourite of the multitude then becomes the real despot; whence, among the Greeks, demagogues were so frequently qualified with the title of tyrant. Under the direction of Ephialtes, Pericles, and some other leading men, new or increased pay was given to the people for attendance upon the general assemblies and the courts of judicature: amusements the most elegant were provided for their leisure at the public expense: the

<sup>3</sup> Dodwell refers this transaction to the year B. C. 462, the year, according to him, preceding the banishment of Cimon: but his proof is very deficient. I think Diodorus more probably right, in placing it in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, B. C. 460.

<sup>4</sup>

... πάντες ἀν-  
 θρωποι δὲ δίασί' ὡς-  
 περ ἄνδρα τύραννον.

Aristoph. Eq. v. 1112.

<sup>5</sup> Ὡσπερ τυράννων, τῷ δήμῳ χαρίζομενοι. Aristot. Polit. 1. 2. c. 12.

Quotations from Thucydides, equally strong to the same purpose, will be found in following notes.

sublime dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and the jocose satire of the comic poets, were alternately exhibited in magnificent theatres: the religious festivals were increased in number and celebrated with new splendour: on days of business the pay for attending the courts and assemblies fed the many; on holidays the numerous victims of the sacrifices feasted them. But to support the increased expenses new supplies were necessary. The commanding power of the Athenian people, and the depression of the allies, were thought now so established, that the former might exercise, and the latter must bear, any tyranny. Not only therefore the common treasury of the confederacy was removed from Delos to Athens<sup>5</sup>, but the moderate assessment of Aristides, to which all the allies had cheerfully submitted, was greatly advanced. If disputes arose, the tribunals of Athens were to decide; and hence new profit, new power, and very flattering distinction to even the meanest of the Athenians, who were to be judges, with most grievous humiliation and oppression to the people of those subject states which were still called allies.

Xenoph. Resp.  
Athen.

These circumstances superinduced new necessity for maintaining the navy in vigour. But to be maintained in vigour it must be employed: and it was highly desirable that it should be employed, as under Cimon it had been, so as to bring new gratification to the people, and at the same time to acquire something toward the expense of its own maintenance. Cyprus appearing the most inviting object then in view, a fleet of two hundred trireme galleys was

<sup>5</sup> That this removal took place, and about this time, seems unquestionable, though Thucydides has not particularly mentioned it. Plutarch, in his life of Aristides, quotes Theophrastus for its being the act of Aristides, with whose character it seems less congenial. In his life of Pericles, he makes that able but less scrupulous statesman apologise for it as his act, and with this the account of Justin corresponds.

sent thither under Charitimis.<sup>6</sup> But shortly a more alluring field of action presented itself.

Thucyd. i. 1.  
c. 104. Diodor.  
i. 11. c. 71.

In the relaxation of the Persian government during the last years of Xerxes, and the confusion which followed his death, Inarus, chief of some African tribes on the western border of Egypt, engaged the greater part of that rich country in rebellion. But when the empire became again settled under Artaxerxes, apprehensive that he should be unable to withstand its collected force, which would probably be soon directed against him, he looked round for foreign alliance. The little Athenian commonwealth, commanding the navy of the Grecian confederacy, was at this time by far the first maritime power in the world: and the difficulty of approach to Egypt by land, together with the command which the Persian monarch possessed of the Phenician navy, made a maritime ally of great importance to Inarus. The Grecian infantry of this age was also not less beyond all other in esteem; and

Thucyd. i. 4.  
c. 33.

though, among themselves, the Peloponnesian, and especially the Lacedæmonian, had the reputation of superiority, yet among foreigners no Grecian name was of higher renown than the Athenian. Inarus therefore sent to Athens proposals of alliance; offering very advantageous returns for assistance to complete the deliverance of Egypt from the Persian dominion.

Hist. of the  
World, b. 2.  
c. 7. s. 5.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who looked upon this part of history certainly with a master's eye, but with too transient a glance, has imputed folly to the Athenian government for their conduct; when, having it in their

<sup>6</sup> Barthelemi (Anacharsis, p. 269. v. l. ed. 8vo) gives the command of this expedition to Cimon, and quotes Thucydides and Plutarch. He has probably trusted to his memory, which has deceived him. Neither Thucydides, nor Plutarch, nor Diodorus has mentioned the commander's name. It is here given on the authority of Ctesias. I will however say for Barthelemi that, for myself, I prefer a writer who, if he makes a mistake, may be corrected from the authority which himself quotes, to those who fastidiously require their readers to believe all on their own assertion.

power to make the valuable acquisition of Cyprus, which their naval force would have enabled them to keep, they quitted so desirable an object for the wild project of acquiring dominion on the continent of Africa. If indeed the Athenian empire, as the confederacy under the control of the Athenian commonwealth is often called by ancient writers, had been connected by any regular and settled form of government, or if the constitution of Athens itself had been such as to be capable of carrying any steady command, the observation would certainly have been just. But the circumstances of Athens offer at least an apology for those able men who promoted the expedition to Egypt. For, however valuable an acquisition Cyprus might in time have been made, under such a course of prudent and steady management as the constitution of Athens seemed utterly to deny, the wealth of Egypt was a far more tempting present object. There, it was hoped, victories might be obtained to rival those of Cimon; which through the ransom of wealthy prisoners, the spoils of Persian camps, and the produce of Thracian mines, had wonderfully enriched individuals and supplied the public treasury. Charitimus therefore was ordered to lead the whole force under his command from Cyprus to the Nile. His rapid success appeared at first to justify the enterprise: all yielded before him till he arrived at Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt, and he possessed himself of two divisions out of three which composed that vast city. A numerous body of Persians, and of those Egyptians who had not joined in the revolt, re-

B. C. 459. 7.  
Ol. 80.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .\*

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 102. Diodor.  
l. 9. c. 73.  
Ctes. Persic.  
B. C. 458.  
Ol. 80.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

<sup>7</sup> I know not why, for the dates of the Egyptian war, Dodwell has given implicit credit to Diodorus, who, in regard to these, is as evidently contradictory to Thucydides, as he is clearly proved wrong by Dodwell himself, in regard to many preceding transactions. The account of Thucydides however not sufficing to ascertain the dates, they can be assigned only by conjecture.

[\* Mr. Clinton places the commencement of the Egyptian war B. C. 460. See note on the date of its termination, p. 333.]

tiring into the third division, prepared for a vigorous defence.

Meanwhile the acquisition of Megara had involved Athens in war with the Corinthians, and in some measure with the whole Peloponnesian confederacy, of which Corinth was an important member, and Lacedæmon remained the head. In

Thucyd. i. 1. c. 105. Diodor. i. 11. c. 78. a descent at Haliæ, on the Argolic coast, their forces were defeated by the Corinthians assisted by the Epidaurians. Shortly after, in a naval action off Cecryphalia, the Athenians defeated the Peloponnesians. The Æginetan fleet, which was considerable, then joined the Corinthian; and the assistance of the other Peloponnesian allies being called in, the Athenians also collected the naval force of their confederacy. An action ensued, in which the Athenians gained a complete victory, took seventy ships, and then landing upon Ægina, under the conduct of Leocrates,

Arist. Rhet. i. 3. c. 10. Plut. vit. Peric. laid siege to the capital town. It was an object, urged by Pericles, to subdue that island, which, from its situation, its naval strength, and the active and adverse temper of its people, he called emphatically the eyesore of Piræus. The same circumstances made the Peloponnesians the more anxious to provide for its defence. Three hundred heavy-armed Corinthians and Epidaurians were introduced into the place. A larger re-enforcement might have endangered a failure of provisions, while the Athenians commanded the sea; but to give more effectual relief, the Corinthians invaded the Megarian territory, seized the heights of Gerania commanding the passage from the isthmus into northern Greece, and advanced toward Megara;

Thucyd. i. 1. c. 105. in confidence that, while so large a part of the Athenian force was absent in Egypt, either Megara must be exposed, or the siege of Ægina raised.

While, from the division of Greece into so many little republics, great talents were mostly confined within a very

narrow circle, whence they could scarcely by any possibility emerge, the circumstances of Athens, little favourable to private security or domestic happiness, gave singular opportunity and ample scope for genius, wherever it existed among the people, to come forward and exert itself: and Athens was fruitful of great men at this period. Among those less known to fame, but high in merit, was Myronides, who, upon the present occasion, was appointed to the command of the forces; for such was the general spirit of the Athenian people that, the leading men dreading the imputation of a timid policy, it was determined, with such an army as could yet be collected within Attica, old men chiefly and boys, to march to the relief of Megara, rather than recal their more vigorous troops from a favourite enterprise. Myronides, with the army, such as it was, under his command, did not scruple to meet the flower of the Corinthian youth; and, though the event would not justify the boast of a decisive victory, he remained master of the field, and erected on it his trophy. The Corinthians, retreating within their own territory, were ill received by their fellow-citizens; who upbraided them with their inglorious return from a fruitless expedition, in which they had yielded the honour of the day to an enemy unable to conquer them. Urged by shame, and under no good conduct, on the twelfth day from the battle, the Corinthian youth returned to the field; and, to vindicate their honour, erected their own trophy in claim of victory. The able Myronides, using an advantageous opportunity for issuing with his motley troops from the walls of Megara, destroyed the detachment employed to erect the trophy, and then attacking the supporting army, put it completely to rout. A large body of the vanquished, pressed in their flight by the conquerors, and missing their road, entered an enclosure surrounded by a ditch, so wide and deep as to preclude

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 105.

c. 106.

passage. The Athenians, apprised of this, secured the only outlet with a sufficient body of their heavy-armed, and then disposing their light-armed around, plied their missile weapons so effectually that every Corinthian within perished. Corinth was so weakened by this severe blow as to be for some time incapable of any considerable exertion. It will be no wonder then if, after so cruel a use of the right of war, animosity and even hatred toward the Athenian people should be found popular passions at Corinth, and not dying with the existing generation, but passing to their children, and in the end bringing no small return of evil upon Athens.

### SECTION III.

*War between Doris and Phocis. — Hostilities resulting between Athens and Lacedæmon. — Battle of Tanagra. — Affairs of Bœotia. — Battle of Œnophyta. — Successes of the Athenians under Myronides. — Ægina taken. — Successes of the Athenians under Tolmides. — Messenians established in Naupactus. — Conclusion of the Egyptian Expedition. — War in Thessaly. — Expedition under Pericles to the Western Coast of Greece.*

LACEDÆMON, weakened by natural calamity, pressed by domestic disturbance, and usually slow in councils, had not been induced by the revolt of Megara, nor by the sufferings of so close an ally as Corinth, added to the inimical measures before taken by Athens, to come to an open rupture with that rising rival. But the division of Greece into so many little states precluded the possibility of secure peace through the country; and hostilities, begun in any obscure corner, always endangered the tranquillity of the whole. The rugged province of Doris, the mother-country of the greater part of the Peloponnesians, destitute of any considerable city, had

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 107.

three small towns, Bœon, Cytinion, Erineon, (names hardly elsewhere occurring in Grecian



history,) in which the little public business of so poor and thinly peopled a territory was transacted. The Phocians, invading Doris, took one of those towns. The Lacedæmonians, who always bore a religious regard for their mother-country, were no sooner informed of its distress than they prepared to relieve it. Fifteen hundred heavy-armed of their own people, with no less than ten thousand of their allies, which, with the light-armed slaves attending, would make an army of perhaps twenty-five thousand men, marched toward Phocis. Nicomedes son of Cleombrotus commanded, as regent during the minority of his nephew, Plistoanax son of Pausanias, to whom the sceptre of Sparta had fallen by the premature death of Plistarchus son of Leonidas. The Phocians, unable to resist such a force, surrendered the Dorian town, and submitted to the conditions imposed by the Lacedæmonians.

There were at this time some of the aristocratical party in Athens so far from considering Lacedæmon as a hostile state that they looked toward it for relief from the oppression which they suffered under the present administration of their country, and for the restoration of that constitution under which Athens had become great, and without which they thought it could not long flourish. Accordingly they opened a secret correspondence with Nicomedes. But the same circumstances, which led the partizans of aristocracy to desire a friendly connection with Sparta, induced the leaders of the democratical interest, now ruling the republic, to confirm and inflame the animosity of the people against that state, and to persuade them of its determined enmity to Athens. It was therefore resolved to oppose the return of the Peloponnesian army into the peninsula, and means were much in their power: for possessing the strong places of Megara on one side of the isthmus, and Pegæ on the other, and keeping a guard on mount Gerania,

B. C. 457. OI.  
80. 4. Ann.  
Thu.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 107.

they completely commanded the passes by land; and the port of Pegæ, together with an interest which they possessed among the towns of the Achæan coast, enabled them to keep a fleet in the Corinthian gulf, which would prevent an army from crossing it. Nicomedes was in consequence much at a loss what measures to take; but some political intrigues at Thebes, together with the overtures received from the aristocratical party at Athens, determined him to wait and watch opportunities; and he wintered in Bœotia.<sup>8</sup>

This was highly suspicious to the Athenian administration. They had expected that the approach of the severe season, and the impatience of his troops, would have urged Nicomedes to the hazardous attempt of forcing the passage of the mountains: but observing no appearance of a disposition to move from his present situation, and suspecting intrigue, they resolved in the spring to attack him in the plain. A

body of cavalry, which they obtained from their allies of Thessaly, they hoped would enable them to do this with advantage. Collecting therefore what other auxiliary troops they readily could, among which were a thousand from Argos, they formed, with their own forces, a body of fourteen thousand heavy-armed foot. These, with the cavalry and the attending slaves, would make an army of scarcely less than thirty thousand men, with which

B. C. 456. Ol.  
30. 4. [B. C.  
457. about  
Nov. Cl.]

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 108. Diodor.  
l. 11. c. 80.  
Pausan. l. 1.  
c. 29.

they marched into Bœotia. Nicomedes met them at Tanagra, and a severe action ensued, so equally maintained, that neither side could claim the victory. It was renewed on the following day, when the treachery of the Thessalian horse compelled the Athenians, after great slaughter on both sides, to leave the Pelopon-

<sup>8</sup> The chronology of Diodorus here so accords with and illustrates the summary narrative of Thucydides, that he may have credit for this circumstance, not specified by Thucydides. [See Mr. Clinton's examination of this statement, as well as the defence of his date appended in the margin, quoted below, p. 328.]

nesians masters of the field. Nicomedes then, plundering and wasting the Megarian territory as he passed it, without attempting to make any farther use of his victory, returned into Peloponnesus.

The Thebans, always claiming rights of sovereignty over the other towns of Bœotia, but humbled by the event of the Persian war, adjudged the opportunity favourable, while the Peloponnesian army lay in their neighbourhood, to attempt the recovery of their ancient authority. With this view they had engaged in a treaty with the Spartans; who readily acceded to the purpose of enabling a city, without Peloponnesus, to balance the power and curb the ambition of Athens. Thus most of the Bœotian towns seem to have been terrified into a composition: they were admitted to the honour and advantages of the Peloponnesian confederacy, as dependents of Thebes; acknowledging the supremacy of that city for superintending the general protection, and, for that purpose, directing the military affairs of all the Bœotian people.<sup>9</sup> Whatever within Bœotia was immoveably adverse to their proposal, and particularly the heroic little commonwealth of Plataea, the ancient and faithful ally of Athens, was of course to be oppressed. Phocis and the Opuntian Locrians joined in their alliance.

Neither the force however nor the spirit of Athens were broken by the check received at Tanagra. As soon as the motions in Bœotia were known, it was determined to obviate their effects. Myronides was appointed general of the Athenian forces. On the sixty-second day after the unfortunate action of Tanagra he met the Bœo-

Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 80. Herodot.  
l. 6. c. 108.<sup>10</sup>  
Thucyd. l. 3.  
c. 61.

B. C. 456. 10  
Ol. 81. 1.  
Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Ἡγεμονεύσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, according to the expression which Thucydides puts into the mouth of a Theban orator (b. 3. c. 61.). The value of this term is in some degree to be collected from a following passage (c. 67.) in the speech of the same orator, addressing himself to the Lacedæmonians: Ἡγεμόνες, ὡς πτεροῦν ὑμῖς.

<sup>10</sup> I think Dodwell clearly right in placing this event one year later than

tian army, much more numerous than his own, at Œnophyta, and gained a complete victory. Tanagra was taken and dismantled; through all the towns encouragement was communicated to the democratical party, everywhere adverse to the Lacedæmonian connection; and all Bœotia, except Thebes, was rapidly brought into alliance with Athens, which was, in effect, to be under its dominion.

Diodorus, who has crowded together transactions that could not have passed within the year. Allowing this, the account of Diodorus will assist to illustrate that of Thucydides. The battle of Tanagra was fought in the spring of the year 456 before Christ, toward the conclusion of the fourth year of the eighth Olympiad; for the Olympian year began a little after midsummer. The battle of Œnophyta was fought in the beginning of the first year of the eighty-first Olympiad, in the autumn of the same year, before Christ 456.\*

Thucydides says that the Peloponnesian army, in passing through the Megaris, after the battle of Tanagra, cut down the trees. Smith, in his translation of Thucydides, interprets *δενδροτομήσαντες* by the expression, *having cut down the woods*. The mistake is of a kind that an Englishman who never travelled in more southern countries might easily fall into, if he did not consider how little it could answer the Spartan general's purpose to delay his march by such laborious waste as that of cutting down, what in English is properly called, *woods*. Thucydides has intended only, or almost only, fruit-trees, principally olives and vines. He mentions no other waste, the corn having been probably not forward enough to be readily destroyed.

[\* On Mr. Mitford's dates and reasoning here Mr. Clinton makes the following observations:—"In fact Dodwell never questions Diodorus in placing the Theban war in Olymp. 80. 4., and distinctly asserts that the battle of Tanagra took place in the autumn of that year in which the Lacedæmonian army return from its campaign in Doris. According to Mr. Mitford's date that army must have kept the field without hazarding a passage through the winter: for which he quotes Diodorus, giving him credit for this circumstance, not specified by Thucydides. [Note, p. 326.] But the two historians are at variance. In *Thucydides*, the Lacedæmonians after the action at Tanagra effect their passage home through the isthmus: in *Diodorus*, it would seem that they remained in Bœotia till the battle of Œnophyta, at which, according to his account, the Lacedæmonians assisted; while Thucydides mentions no Lacedæmonian forces at Œnophyta. Plato (*Menex.* p. 242. b.) agrees with Thucydides in both these particulars: and Aristides (*Panath.* p. 156.) argues upon the assumption that the Lacedæmonians withdrew immediately after the battle of Tanagra." To these remarks he subjoins in a note: "Plutarch is aptly quoted by Dodwell to confirm the fact that the battle of Tanagra was fought in winter: Cimon. c. 17. νικηκήμενοι ἐν Τανάγρα, καὶ προσδοκῶντες εἰς ἄραν ἔτους στρατείαν Πελοποννησίαν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Pericl. c. 10. ἡττημένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκῶντας δὲ καὶ βαρύν εἰς ἔτους ἄραν πόλεμον. "Ὡρα ἔτους would be 'the ensuing spring.' We may therefore place the battle of Tanagra about November: towards the end of autumn or beginning of winter." *Fasti Hellen.* p. 255.]

The democratical party was strong in the neighbouring country of Phocis, yet the oligarchal, supported by Thebes and Lacedæmon, still prevailed there. Myronides without loss of time entered that province, and, overbearing opposition, committed the power in all the towns to those whose interest would keep them dependent on Athens; and thus Phocis, like Bœotia, became an appendage of the Athenian empire. The Opuntian Locrians, more attached to their oligarchal government and the Lacedæmonian alliance, but dreading the attack with which they next were threatened, delivered a hundred of their principal men as hostages to insure the compliance of their state with terms imposed. This campaign of Myronides, though no detail of it remained even in the time of Diodorus, was esteemed equal to the most brilliant achievements of the Athenian arms.<sup>11</sup>

It was no small addition to the joy, which the important conquests of Myronides gave at Athens, that about the same time, Leocrates returned victorious over the little barren

<sup>11</sup> Thucydides in his concise mention of the expedition under Myronides, though he particularises that the battle of Cœnophyta was fought on the sixty-second day after the battle of Tanagra, does not name Thebes. I have been very cautious of following any other writer, in relating the transactions of these times, when not in some degree supported by him. Diodorus tells of many glorious and very surprising feats of Grecian arms, utterly unknown to Thucydides; of which his account of the expeditions to Cyprus and to Egypt afford some remarkable instances. They may however be nearly paralleled out of Livy; who tells of many victories gained by the Roman arms against the forces of Hannibal in Italy, and leaves us to wonder why they had no consequences, till, upon looking into Polybius, we find the greatest reason to believe that they never had more than an imaginary existence. There is seldom equal temptation to romance concerning circumstances merely political. The narrative of Thucydides, in the part in question, though it may have sufficed for his contemporaries, and for his particular view in the prefatory part of his work, leaves us totally uninformed of the motives to the Boeotian war. These however may be gathered from some passages which afterward occur in his History (l. 3. c. 62. & 95.), and from what we find in Plato on the subject (*Menex.* p. 242. t. 2.); and thus what is here supplied from Diodorus, in itself probable, and consistent with every authenticated fact, appears sufficiently established.

Thucyd. i. 1.  
c. 108.  
B. C. 456.  
Ol. 81.\*

island of Ægina. Cut off from all relief, through the command which the Athenians possessed of the sea, the Æginetans had at length capitulated: their ships of war were surrendered, their fortifications were demolished, and they bound themselves to the payment of a perpetual tribute.

The Greeks, it has already occurred to remark, and will again occur, both coveted and dreaded maritime situation. Solicitous for communication with the sea, they nevertheless generally avoided for their towns, but especially for a town the seat of a government, a site immediately on the shore. Athens was five miles from its port. But thus while one danger was obviated another was incurred. An enemy superior in the field, though unable to force either city or port, might put both in danger, and especially distress the city, by stopping communication between them. Athens was peculiarly liable to this inconvenience since it was become an imperial city; because, to maintain empire, a large part of the strength of the city must be on distant service often, ready for it always, and the remainder, it had been found now by experience, hardly sufficed for remaining probable needs.

But, for a long course of years after the banishment, and even after the death of Themistocles, the spirit of that great man seemed to animate the Athenian councils. In all the changes of administration measures were in a great degree directed by the political principles which he first conceived, and of which he so forcibly demonstrated the advantage in practice: his ideas for insuring safety, for acquiring power, for extending dominion, continued to be carried into execution. In prosecution of them, and with a spirit which dis-

[\* Mr. Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* p. 256., seems to bring the surrender of Ægina down to B. C. 455. In the summary of Thucydides it is placed after the completion of the long walls: . . . τὰ τε τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπέτελλσαν. ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, κ. τ. λ. i. 108.]

tinguishes this age of Greece, and particularly of Athens, a very great and very costly work had been some time since begun; no less than to unite the city with its ports by strong fortifications, which might secure the communication against any interruption from an enemy. A wall was conducted to Phalerum, the distance about four miles, and another to Piræus, five miles, with towers at proper intervals. Thus Athens and Piræus came to be often distinguished by the names of the upper and the lower town, as two parts only of the same city. This great work was completed in the summer in which the empire of the Athenian people was extended so widely over the northern continent of Greece by the conquests of Myronides, and their maritime superiority was assured by the surrender of Ægina to the armament under Leocrates.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 107. & 1. 2.  
c. 13.

B. C. 456.  
Ol. 81. 1.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 108.

Confident now in their strength, the Athenian government resolved to prosecute offensive operations against their Peloponnesian enemies. Tolmides, with a strong squadron under his command, sailing round Peloponnesus, burnt the Lacedæmonian naval arsenal at Gythium, and proceeding into the Corinthian gulf, debarked his forces, defeated the Sicyonians in an action by land, and took the town of Chalcis, a Corinthian settlement on the coast of Ætolia. It was not till the tenth year of the blockade of Ithome that the Helots there had been induced to capitulate; and they obtained liberty for themselves and their families, upon condition however that they should finally quit Peloponnesus. Tolmides collected those fugitives, and settled them at Naupactus, on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, which he conquered from the Ozolian Locrians. There with the revived name of Messenians, which they had never entirely lost, forming a free republic, or at least a republic of free citizens under the protection of

Thucyd. ib.  
B. C. 455.  
Ol. 81. 4.  
Ann. Thu.

Athens, they became once more numbered among the Grecian people.

While success was so generally attending the Athenians within Greece, their forces engaged in the distant operations in Egypt were experiencing a variety of fortune. Grecian valour and Grecian discipline at first so overbore the efforts of oriental arms that the Persian government was at a loss what to oppose to them. The measure taken marks very strongly what may be the weakness of despotic empire, while its territory and population are immense. Megabazus was sent with a large sum of money to Lacedæmon, to endeavour to obtain by bribes the alliance of that little republic, and procure the invasion of Attica by a Peloponnesian army. It tells very highly to the honour of the Spartan government of the time, from an Athenian writer almost contemporary, that Sparta was not to be bribed to a measure to which resentment, ambition, and political interest contributed so powerfully to incite. Megabazus, after having spent a part of his treasures uselessly, in ways which Thucydides does not explain, returned with the remainder into Asia, without having in any degree accomplished his purpose.

Then at length measures more consonant to the former dignity of the empire were taken for the recovery of Egypt.

A very numerous army was assembled on the confines of Cilicia and Syria, and a fleet was prepared in Phenicia and the other maritime provinces. Megabazus, or Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus, head of one of the six great families of Persia, was appointed to the command-in-chief. The spring and summer were employed in collecting troops; the autumn and winter in the endeavour to restore discipline and skill in arms among them; in the following spring Megabyzus led them into Egypt. His measures appear to have

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 109. Diodor.  
l. 11. c. 74.

B. C. 457.  
Ol. 80. 3.  
Thucyd. ib.  
Diodor. l. 11.  
c. 75.

B. C. 456.  
Ol. 80.4—81.1.



been judicious, and correspondent success followed. The Egyptians venturing a battle were defeated. The little army of Greeks, compelled to raise the siege of the White-castle of Memphis, retired into an island of the Nile called Prosopitis, where their fleet joined them. In this strong situation their valour and discipline defied the Persian assaults. Wealth and numbers however, under able management, may supply great deficiencies. Forming dikes and cutting water-courses, Megabyzus drained the channel in which the Athenian galleys lay; and while he thus made the fleet useless, which had been hitherto a great annoyance to him, he laid the army open to wide attack. Thus, after a siege of eighteen months, he took Prosopitis: a part of the Grecian troops, forcing their way through Lybia, escaped to Cyrene; but the greater part perished. Inarus, the mover of the war, betrayed by his followers, was put to death by crucifixion; and all Egypt, except the marshes, held by a chief named Amyrtæus, submitted again to the Persian dominion.

B. C. 454.  
Ol. 81. 2-3.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 110.  
[B. C. 455.  
Cl. \*]

The misfortunes of the Athenian arms in this part of the world did not close thus. Fifty trireme galleys, going to Egypt, to relieve an equal number of the fleet there, entered the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, ignorant of what had happened. The Phenician fleet attacked them with superior force in the river, while the Persian army assisted from the shore: a few ships forced their way to sea and escaped, but the greater part were destroyed or

Thucyd. ib.

[\* Mr. Clinton remarks that Mr. Mitford justly rejects Dodwell's chronology, founded on Diodorus, for the dates of the Egyptian war; "but," he adds, "in fixing its termination at B. C. 454 he seems to have brought it down one year too low. For Thucydides plainly determines that they *still held out* at the time of the expedition into Thessaly, which was followed by the campaign of Pericles. The campaign of Tolmides is fixed to B. C. 455 by the surrender of Ithome, with which it is coincident: and the campaign of Pericles is fixed to the autumn of B. C. 454. The Egyptian war then ended in the course of the year 455." Fasti Hellen. p. 256.]

taken. Such was the conclusion of the Athenian enterprise against Egypt, when it had been carried on six years.

Circumstances meanwhile were arising still to extend the devastation of war within Greece. The early eminence of the Thessalians, and the following troubled state of their country, and the consequent deficiency of its history, have occurred heretofore for notice. Here-

Ch. 1. s. 3. &  
ch. 5. s. 1. of  
this Hist.

editary royalty seems to have been abolished there about the same age as in the southern provinces of Greece, so that every Thessalian town became a republic, claiming independency. The expediency of some political union, such that the weaker might not be oppressed by the stronger, nor the stronger by a coalition of many weaker, was nevertheless admitted as desirable: and the possibility of need for all to hold union for resistance to a foreign enemy was obvious. A superintending authority was therefore committed to a general assembly of deputies from all the towns; a kind of states-general or parliament. Experience of war then had been sufficient among them to establish conviction of the necessity for simplicity in military command. To supply this part of the office of the kings of old therefore a commander-in-chief was elected, apparently for unlimited time, with the peculiar title of Tagus; and, as to the generals in chief of the Athenian republic, so still more to those of the Thessalian confederacy, it was found expedient to commit a considerable share of civil superintendency.

Occasion will occur hereafter to observe that the union of the Thessalian republics was extremely imperfect, so that the office of tagus would be likely to be often of great difficulty. Contention for more power on his side, jealousy, and often unreasonable opposition, on the part of those who led the counsels of the several republics, could not fail to ensue. At the time of which we are treating the tagus

Orestes, son of Echekratides, styled by Thucydides king of Thessaly<sup>12</sup>, was compelled to fly his country. In no other part of Greece was the distinction of nobility and commonalty so maintained as in Thessaly. Circumstances make it probable that Orestes had been raised by the favour of the many, or, after his elevation, courting their support, had been expelled by the order of nobles. He implored assistance from Athens. The Athenian people, exasperated against the Thessalian government for the treachery of their troops in the affair of Tanagra, and the Athenian chiefs, hoping to secure an effectual interest in that rich and populous province by supporting an opposing party, concurred in zeal for the cause of the young prince. An army, composed of the newly-acquired auxiliary force of Bœotia and Phocis, together with a body of Athenian troops, was placed under the command of Myronides. He entered Thessaly, and penetrated as far as Pharsalus. But, with the usual deficiency of the southern Greek armies in cavalry, he was unable to contend with the Thessalian horse in the Thessalian plains. In the field, wherever he turned his force, nothing ventured to resist him; but he could detach nothing, and, according to the expression of Thucydides, beyond the immediate reach of his arms he could keep nothing. After an ineffectual attempt therefore upon the city of Pharsalus, he withdrew his army from Thessaly and returned to Athens.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 111.

B. C. 454.  
Ol. 81. 2-3.

Meanwhile the leading men in the Athenian councils were still directing their attention to extend the power of the republic on all sides. Masters of the Ægean sea, with the greater part of its shores and islands, and commanding a

<sup>12</sup> Probably an Athenian version of the title *tagus*, peculiar to Thessaly, as *consul* to the first magistrates, chief military commanders at Rome, and *suffetes* to those of Carthage. These we find the Greek writers designated by their term *basileus*, king, though the character of their office was more nearly that of the Roman consuls.

large proportion of the continent of Greece, they had great influence even in Peloponnesus. Argos was connected with them by its own necessary interest : the greater part of Achaia was in their dependency ; and, possessing Naupactus near the entrance and Pegæ at the bottom of the Corinthian gulf, they commanded its navigation. With the general view apparently to protect their allies, molest their enemies, and extend their authority and influence, as opportunity might offer, a thousand Athenian soldiers were put aboard the squadron lying at Pegæ, and the command was committed to Pericles. Crossing the gulf, the troops were landed on the territory of Sicyon ; and, the Sicyonians quitting their walls to protect their fields, Pericles gave them battle and defeated them. Then taking aboard a reinforcement of Achæans, he proceeded to the Acarnanian coast, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Œniadæ, but not without a large collection of booty from the territory, always a great object of ancient warfare <sup>13</sup>, he conducted his squadron home.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 111. & 115.  
& 1. 4. c. 21.  
Plut. vit. Peric.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 111. Diod.  
1. 11. c. 84.  
& 87. Plut.  
vit. Peric.

#### SECTION IV.

*Coalition of Parties at Athens, and Recall of Cimon. — Truce of five Years with Peloponnesus. — Long Walls of Athens. — Restoration of the Order of Knights, or Cavalry. — Colony of Athenian Families sent to the Chersonese. — Expedition to Cyprus : Death of Cimon.*

THE Athenian leaders thus, among some reverses altogether greatly successful, had however a most arduous office to

<sup>13</sup> In modern warfare it has reasonably been reckoned fair to raise contribution in an enemy's country ; that is, to make the public revenue, which would in ordinary course have passed into the enemy's coffers, enabling him to continue the contest, pass into those of the invading power, whether in money or in contributions in kind for the subsistence of its forces.

sustain; the administration of what has been called an empire, but an empire without any regular constitution; held together partly by force, partly by accidental circumstances; the capricious populace of Athens being the sovereign; a large majority of the principal men in opposition; and a war to be conducted against a confederacy, whose land force far exceeded theirs. The very conquests, already made, distressed them; they were at a loss for means to keep what they had acquired. Feeling then that some respite from war was necessary, they knew that the most powerful enemies, the Lacedæmonians and Corinthians, would be highly averse to any negotiation with them, but would readily treat with their opponents of the aristocratical party, and especially with Cimon. Pressed thus, they were perhaps farther stimulated by some ebullitions of democratical extravagance, disturbing or threatening their measures, to desire a coalition with the aristocratical leaders. The opposition, which looked to Cimon, though in exile, as its chief, was powerful; and the circumstances of a story related by Plutarch, however of a romantic cast, if founded, as it may have been, in truth, would not a little increase its weight. When the Athenians marched to meet the Lacedæmonian forces at Tanagra, Cimon, according to that writer, joined them where they passed the Attic border; and, the law of his exile not absolutely Plut. Cim. forbidding, desired to act with the troops of his ward as a volunteer. His request was denied, and he was ordered to quit the camp: but before he departed he had opportunity to communicate with his friends, whom he earnestly exhorted to prove, by their behaviour in the battle to ensue, the falsehood of the charge in which they were in some degree involved with him. Accordingly a band of a hundred pledged themselves to one another not to fly; and when the army was routed, they continued to fight around the panoply

of Cimon, which they had carried into the field as their banner, till they were killed to a man. It would be difficult then any longer to contend that Cimon or the friends of Cimon were enemies to their country. But, whatever may have been the motives, a coalition of the principal men, it is evident, was effected; and Pericles himself moved the decree for the recal of Cimon, after the expiration of only five years of the term of his banishment.<sup>14</sup>

Cimon was living on the lordship, his paternal inheritance, in the Thracian Chersonese; perhaps more at ease there, though a fortified dwelling and an armed train might be requisite for security against the neighbouring barbarians, than in Athens, amid the turbulence of a factious and jealous democracy. He did not however refuse himself to the call of his country. Nor was the expectation of advantage from his return disappointed. His liberality seems to have been met with corresponding liberality by the chiefs of those who had been his political adversaries, and a calm ensued in the administration of the commonwealth. Cimon was connected by hospitality with the Lacedæmonian state. The lead in the negotiation, on the part of Athens, being committed to him, a cessation of hostilities was quickly agreed upon.

*Andoc. ut Sup.*

*B. C. 455. Ol. 81. 3. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 112. B. C. 450. Ol. 82. 2-5.*

But, among the numerous republics concerned as allies of Lacedæmon, all interests were not to be easily reconciled. Three years of intermitted war elapsed before any treaty was concluded, and then nothing more was effected than a truce for five years.

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch relates more circumstances than any other writer; yet his account is unsatisfactory in itself, and ill accords with the course of events marked in the Summary of Thucydides, to which I refer as a standard for authenticating other information. The reader who will take the trouble to compare the accounts of the battle of Tanagra and its consequences in Plutarch's Lives of Cimon and Pericles with the 107th to the 112th chapter of the first book of Thucydides, may judge for himself.

Such a pause however, used wisely and diligently, was very advantageous for Athens. To prepare in peace for the exigencies of war is a maxim that must be universally approved, and yet is rarely acted upon, unless with ambitious views; the peaceful being seldom to be persuaded to the trouble and expense till danger becomes alarming. In the leisure of the five years' truce however, whether indeed more with peaceful or ambitious purposes among some of the leaders perhaps may be questioned, a third long wall was added to the former two, passing between them to the middle harbour Munychia. Thenceforward, should an enemy force either of the outer walls, the city would still have secure communication with one of its harbours, either the northernmost Phalerum, or the greater and far more important one on the south, Piræus. Pericles was the orator who undertook to persuade the people to pass the decree directing this laborious and expensive work.

Plat. Gorg. 1  
p. 455. t. 2.

From Plato we have the not uninteresting information that his master, Socrates, then a youth, was present when the successful speech was delivered.

The deficiency of the commonwealth in cavalry was also taken into consideration. The order of knights, or horse-soldiers, was old at Athens; it had been retained in the constitution of Solon, and flourished under Pisistratus and his sons; but after them had fallen into insignificance, if it was not even annihilated. No mention is found of Athenian cavalry either at Marathon or at Plataea; whence it seems probable that, for the attachment of that superior order of citizens to the Pisistratidean party, it had been depressed, if not abolished by Clisthenes. Under the joint administration of Cimon and Pericles however it was restored to credit and efficacy; so that the Athenian cavalry acquired estimation as among the best of Greece. Though peaceful views are rarely prominent in Athenian

Andoc de  
pace, p. 92.

counsels, yet such might lead to this measure ; for, among the Greeks, cavalry was valued especially as a defensive weapon, for its superior efficacy in giving protection to the fields against the plunder and waste which were so commonly principal objects of Grecian invading armies. But possibly the coalesced leaders had moreover a view to their own security, and that of civil order altogether, in restoring that military establishment which is most efficacious for awing and repressing civil turbulence, so apt to break out where every individual of the people flattered himself that he was a sovereign.

Nearly at the same time another addition was made to the military strength of the republic, perhaps not wholly without also a similar political view. It is remarkable how many circumstances occur, in the course of Grecian history, showing the truth of that observation of Aristotle, which might appear on first view a paradox, That democracy and tyranny are very nearly related. Among the Greeks it was reckoned a common distinction between legitimate monarchy and tyranny that kings had subjects for the guard of their persons, tyrants preferred foreigners. But the armed attendants of the magistrates of Athens, as it has been formerly observed, were foreign slaves, generally Scythians, whence Scythian came to be the common title of those armed attendants. Three hundred Scythian bowmen were now bought (such precisely is the expression in the original) for the use of the republic. A valuable addition probably to the military force, they would however perhaps still more strengthen the arm of the civil magistrate.<sup>15</sup>

Andoc. de  
pace, p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> The oration on peace, transmitted under the name of Andocides, passed, it appears, to the Augustan age as a speech of that orator, but Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed it wrongly attributed to him. It was however in that critic's time ancient, and probably of the age of Andocides. That it has suffered from injury to copies or carelessness of transcribers, is evident. The five



But so large a proportion of the Athenian people had now been so long accustomed to subsist by war, whether from pay or from plunder, that the cessation of hostilities filled the city with a very inconvenient number of men little disposed, and most of them little able, to earn a comfortable livelihood by peaceful industry; all however proud of the dignity of Athenian citizens, proud of their services to their country, and ready to claim support and reward suitable to that imaginary dignity, and to those services which they would not estimate below their worth. The inconvenience, or at least some degree of it, was common among the Grecian states; and the ordinary resource of the powerful was to send out colonies. Cimon's Thracian lordship in the Chersonese afforded opportunity, advantageous at the same time perhaps to the republic and to himself. Of particulars however we are no farther informed than that a squadron of fifty trireme galleys, under the command of Pericles, convoyed a thousand families of Athenian citizens to whom lands were allotted in that rich peninsula. Tolmides conducted an equal number, whether of Athenians to Naxos, or of Naxians to Eubœa, does not clearly appear.

But such was become the constitution of the Athenian commonwealth, such the temper of the people, and such the consequent difficulties to be contended with in the endeavour to preserve quiet at home, that, as soon as present peace was established by the conclusion of the five years' truce, Cimon concurred in the purpose of turning the spirit of enterprise once more toward foreign conquest, and exertion against the common enemy; in the hope so to prevent

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year's truce is spoken of in it as lasting thirteen years. But we have satisfactory assurance, from Thucydides, that Athens was engaged in war again before the end of the five years, and that it was another truce, afterward made for thirty years, which was broken in the fourteenth. It seems beyond question also, that the names of Miltiades and Cimon have been inverted; so that, for *Μιλτιάδην τὸν Κίμωνος*, we should read *Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου*.

brooding faction at Athens, and brooding war within Greece. With this view he resumed the design of adding Cyprus to that dominion, which under the title of Confederacy the Athenian commonwealth held over so large a portion of the

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 112.

Greek nation. A fleet of two hundred trireme galleys was equipped, of which himself took the

command. Amyrtæus, chief of the Egyptians of the marshes,

Diodor. 1. 12.  
c. 3. Plut. vit.  
Cim.

maintained still the war against Persia. At his request Cimon sent sixty, having in view, ap-

parently to distract the attention of the Persian government, and perhaps to collect some booty, rather than to pursue any romantic purpose of conquest in Egypt. With his remaining force he laid siege to Cittium in Cyprus; and in the camp before that place, to the great misfortune of

B. C. 449.  
Ol. 82. 3.  
Ann. Thu.  
Plut. ut ant.

Athens and of Greece, he died. Forseeing, it is said, both his own end, and the necessity of abandoning the enterprise, which, as we learn from

Thucydides, arose immediately from want of provisions, he gave suitable directions to those in trust about him, with a requisition that his death should be concealed, and orders

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 112.

issued still in his name as if he was living. In passing Salamis the fleet was attacked by the

Persian fleet, composed of squadrons from Phenicia, Cilicia, and Cyprus, which it defeated. The army, quitting Cittium, and marching along the coast to meet the fleet at a more commodious place for embarkation, was also attacked, and also gained the victory. Being joined then by the squadron from Egypt, the whole armament returned to Attica. The relics of Cimon, carried to Athens, were buried there; and a magnificent monument erected to his memory remained, with the name of the *Cimoneia*, to Plutarch's time.

Great as the military character of Cimon was, his wisdom, his integrity, his moderation, his conciliating temper, and the influence which enabled him to lead his fellow-country-

men in the paths of wisdom, integrity, and moderation, were found to be the qualities for which his loss was most to be regretted. Others could command fleets and armies, but others could not equally divert that compound, in the Grecian temper, of military spirit with the spirit of faction, from civil feud and domestic war. After Cimon, as Plutarch has justly observed, for a long time Plut. vit. Cimi. nothing great was done or even attempted against the barbarians; but the Greeks turned their arms against one another, to the great advantage of Persia, and to the unspeakable injury of Greece.

## SECTION V.

*Contest for Command of the Temple of Delphi. — Athens at the Summit of her Greatness. — State of Parties: Pericles: Thucydides. — Policy of the Grecian Republics for holding the weaker Republics in Subjection. — Revolt of Bœotia; of Eubœa; of Megara: Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. — Thirty Years' Truce. — Power of Pericles.*

DIVIDED among so many little republics, each necessarily jealous of the others, public rights and private in constant danger, and every citizen therefore always ready with arms, the Greek nation was singularly framed to be formidable to all around, if it could be united in steady confederacy, and otherwise to be always lacerating and preying upon itself. In Lacedæmon, under the consideration of her diminished authority and lowered rank among the Grecian people, some uneasiness of the public mind would be natural, and not wholly unreasonable; and this could not but be heightened by a view of the rapid progress Athens had made in power, with indications of ambition, holding corresponding growth. In these circumstances a dispute arose among some communities of little weight themselves, involving nevertheless

matter of such deep national interest as imperiously to require the interposition of the more powerful states.

The common federal government of the several towns of the province of Phocis had been long, as formerly has been observed, the guardian of the temple and oracle and treasury of Delphi. The Delphian citizens, on what old or new pretension does not appear, now claimed that important office to the exclusion of the other Phocians, and resort to arms was threatened.

It might become the Lacedæmonians to interfere; and they did so, but not under wise or apparently just counsel. Instead of calling for the common support of the Greeks, and assuming their wonted lead with a dignified moderation,

they took upon themselves to decide all; and, sending a military force into Phocis, they put the

Delphians into possession of the temple. The Delphians then, with ready gratitude, passed a decree granting to Lacedæmon the honours of the Promanteia, or precedency in the consultation of the oracle, and caused it to be engraved on the forehead of a brazen statue of a wolf consecrated in the temple.

So arbitrary an exertion of exclusive authority by the Lacedæmonian government in what was esteemed, beyond all things, a common concern of the Greek nation, could not fail to excite indignation at Athens; and the more as the power of that state had recently been so extended in northern Greece, and as Phocis was among its allies. An army was ordered to march, and the command was committed to Pericles. Thus what the Greeks called a sacred war was kindled. But, through the incapacity of the little Grecian states to maintain troops on foreign service, the Lacedæmonian troops being gone, the Delphians felt their inability to resist, and no bloodshed seems to have ensued. Pericles restored the supremacy of the temple and its appendages to

Ch. 3. s. 3.  
of this Hist.  
Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 112. Strab.  
l. 9. p. 423.  
Plut. Peric.

B. C. 448.  
Ol. 82.4—  
3.1.

the Phocian people; who immediately passed a decree giving the Promanteia to Athens, which they caused to be engraved on the side of the same brazen wolf whose forehead bore the decree of the Delphian citizens in favour of Lacedæmon. Whether the command which the Athenians through their possession of the Megarian territory held of the isthmus, or, what seems not improbable, civil dissension in Lacedæmon and the prevalence of a party adverse to that which had directed the ill-judged expedition to Delphi, was the cause, no measures of resentment seem to have followed.

This appears to have been the era of the most extensive empire of the Athenian commonwealth. On the continent of Greece it commanded Megaris, Bœotia, Locris, Phocis, and the territory of Naupactus. In Peloponnesus an Athenian garrison held Trœzen; Athenian influence governed all Achaia, properly so called; and even Argos was but a subordinate ally. The large and fruitful island of Eubœa, separated only by a narrow strait, had long been an appendage of Attica; and all the other islands of the Ægean sea, Melus and Thera with part of Crete excepted, most of the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, and all those of Thrace, the Hellespont, and the Propontis, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Athenian people.

Had Athens had a government so constituted as to be capable of a wise and steady administration, men were not wanting, qualified by abilities and by information, to direct the business of an empire. While Cimon lived Pericles was contented to be the second person of the republic; and, harmony subsisting between them, the disposition to party violence among inferior men was restrained by their influence, and the aristocratical and democratical interests were held in unusual union. But all would not be equally pleased with the suspension of party distinctions, which of necessity admitted some to situations that would have been the lot of

others had either party ruled alone. On Cimon's death some of his principal adherents could ill brook the ascendancy which superior talents, superior popularity, an accumulation of advantages gave at once to Pericles: they would have one of their own party still at the head of the republic's affairs. Thucydides son of Melesias, brother-in-law of Cimon, to whom they looked in preference, was indeed a person well entitled to high consideration. His birth, his family alliances, his conduct through life, his public estimation, all were advantageous; and he was not without military reputation, though more known as an experienced statesman and an able speaker. Apparently he was of himself disposed to liberality in politics; but unfortunately without sufficiently possessing Cimon's firmness to resist, or influence to repress, the imprudent heat or interested ambition of political associates. A war of oratory ensued, of which little account remains beyond an anecdote marking the extraordinary powers of Pericles, and the candid acknowledgment of them by Thucydides: "When I wrestle with Pericles," he said, "if I throw him ever so decidedly, he can persuade the spectators that he threw me." The aristocratical and democratical interests were thus anew divided, never equally, as under the joint lead of Pericles and Cimon, again to coalesce.

The breach however appears to have been gradual; Pericles did not at once set himself in direct opposition to the friends of Cimon. Meanwhile, though there was a powerful aristocratical party, there was no acknowledged constitutional balance to the democratical power, which was truly despotic. For holding the many states, which owned subjection to Athens, in any degree attached, never was liberality in administration more wanted than now. For the Athenian people, less than thirty thousand families, to coerce all by their own strength, was obviously impossible.

Plat. Laches,  
p. 179. t. 2.

But every untempered government must be jealous; and democracy, even beyond other untempered governments, is naturally selfish. The enlarged policy of the mixed constitution of Rome, which enabled her to become mistress of the world, associating conquered people, could not even be safely mentioned at Athens; and indeed there was very generally, among the Grecian republics, a strong prejudice against it. The policy for maintaining sovereignty common to all Grecian republics, which acquired dominion over other Grecian republics, rested on that division into parties to which occasion has occurred so often to advert. In the ordinary course of things, when, after a critical contest in any republic, the aristocratical party prevailed, the leaders only of the lower people were expelled, with a few of the more turbulent of their followers, who were sometimes sold into foreign countries for slaves; and the rest were held under a severe subjection. But if the democratical party obtained the superiority, they often expelled all those men of rank and property whom they did not kill, and they shared among themselves their houses, estates, slaves, and whatever other effects they could seize. In all the many republics, where Athenian influence now extended, the democratical party was supported by Athenian patronage, and held all the powers of government. The prevalence then of that party, and especially the welfare of its chiefs, depending upon the connexion with Athens, the citizens of that party were themselves the garrison to hold their state in obedience to the Athenian commonwealth. Thus alone they could hope to maintain themselves in possession of the houses, the estates, and the honours of those whom they had killed or driven into banishment; toward whom they looked with the abhorrence natural for those who dreaded, at the same time, the loss of such advantages, and revenge for having usurped them. In Athens itself not the principles

of democracy only, but more especially those by which democratical empire might best be promoted, would be sedulously inculcated and would become popular topics; and hence apparently what has been called by later writers, the conquest of Bœotia by Myronides, was sometimes spoken of, among contemporaries, as the deliverance of the country and the establishment of its freedom. On this pretence (and apparently to promote ambitious purposes) the Athenian citizens killed in that expedition were honoured with a funeral at the public expense, the first after those who fell in the Persian invasion.

Through circumstances like those just related Greece always swarmed with exiles; and those unhappy men were perpetually watching opportunities for a revolution which might restore them to their country. The impossibility of

exact discrimination always left them some friends in their respective cities; and thus the foundation of sedition was ever ready. Those Bœotians who

had been banished in consequence of the Athenian conquest found opportunity to make themselves masters of Orchomenus, Chæronea, and some smaller towns. Hopeless then

of being permitted to retain quiet possession, necessity not less than inclination incited them to push for farther advantages. The Athenian government prepared an army to reduce them, composed chiefly of allies, with only one thousand heavy-armed Athenians. Tolmides, already renowned for his achievements in the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus, was appointed to the command. Apparently the party of Thucydides had been gaining ground, and Tolmides was of that party; for Pericles, as Plutarch informs us, disapproved the appointment of Tolmides, and augured ill of the expedition. Chæronea however was taken; those men of the best families and principal influence in Bœotia, who had held it, were con-

Plat. Men.  
p. 242. l. 2.

Thucyd. 1. 1.  
c. 113. Diodor.  
l. 12. c. 6.  
Plut. vit. Peric.

B. C. 447.  
Ol. 83. ½



demned to slavery\*, and a garrison was put in the place. But meantime exiles from various parts, Bœotians and others,<sup>16</sup> had assembled in large numbers at Orchomenus, and the Locrians, who by timely submission to Athens and giving hostages had prevented any expulsion of their people, joined them with their whole strength. A powerful army was thus collected. The Athenian forces, return-  
 ing toward Attica, were attacked near Coronea: [B. C. 447. towards autumn. Cl.]  
 Tolmides was killed, his army was completely defeated, and almost every surviving Athenian was made prisoner.

The consequence of this misfortune is one among many instances of an inherent weakness in the governments of the little Grecian republics, which was not lessened at Athens by the extent of its command. Few Athenian families were wholly uninterested in the prisoners taken at Coronea, and the administration could ill avoid sacrificing public advantage to private feelings. But, in addition to the fermentation within the state, circumstances were threatening without. The Bœotians, now strong of themselves, would scarcely fail of assistance from Peloponnesus; for the enmity of Lacedæmon, though smothered on occasion of the affair of Delphi, could not but be apprehended when any encouraging opportunity might offer. At the same time therefore to gratify the people with the recovery of their captive kinsmen and friends, and to prevent, as far as possible, a combination of enemies which might endanger the remaining dependencies of the commonwealth, the Athenian administration hastily concluded a treaty with the Bœotians; agreeing to evacuate

[\* “. . . ἰόντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες. Mr. Mitford has expanded the last word into a charge against the Athenians: ‘those men of best families and principal influence in Bœotia, who had held Chæronea, were condemned to slavery.’ But it appears from the edition of Mr. Bekker that the words καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες ought to be omitted.” Clinton, Fasti Hellen. p. ix.]

<sup>16</sup> Οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελιθόντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες. Thucyd. We want information who *all the others* were.

immediately whatever they still held in Bœotia, and surrender all claim upon that rich bordering province, apparently the most desirable of all possible addition to the Athenian dominion.

The event showed the urgency for acceding to conditions seemingly so disadvantageous ; for even thus the apprehended evils were not entirely obviated. The success of the Bœotians had encouraged others to follow their example. Eubœa, the nearest of the transmarine dependencies of Athens, and the most important, revolted. An army, under the command of Pericles, hastened to that island. It was scarcely landed when intelligence reached Athens that the adverse party in Megara, with assistance from Corinth, had risen upon the Athenian garrison, overpowered it, and put all to the sword who could not effect their retreat into Nisæa.<sup>17</sup> This then was quickly followed by information still more alarming, that the Lacedæmonians were preparing for an invasion of Attica with the whole force of their confederacy.

The death of Tolmides and the distress of the commonwealth concurred to put all the powers of government into the hands of Pericles. That able statesman and general immediately led back his forces from Eubœa, defeated the Megarians, with their allies, who rashly attempted to protect their fields against his ravages, and compelled them to confine themselves within their walls.

The Peloponnesian invasion did not take place till the following spring.<sup>18</sup> A very formidable

B. C. 445.  
Ol. 83.4—84.1.

<sup>17</sup> Diodorus places the revolt of Megara in the first year of the 83d Olympiad, the battle of Coronea in the second, and the revolt of Eubœa in the third. But Thucydides asserts expressly, that the news of the revolt of Megara arrived just as Pericles had debarked his forces in Eubœa to suppress the revolt there ; which happened, he says, not long after the conclusion of the treaty with the Bœotians that followed the battle of Coronea.

<sup>18</sup> Thus Dodwell, upon a comparison of authorities and circumstances, has apparently well determined. Ann. Thu. ad. ann. 445.

army then marched. The command was committed, not to the mature age and tried abilities of Archidamus, whether because he was the personal friend of Pericles, or mere Lacedæmonian party-interest decided, but to the king of the Eurysthenidean house, Plistoanax, so young that Cleandridas was joined with him as the adviser of his inexperience. The army entered Attica, ravaged the Thrasian plain, and encamped near Eleusis. Pericles, with the whole force of Athens, took a station overagainst it: but, considering that a battle lost in existing circumstances might be fatal to the commonwealth, and delay, the ordinary resource of defensive war, would endanger all its dependencies, he had, it was commonly supposed, recourse to policy. Without any apparent cause the Peloponnesian army retreated into the Peninsula, and the allies were dismissed as if the purpose of the expedition had been accomplished. It was commonly supposed that Pericles had succeeded in an attempt to bribe the Spartan general. In Lacedæmon such dissatisfaction ensued that Cleandridas took alarm, and fled: in his absence, capital condemnation was pronounced against him, and the young king himself being called into judgment, a fine was imposed upon him to such an amount that, being unable to discharge it, he also quitted his country. Pericles, in the usual report of the expenses of his command, stated ten talents, about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, as employed for a necessary purpose, without expressing what Secret-service money was not, it seems, commonly allowed to Athenian generals; and it is mentioned as an instance of singular confidence in Pericles, that the Athenian people permitted that article to pass unquestioned.

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 114. & l. 2.  
c. 21. Plut.  
vit. Peric.

Plutarch. vit.  
Peric.

The army under Pericles being then again transported into Eubœa, the whole island was quickly reduced. The Histiaëans were expelled, and their

Thucyd. l. 1.  
c. 114.

territory was apportioned among Athenian families. These, according to the universal course of the Greeks, were the garrison, as well as the ruling body under the supremacy of Athens, and their slaves cultivated the lands. The rest of the Eubœans were admitted to a capitulation, by which their estates and the municipal administration of their towns were preserved to them.

The experienced insecurity of that command, which the Athenian people held over so many other little republics, now induced their leaders

to seek an accommodation with the Peloponnesians. Callias and Chares, according to Diodorus, were the managers of

the treaty on the part of the Athenians; and, before the end of the winter after the invasion of

Attica, a truce was concluded for the term of thirty years. The conditions, which remain reported by the historian Thucydides, appear very disadvantageous to Athens. Bœotia was already lost; the city of Megara was lost; but the Athenians yet held the Megarian ports of Nisæ and a Pegæ; they had still a garrison in the Peloponnesian city of Trœzen; and the Peloponnesian province of Achaia was in their interest. All these advantages were surrendered: garrisons were withdrawn; and where, as in the Achæan towns, the democratical party were as the garrison for Athens, no support from Athens was in future to be given to that party. The aristocratical interest then recovering predominant power, but wanting for its security the patronage of Lacedæmon, Achaia would return of course to the Lacedæmonian alliance.<sup>19</sup> Such concessions, with-

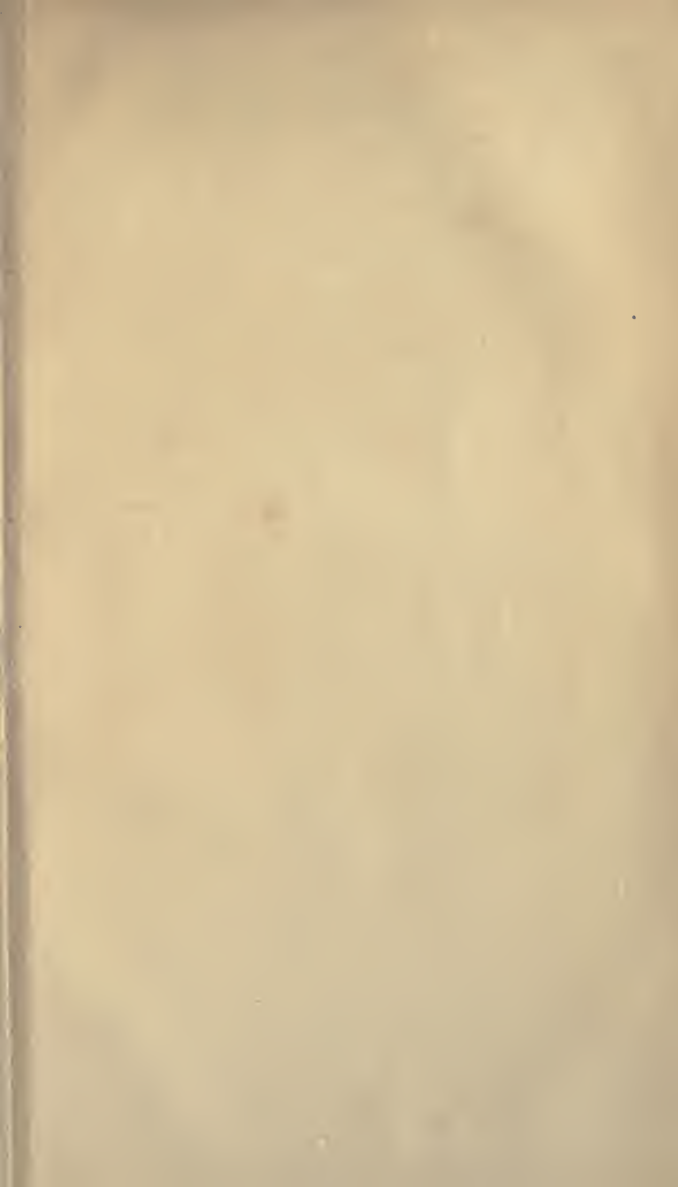
<sup>19</sup> "Quæ fuerit illa Achaia, juxta cum ignarissimis ignoro. Nam de totâ provinciâ, quæ Achaia dicitur, locum intelligere, absurdum foret." Not. 5. c. 115. l. 1. Thuc. ed, Duk. I must confess I am at a loss to guess at the difficulty. If any could arise upon the simple consideration of the passage in question, it appears fully cleared by what precedes and follows, c. 3. b. 1. c. 9. b. 2. and c. 21. b. 4. The fancy of Palmer and Hudson, that an obscure Corinthian settlement in Ætolia, of the name of Chalcis, was intended, appears strangely wild.

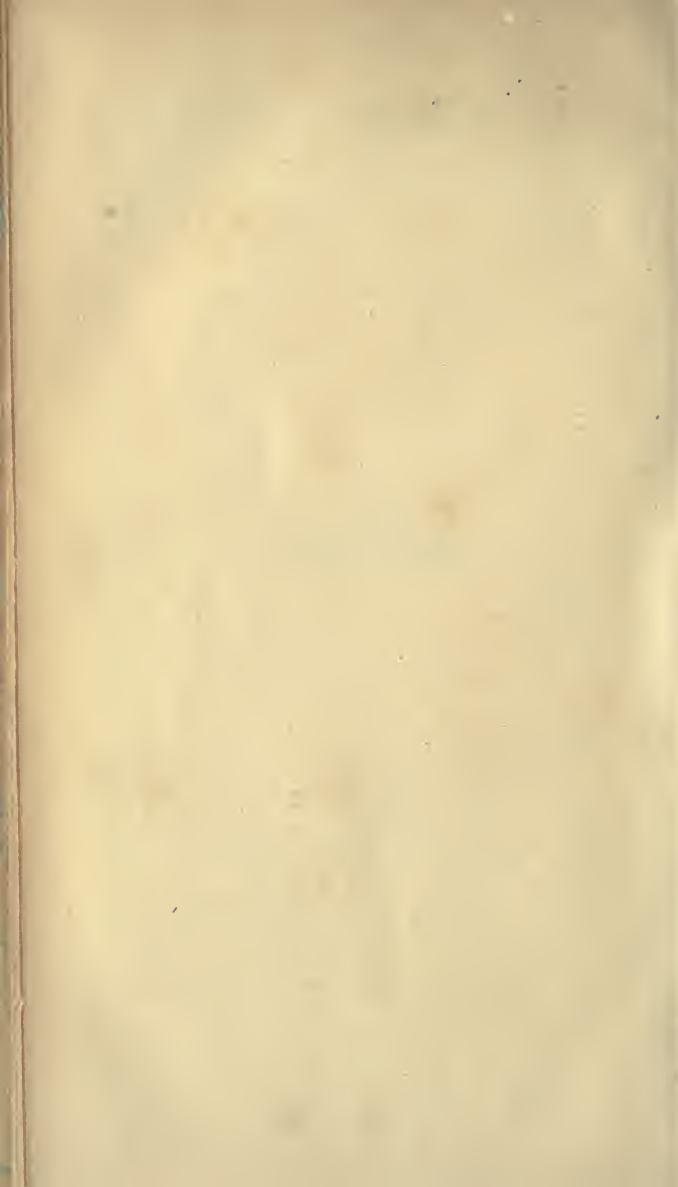
out any equivalent, sufficiently mark the sense which the Athenian administration had of the tottering fabric of the empire, and of the necessity for the leisure of peace to confirm that command which remained to the commonwealth over so many islands and so many transmarine states and colonies.

The train of distressing circumstances following the defeat of Tolmides concurred with the various successes of the new general to ruin the aristocratical interest at Athens. The opposite interest being then decisively superior in the popular assembly, Thucydides was banished by ostracism. Thus the opposition, which had compelled Pericles to resume the lead of the democratical interest against the aristocratical, contributed to advance his power and glory, making him in a manner prince of Athens. But as it was a power that could only be maintained by still cultivating the democratical interest, to the utter overthrow of the aristocratical, and the destruction of all balance in the constitution, the result was ultimately most pernicious to the commonwealth, and involved incalculable evils for all Greece.

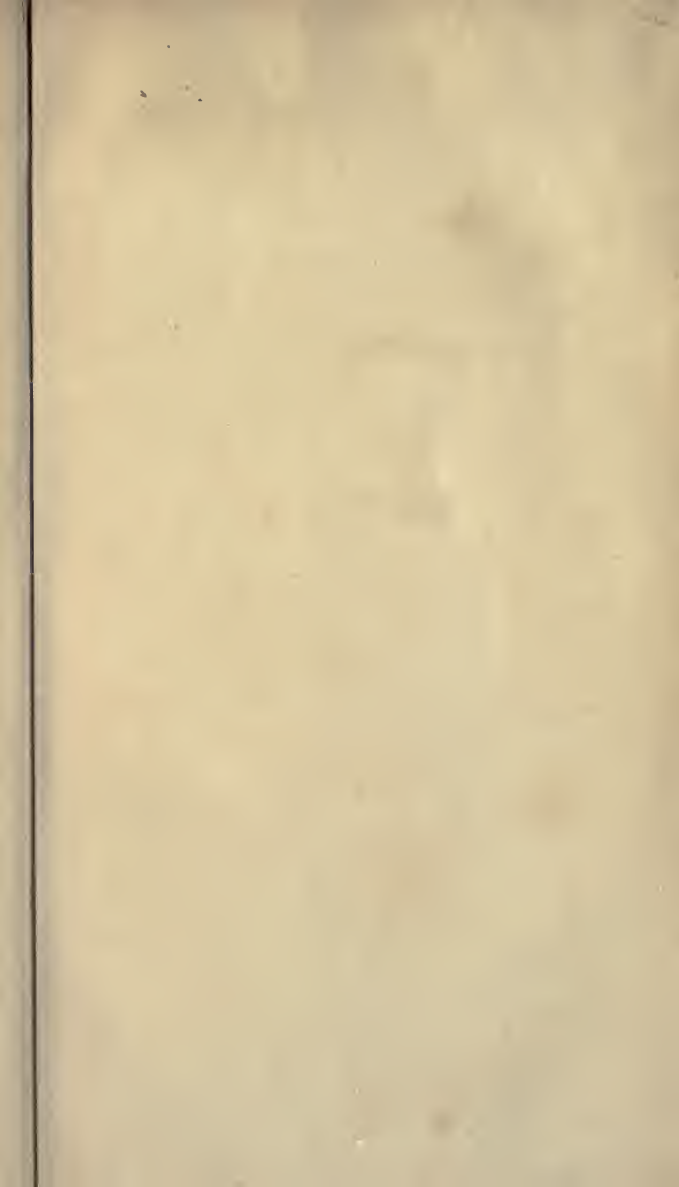
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